# SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

| | |
|---|---|
| ACO | Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum |
| ADSV | Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology |
| AHC | Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum |
| APF | Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete |
| BBA | Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten |
| BCH | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique |
| BF | Byzantinische Forschungen |
| BHG | Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo) |
| BKV | Bibliothek der Kirchenväter |
| BMGS | Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies |
| BNJ | Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher |
| BollGrott | Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata |
| BSFN | Bulletin de la Sociéte française de numismatique |
| BV | Byzantina Vindobonensia |
| Byz | Byzantion |
| BZ | Byzantinische Zeitschrift |
| CCSG | Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca |
| CFHB | Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae |
| CIC | Corpus Iuris Civilis |
| CIG | Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum |
| CIL | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| CSHB | Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae |
| DA | Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters |
| DACL | Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie |
| DHGE | Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques |
| DOP | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| DOS | Dumbarton Oaks Studies |
| DOT | Dumbarton Oaks Texts |
| EB | Études Balkaniques |
| ΕΕΒΣ | Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν |
| EO | Échos d'Orient |
| FGH | Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker |
| FIFAO | Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo) |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller |
| GRBS | Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies |
| HZ | Historische Zeitschrift |
| IG | Inscriptiones Graecae |
| JARCE | Journal of the American Research Center Egypt |
| JbAC | Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum |
| JECS | Journal of Early Christian Studies |
| JHS | Journal of Hellenic Studies |
| JJurP | Journal of Juristic Papyrology |
| JÖB | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik |
| JÖBG | Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft |
| JRA | Journal of Roman Archaeology |

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.001

| | |
|---|---|
| JRS | Journal of Roman Studies |
| LMA | Lexikon des Mittelalters |
| LThK | Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche |
| MDAIK | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo |
| MGH | Monumenta Germaniae Historica |
| MIÖG | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung |
| MMB | Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae |
| OC | Orientalia Christiana |
| OCA | Orientalia Christiana Analecta |
| OCP | Orientalia Christiana Periodica |
| OrChrist | Oriens Christianus |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca |
| PL | Patrologia Latina |
| PLP | Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit |
| PmbZ | Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit |
| PO | Patrologia Orientalis |
| PTS | Patristische Texte und Studien |
| RAC | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum |
| RbK | Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst |
| RE | Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft |
| RÉArm | Revue des Études Arméniennes |
| RÉB | Revue des Études Byzantines |
| RÉG | Revue des Études Grecques |
| RÉSEE | Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes |
| RHT | Revue d'histoire des textes |
| RIDA | Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité |
| ROC | Revue de l'Orient Chrétien |
| RömQ | Römische Quartalsschrift |
| RSBN | Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici |
| SBN | Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici |
| SBS | Studies in Byzantine Sigillography |
| SC | Sources Chrétiennes |
| Script | Scriptorium |
| TIB | Tabula Imperii Byzantini |
| TM | Travaux et Mémoires |
| TRE | Theologische Realenzyklopädie |
| TU | Texte und Untersuchungen |
| VigChr | Vigiliae Christianae |
| VV | Vizantijskij Vremennik |
| WBS | Wiener Byzantinistische Studien |
| WSt | Wiener Studien |
| ZAC | Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum |
| ZKG | Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte |
| ZPE | Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik |
| ZRVI | Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta |

# I. ABTEILUNG

## DIE ARGUMENTATION DES PATRIARCHEN GREGORIOS II. KYPRIOS ZUR WIDERLEGUNG DES FILIOQUE-ANSATZES IN DER SCHRIFT *DE PROCESSIONE SPIRITUS SANCTI*

THEODOROS ALEXOPOULOS / ATHEN

Im Mittelpunkt dieser Untersuchung steht die dem Patriarchen Gregorios II. Kyprios fehlerhaft von J.-P. Migne zugewiesene Schrift *De processione spiritus sancti.* Diese erwies sich, den Ergebnissen der Erforschung von Ch. Sabbatos gemäß, als kein pesönliches Werk des Kyprios, sondern als eine kompilierte Wiedergabe seines bis heute unedierten „Antirrhetikos gegen Bekkos“.[1] Nach Sabbatos soll sie nicht im Jahr 1289, sondern 1283 verfasst worden sein und soll seine erste theologische Abhandlung darstellen.[2] Sabbatos schließt sich auch der Ansicht von V. Laurent,[3] M. Jugie,[4] H.-G. Beck,[5] M. Orphanos,[6] G. Theodorudes[7] und B. Pseutonkas[8] an, wonach der in der Ausgabe von J.-

1 Vgl. Ch. Sabbatos, Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος «Ἀντιρρητικὸς κατὰ Βέκκου» λόγος τοῦ Πατριάρχη Γρηγορίου Β΄ τοῦ Κυπρίου καὶ τὸ «Περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος» ἔργο του. *Theologia* 74 (2003) 155–197: 156. Zum Vergleich der beiden Schriften hat Sabbatos im Blick auf den edierten Text die Ausgabe von J.-P. Migne und in Bezug auf das Unedierte, den Text des Manuskripts der Bibliothek von Wien *Vidob. Theol. gr.* 245 berücksichtigt. Der Vergleich, den Sabbatos gezogen hat, findet sich auf der Seite 165 seiner Untersuchung.

2 ebd. 156.

3 V. Laurent, Theodore Mouzalon. *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique* 10 (1929); ders., Bulletin critique: Catalogues des manuscrits grecs et textes byzantines. *EO* 27 (1928) 448.

4 M. Jugie, Theologia dogmatica christianorum Orientalium ab Ecclesiae Catholica dissidentium, II. Paris 1933, 365 Fußnote 3.

5 H.-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich. München 1959, 680.

6 M. Orphanos, Κωνσταντίνου Μελιτηνιώτου «Λόγοι ἀντιρρητικοὶ δύο». Athen 1986, 247 Fußnote 1.

7 G. Theodorudes, Ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τοῦ ΙΓ΄ αἰῶνος. Thessalonike 1990, 129 Fußnote 68.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.002

P. Migne vorliegende Abschnitt 290B–300B, der mit der Phrase eingeführt wird *εἴ τις προὔτεινεν ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς δι᾽ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται, καθώς τισι τῶν ἁγίων εἴρηται εὐσεβῶς,* Teil des unedierten Werkes des Theodoros Muzalon *κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Βέκκου βλασφημιῶν* sei.[9] Auf diese Ergebnisse gestützt, beschränke ich meine Analyse auf die kritische Darstellung des Argumentationsganges des Patriarchen Gregorios Kyprios gemäß dem Text, der in den Paragraphen 269B bis 289B der Migne-Ausgabe geboten wird. Bevor ich mich einer ausführlichen Darstellung und kritischen Beurteilung des Gedankenganges zuwende, möchte ich eine kurze Gliederung des Werkes geben:

Prooimium. Deutliche Anspielung auf Bekkos, der, obwohl er einer umfangreichen Bildung teilhaftig ist, trotzdem in große Undeutlichkeit im Blick auf das Dogma geraten ist. (269B–C)

Darstellung der Problematik und Versuch den Beweis anzutreten, dass vom Hl. Geist gesagt werden kann, er sei aus der Usia des Sohnes, aber nicht aus seiner Hypostase. (269–274 A)

Bezugnahme auf Kyrill von Alexandrien besonders in Hinsicht auf sein Zitat „der Hl. Geist sei dem Sohne eigen", das die Filioquisten seiner Zeit zur Begründung ihrer Ansichten aufgegriffen hatten. (274 A–277B)

Weitere Verdeutlichung des in Rede stehenden Zitats mit Bezugnahme auf Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, Athanasius von Alexandrien, Basilius von Cäsarea, Gregor von Nyssa. (277B–279 A)

Verdeutlichung des Zitats Gregors von Nyssa: τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου. (279B–281B)

Bestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen Theologia und Oikonomia und klare Kritik an jenen, die vom Letzteren auf Erstere sichere Rückschlüsse ziehen zu können glauben. (281B–284C)

Wie ist die sogenannte Mittlerschaft (μεσιτεία) des Sohnes zu deuten? Verdeutlichung anhand der Metapher des Sohnes und des Strahls. Unterscheidung zwischen Ausstrahlung (ἔκλαμψις) und Hervorbringung (ἐκπόρευσις). (284D–288 A)

Unterschied zwischen dem Hl. Geist als Hypostase und der Gabe des Geistes. Die Gabe des Geistes ist von den Würdigen teilhabbar, die Hypostase des Geistes hingegen nicht. Bezugnahme auf das Zitat des Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita „das Göttliche sei kraft seiner Mitteilungen teilhabbar". (288 A–290B)

---

8 B. Pseutonkas, Στοιχεῖα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς γραμματολογίας μὲ ἀνθολόγιο πατερικῶν ἔργων. Thessalonike 1990, 128.

9 Vgl. Ch. Sabbatos, Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος «Ἀντιρρητικός» (wie oben Fußnote 1) 157. Mit Berufung auch auf M. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres Bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements, I. Paris 19886, 257, 278 und V. Laurent, Le métropolite de Pergame Arsène, mélode et polémiste antilatin. *REB* 15 (1957) 123–130.

Nach der angebotenen Gliederung des Textes werde ich jetzt auf die analytische Darstellung des Argumentationsganges des Autors eingehen, mit der Absicht, den Sinn des in Rede Stehenden zu entdecken und zugleich ihn richtig auszulegen, sowie auch die Haltbarkeit und Stichhaltigkeit von Kyprios' Anliegen zu prüfen und mit den Ansichten seiner Gegner bzw. Bekkos zu konfrontieren.

Dies wird dem Leser helfen, sich in die theologische Problematik des 13. Jahrhunderts über die Filioque-Frage zu vertiefen und mehr Klarheit über die Argumente der im Streit befindlichen Seiten zu gewinnen. Obwohl einige Studien[10] über die theologische Position des Kyprios im Blick auf den Hervorgang des Geistes vorhanden sind, fehlt trotzdem eine Arbeit, die ausschließlich der Analyse einer seiner Schriften gewidmet ist. Diesem Zweck dient meine Untersuchung und gilt als Fortsetzung meines vorangegangenen Versuches,[11] die theologische Position des Gegners des Kyprios', sc. Konstantin Melitiniotes in seinen „Zwei Antirrhetici", in den Vordergrund zu stellen und sie kritisch zu beurteilen.

Im Prooimium der Schrift legt Kyprios die Problematik mit aller Deutlichkeit fest, indem er den von Bekkos erhobenen Vorwurf vorlegt: „Welcher Spruch (aus der Schrift oder aus der Tradition der Väter) hat uns je gelehrt, dass wir weder die Usia ohne Hypostase noch wiederum die Hypostase ohne die Usia verherrlichen, und obwohl wir vom allheiligen Geist sagen, er sei aus der Usia des Sohnes, zweifeln wir trotzdem daran, zu sagen, er sei auch aus der Hypostase (sc. des Sohnes). Und alles dieses beziehen wir auch auf den Vater, ohne uns zu weigern einen anderen als diesen zu verherrlichen, und sagen wir auch (vom Hl. Geist), er sei aus der Usia (des Vaters) und fügen noch hinzu, er sei auch aus seiner Hypostase".[12]

---

10 Vgl. Vgl. D. Wendebourg, Geist oder Energie. Zur Frage der innergöttlichen Verankerung des christlichen Lebens in der byzantinischen Theologie. *Münchener Monographien zur historischen und systematischen Theologie*, 4. München 1980; Theodorudes, Ἡ ἐκπόρευσις (wie oben Fußnote 7); Ch. Sabbatos, Ἡ θεολογικὴ ὁρολογία καὶ προβληματικὴ τῆς πνευματολογίας Γρηγορίου Β΄ τοῦ Κυπρίου. Katerini 1997; A. Riebe, Rom in Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel. Patriarch Johannes XI. Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon (1274). *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 8. Wiesbaden 2005.

11 Th. Alexopoulos, Der Ausgang des Thearchischen Geistes. Eine Untersuchung der Filioque-Frage anhand Photios' „Mystagogie", Konstantin Melitiniotes „Zwei Antirrheitici" und Augustins „De Trinitate". Göttingen 2009.

12 *PG* 142, 269C: τίς ποτε, φησί, λόγος, οὐσίαν μὲν μὴ δοξάζειν ἀνυπόστατον, μηδ' αὖ ὑπόστασιν ἀνούσιον, λέγοντας δὲ ὅμως τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ, μὴ λέγειν ἐθέλειν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς μηδ'

Der Kernpunkt des vorliegenden Zitats dreht sich um die folgende wichtige Frage: Warum man nicht behaupten kann, obwohl der Begriff der Usia ohne den der Hypostase zu denken ist[13] und umgekehrt (der Begriff der Hypostase kann nie ohne den der Usia gedacht werden, denn jede Hypostase wird in ihrer eigenen Usia betrachtet, d.h. sie ist ἐνούσιος)[14] und obwohl wiederum vom Hl. Geist gesagt wird, er sei aus der Usia und aus der Hypostase des Vaters, nicht behaupten kann, dass der Geist nicht nur der Usia des Sohnes, sondern auch seiner Hypostase entstammt! Die Frage gewinnt noch mehr an Plausibilität, wenn man den Einwand des Konstantin Melitiniotes in seinem ersten Antirrheticus gegen Kyprios in Erwägung zieht, nämlich dass er (sc. Kyprios) die Usia von der Hypostase absondere, indem er die Unterscheidung zwischen τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως (dem Bestimmungsgrund der Natur) und τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ὑποστάσεως (dem Bestimmungsgrund der Hypostase) ins Feld führte.[15] Dieser Grundunterscheidung, die auf die kappadozischen Kirchenväter zurückzuführen ist,[16] begegnet man in den Schriften des Photius, und sie ist im Rahmen der Unterscheidung zwischen dem Gemeinsamen (κοινόν) und Eigentümlichen (ἴδιον) zu verstehen: αἴτιος ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τῆς ὑπο-

ἕτερον δοξάζειν ἀναινομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας λέγοντας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως προστιθεμένους.

13 Vgl. Konstantin Melitiniotes, *Antirr.* I f.108v (191, 9–13 Orphanos): Ἡμεῖς τριάδα τὴν Θεότητα μόνην πρεσβεύοντες, οὐ τετράδα, σέβομεν τὸν Πατέρα, τελείαν ἐνυπόστατον οὐσίαν· σέβομεν τὸν Υἱόν, τελείαν ἐνυπόστατον οὐσίαν· σέβομεν τελείαν ἐνυπόστατον οὐσίαν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

14 Vgl. Georgios Metochites, Historia Dogmatica, in: Novae Patrum bibliothecae, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, VIII. Rom 1871, II 46, 209: μίαν Πατρὸς φαμεν καὶ Υἱοῦ οὐσίαν, αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν κηρύττοντες τὸν Πατὲρα ἐνυπόστατον καὶ ἐνούσιον, αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ὡσάυτως.

15 Konstantin Melitiniotes, Antirrheticus I f. 112v (200, 18–201, 4 Orphanos): Ἀμέλει πρεσβεύομεν τοῦτον αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως μόνῳ, κατὰ τὴν ψευδεπίπλαστον τοῦ ματαίου διαβολήν, οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως μόνῳ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φρενοβλαβοῦς κακίστην ὑπόληψιν. Οὕτω γὰρ δοξάζον αὐτό (sc. τό κύπριον κακόν), πράγματι διαιρεῖ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ὅπερ ἀπηγόρευσε πᾶς τῶν ἁγίων ὁ σύλλογος, ἢ πάλιν δυσσεβῶς ἐπινοίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρεσβεύει τὴν ὕπαρξιν. Vgl. Ioannes Beccus, Refutatio libri Georgii Cyprii 2, 6. *PG* 141, 901D: Εἰ γάρ, ὡς ὁ κενοφωνῶν διατείνεται, ἡ οὐσία τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐν τῷ τῆς αἰτίας λόγῳ διῄρηται, καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλον μὲν τὸν λόγον τῇ μακαρίᾳ Τριάδι τὸ ὁμοούσιον, κατ᾽ ἄλλον δὲ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατόν ἐστι, τὸ αἰτιατὸν καὶ ὁμοούσιον διαιρεθήσονται· καὶ ταῦτα διαιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν Τριάδα συνδιαιρήσουσιν, οὐχ ἣν διαίρεσιν κατὰ τὴν εὐσεβῆ αὕτη ἔχει ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ καινήν τινα καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἄλλην.

16 Basilius, Epistula 38 (I 82, 26 Courtonne), *PG* 32, 328 A; ebd. (I 83, 26), 328C.

στάσεως.[17] (Der Vater ist Verursacher der ihm Entstammten, nicht unter dem Bestimmungsgrund der Natur, sondern unter dem Bestimmungsgrund der Hypostase). Dabei präzisiert Photius, wie diese Unterscheidung richtig zu deuten ist: οὐ κατατέμνων τῇ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἑτερότητι καὶ τὴν φύσιν …, ἀλλὰ τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς φύσεως τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων διαφορὰν δοξάζω.[18] (In der Verschiedenheit der Hypostasen zerschneide ich nicht auch die Natur …, sondern in der Identität der Natur verherrliche ich den Unterschied zwischen den Hypostasen).

Aus dieser Unterscheidung zwischen dem λόγος τῆς φύσεως, und dem λόγος τῆς ὑποστάσεως resultiert hingegen gemäß Bekkos und Melitiniotes eine Trennung zwischen Usia und Hypostase, die in der Überlieferung nicht bezeugt ist. Wenn die Usia von der Hypostase nicht abzutrennen ist, warum ist dann die Behauptung, dass der Hl. Geist aus der Usia und auch aus der Hypostase des Sohnes sei, nicht stichhaltig?

Kyprios fühlt sich also schon am Anfang der Schrift herausgefordert, sich mit dieser subtilen Frage auseinanderzusetzen und eine überzeugende Antwort zu liefern. Zuerst macht Kyprios dem Leser auf das trinitarische Dogma aufmerksam. Was im Glauben verehrt wird, ist eine Einzigkeit (μονάδα) in Dreiheit (ἐν Τριάδι) aufgrund der Identität und Gleichwertigkeit der Natur, der Einheit der Usia, der Identität, hinsichtlich der Bewegung, der Macht, der Wirkung, und aufgrund der in absoluter Übereinstimmung mit sich selbst befindenen Einzigkeit.[19] Vielmehr das, was verehrungswürdig ist, ist das erste Eine (πρῶτον ἕν) und das Eine an sich als Quelle jedes Einen und als das einzige Eine (μόνον ἕν), das in Hinsicht auf die Eigentümlichkeiten und die Hypostase als Dreiheit in Erscheinung tritt.[20] Diese Dreiheit stellt den Vater, den Sohn und den Hl. Geist dar. Der Vater ist Erzeuger (γεννήτωρ) und Hervorbringer (προβολεύς), ohne Leidenschaft und zeitlos, der Sohn ist das Gezeugte (γέννημα) und der Geist das Hervorgebrachte (πρόβλημα).[21]

Es gibt drei absolut vollkommene an sich selbst existierende Hypostasen, die auf unteilhabbare und ungetrennte Weise in der Identität der

---

17 Photius, Mystagogia 15, *PG* 101, 293AB.

18 Epistula 288, in: Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia, ed. B. Laourdas/ L.G. Westerink. Leipzig 1985, Bd. III, 117, 79–81. Dazu siehe auch P. Gemeinhardt, Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 82. Berlin 2002, 293.

19 *PG* 142, 270B.

20 *PG* 142, 270B.

21 *PG* 142, 270B.

Usia teilhabbar sind.[22] Die Drei sind ein Gott, weil es eine Gottheit gibt. Man bekennt in der seligen Natur die Einheit im Blick auf das Wesen und zugleich das Dreifache in Bezug auf die Hypostasen[23], ohne dass das Ungetrennte und Unteilbare der Usia aufgrund der Zahl der Hypostasen zerstört wird und wiederum das Dreifache der Hypostasen aufgrund dessen in Vermischung gerät.[24] Denn einerseits könnte die Usia keinen Anteil an den drei Charakteren erhalten, weil sie wahrhaft eine ist, andererseits könnten die Hypostasen aufgrund der Einheit der Usia keine Einschränkung oder Verminderung bei sich zulassen, und auf eine kleinere Zahl als der der Drei übergehen.[25]

Aus dem bisher Gesagten gewinnt man in erster Linie den Eindruck, dass Kyprios jeden sabellianischen Verdacht von einer Person, die in drei Erscheinungsweisen auftritt, in Bezug auf die Gottheit kategorisch zurückweisen beabsichtigt. Deshalb spricht er von drei Hypostasen, die hinsichtlich ihrer Besonderheit (für den Vater das Zeugen, für den Sohn das Gezeugtsein, für den Geist das Hervorgebrachtsein) unterschieden sind. Hier steht ohne Zweifel im Hintergrund das Kappadozische trinitarische Modell. Diesem Modell gemäß besteht die Selbigkeit und Einheit der drei Hypostasen in ihrer Substanz (οὐσία), welche das Gemeinsame in der Gottheit darstellt.[26] Zweitens wird die Unterscheidung zwischen Eigenschaften des Wesens, wie z. B. Macht, Bewegung, Wirkung und Eigenschaften, die einer einzelnen Person ausschließlich (Zeugung, Hervorgang) zuzuweisen sind, angedeutet. Dieses Element ist wiederum auf die Kappadozische Trinitätstheologie zurückzuführen. Dieser Theologie gemäß sind die sogenannten hyposta-

---

22 *PG* 142, 270B.

23 *PG* 142, 270C.

24 *PG* 142, 270C: μήτε τῷ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμῷ ἀτόμῳ καὶ ἀμερεὶ τῆς οὐσίας λυμαινομένους, μήτ᾽ αὖ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν ὑποστάσεων τριαδικὸν συγχέοντας.

25 *PG* 142, 270C: Καὶ γὰρ οὔτε συμμερίζοιτο ἂν τοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν ἡ ἀνωτάτω οὐσία, ἀληθῶς μία καὶ κυρίως ὑπάρχουσα, οὔτε μὴν αἱ ὑποστάσεις διὰ τὸ ἓν τῆς οὐσίας συστολὴν δεχόμεναι, εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττονα τῶν τριῶν ἀναχωροῖεν.

26 Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Ad Graecos (Ex communibus notionibus), ed. F. Mueller, Leiden 1958 (*GNO* I 21, 7–10. 17–18): καίπερ ἐνούσιον εἰδότες τῶν προσώπων ἕκαστον, ἕνα δικαίως καὶ ἀκολούθως φαμὲν θεόν, εἰ καὶ τῶν προσώπων ἕκαστον θεὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας. …ἔστι δὲ ταυτότης τῶν προσώπων κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· μονὰς ἄρα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. (Obwohl wir sehr wohl wissen, dass jede einzelne Person ihre eigene Substanz besitzt, bekennen wir folglich und mit Recht einen Gott, selbst wenn wir glauben, dass jede einzelne Person aufgrund der Gemeinsamkeit der Substanz Gott ist … Es besteht Selbigkeit der Personen hinsichtlich ihrer Substanz, also besteht ihre Einheit hinsichtlich ihrer Substanz). Vgl. auch Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or. 39, 11 (*SC* 358, 170,12–172,21 Moreschini).

tischen Eigentümlichkeiten absolut unübertragbar-unkommunizierbar (ἀκοινώνητα)[27]. Werden die Besonderheiten der Personen nicht bewahrt, kommt es zur Vermischung der Gottheit.[28]

Der Anschluss an die kappadozische Trinitätslehre ist wiederum (in einem dritten Fall) an der Bezeichnung der Hypostasen als Eigenschaften (ἰδιότητες) erkennbar. Diese Bezeichnung ist vor allem bei Gregor von Nazianz häufig bezeugt.[29] Das soll aber keineswegs zu der Abwegigkeit (wie bei den Gegnern des Kyprios der Fall ist)[30] führen, dass die Namen der göttlichen Hypostasen und nicht ihre Besonderheiten, welche auf verschiedene Existenzweisen verweisen, als Hauptkriterium für die Unterscheidung (διάκρισις) innerhalb der Trinität anzusetzen sind. Die Verlagerung des Schwerpunkts von der ἀγεννησία, γέννησις und ἐκπορεύσις auf die Namen der göttlichen Hypostasen findet keine Begründung (in dem Sinn, wie die Filioquisten meinen) bei den Vätern. So heißt es bei Gregor von Nazianz: ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν ἡ ἀγεννήσια, Υἱοῦ δὲ ἡ γέννησις, πνεύματος δὲ ἡ ἔκπεμψις (Eigenschaft des Vaters ist das Ungezeugtsein, des Sohnes das Gezeugtsein, des Geistes dagegen das Ausgesandtsein).[31]

Ein weiteres viertes Element, das nicht außer Acht gelassen werden dürfte, ist das Festhalten des Kyprios an der neunizänischen Vorstellung der unvermischten Einheit (ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις), welche Dreiheit und Einheit in Gott im Gegensatz zu Sabellius, der die Eigentümlichkeiten der Hypostasen vermengt, und zu Arius, der sie auseinanderreißt,[32]

---

27 Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Contra Eunonium I 277 (*GNO* I, 107, 17–22 Jaeger): ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ τελειότητι καὶ ἐν ἀκαταλήπτῳ τῇ ὑπεροχῇ θεωρουμένη, τοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσιν ἑκάστῃ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιώμασιν ἀσύγχυτον καὶ διακεκριμένην τὴν διαφορὰν ἔχει, ἐν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὸ ἄκτιστον κοινωνίᾳ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον ἔχουσα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξαιρέτοις τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἑκάστου τὸ ἀκοινώνητον.

28 Vgl. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or. 31,29 (*SC* 250, 332, 8–11 Gallay): Τί δὲ οὐ προσαγορεύεται ὧν θεός, πλὴν ἀγεννησίας καὶ γεννήσεως; Ἔδει γὰρ τάς ἰδιότητας μεῖναι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ἵνα μὴ σύγχυσις ᾖ παρὰ θεότητι, τῇ καὶ τἄλλα εἰς τάξιν ἀγούσῃ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν.

29 Vgl. *Or* 31,28 (*SC* 250, 330, 3 Gallay). Vgl. auch: De dogmate et constitutione episcoporum, *PG* 35, 1072,2; In sancta Lumina, *PG* 36, 345,41.

30 Vgl. Joh. Bekkos, Ad Theodorum Sugdeae, 2,7, *PG* 141, 320CD ; De unione ecclesiarum, 15, *PG* 141, 51B–D.

31 Or. 25,16 (*SC* 284, 198, 28–30 Mossay). Vgl. auch Or. 31,8 (*SC* 250, 290, 16–18 Gallay). Vgl. auch Cyrillus Alexandrinus, De Trinitate 9, *PG* 77, 1140D: τῆς ἀγεννησίας, καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως· ἐν ταύταις γὰρ μόναις ταῖς ὑποστατικαῖς ἰδιότησι διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων αἱ ἁγίαι τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις.

32 Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Contra Eunonium I 499 (*GNO* I, 270, 20–27 Jaeger): ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα τῶν αἱρέσεων παρατροπῆς ὁ τῆς πίστεως καθαρεύοι λόγος, μήτε τοῦ Σαβελλίου χώραν ἔχοντος εἰς σύγχυσιν ἄγειν

kompatibel miteinander denkt. Das Dreifache der Hypostasen verursacht keine Spaltung oder Teilung der Substanz.[33] Anders gesagt: Die διάκρισις der Hypostasen beschädigt nicht das ἀσυγχύτως, der Substanz nach vereinigt (κοινωνεῖν), der Hypostase nach unterschieden (διαιρεῖν). Das Einheitliche wiederum der Substanz führt nicht zu einer Zusammenschüttung oder Vermengung der Drei.[34]

Wenn also das Einheitliche der Usia nicht auf die Hypostasen zu übertragen ist und wenn wiederum das Dreifache der Hypostasen nicht dem Wesen zuzuweisen ist, da die Zahl „drei" nicht als eine konventionelle Zahl zu denken ist, die auf drei getrennte Teile oder Einheiten hinweist, dann ist es völlig annehmbar zu sagen, dass der Hl. Geist auch aus dem Wesen des Sohnes, wie aus dem des Vaters ist.[35] Denn dieses ist eines und kann nie eine Teilung-Dihairese in sich aufnehmen. Hätte es bei sich eine Teilung zugelassen, dann könnte auf keinen Fall der Begriff des Einen in ihm gewahrt bleiben. Damit der Begriff des Einen nicht aufgehoben wird, gibt es keine Dihairese, keine Vielheit, keinen Unterschied.[36] Wenn also das Wesen absolut eines und unteilbar ist, dann ist es legitim zu behaupten, dass der Hl. Geist, von dem man bekennt, er sei aus dem Wesen des Vaters, auch aus dem Wesen des Sohnes existiert.[37] Dieses aber dürfte uns auf keinen Fall zu der Schlussfolgerung verführen, dass der Geist aus der Hypostase des Sohnes ist, selbst wenn von ihm (dem Geist) gesagt wird, dass er aus der Hypostase und aus dem Wesen des Vaters ist.[38] Man kann also nach dem syllogistischen

---

τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητα, φανερῶς τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διακρίναντος ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν „Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν", μήτε τοῦ Ἀρείου τὸ ξένον τῆς φύσεως κατασκευάζειν ἰσχύοντος, τῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἑνότητος οὐ προσιεμένης τὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαίρεσιν. Ebenso vgl. Contra Eunonium II 38/39 (237, 18–21) und III/8 23 (*GNO* II, 247, 8–10).

33 Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Contra Eunonium I 503 (*GNO* I, 172, 1–3 Jaeger): … ἀλλὰ φυλλάσσοντες μὲν διῃρημένην τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητα, οὐ συνδιαιροῦντες δὲ τοῖς προσώποις τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ἑνότητα.

34 Vgl. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or. 21,13 (*SC* 258, 136, 16 Mossay/Lafontaine): οὔτε τῷ ἑνὶ συγχέας, οὔτε τοῖς τρισὶ διαστήσας.

35 *PG* 142, 270C: Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω, παντί που δῆλον ὡς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας λεγόμενον τοῦ Πατρός, καλῶς ἂν ἔχῃ καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεσθαι.

36 *PG* 142, 270CD: Μία γάρ, καὶ ὡς οὐσία οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ποτὲ διαίρεσιν δέχοιτο. Εἰ δὲ δέχοιτο, καὶ πληθύνοιτο, καὶ πῶς ἄρα τὸ ἓν αὐτῇ κατὰ πάντα λόγον καὶ τρόπον σωθήσεται; Ἵν' οὖν μὴ ἀναιρῆται τὸ ἕν, διαίρεσις οὐδεμία κατ' οὐσίαν, οὐδὲ διαφορά, οὐδέ πλῆθος.

37 *PG* 142, 270D–271 A: Διότι δὲ μία (scil. ἡ οὐσία), τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ὁμολογούμενον τοῦ Πατρὸς Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπάρχουν ὁμολογεῖται.

38 *PG* 142, 271A: Πλὴν οὐ διὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑποστάσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας λέγηται τοῦ Πατρός.

Vorgehen des Kyprios auf die Existenz des Geistes aus dem Wesen des Sohnes, aber nicht aus seiner Hypostase schließen. Für eine solche Feststellung liefert uns Kyprios eine dreifache Begründung: Erstens kann man nicht sagen, dass der Geist aus der Hypostase des Sohnes ist, da die väterliche Hypostase die ursprüngliche (πηγαία θεότης),[39] die einzige gotterzeugende Gottheit (θεογόνος θεότης), die einzige Quelle der ganzen Gottheit ist, welche das Ursachesein im vollkommenen Maße besitzt.[40] Indem Sohn und Geist beide aus dieser einzigen Quelle, der Eine durch Zeugung, der andere durch Hervorgehen ihre Existenz erlangen, sind beide desselben Wesens (ὁμοουσία) mit dem Vater und miteinander.[41] Beide besitzen ein und denselben Bestimmungsgrund des Seins,[42] weil beide dem Vater als einem natürlichen Grund und Ursprung wesensmäßig entstammen.[43] Aus dem Gedankengang des Kyprios ergeben sich bis zu diesem Punkt folgende Beobachtungen, die man nicht außer Acht lassen darf:

a) Die Hypostase des Vaters wird als die einzige Quelle der Gottheit hervorgehoben. Dabei läßt sich ein unerschütterliches Festhalten des Kyprios an der voraufgehenden Tradition der Kirchenväter, welche mit aller Deutlichkeit und Konsequenz die Alleinursprünglichkeit[44] des

---

39 *PG* 142, 271A.

40 *PG* 142, 271B: μόνη πηγὴ τῆς ὅλης θεότητος καὶ θεογόνος θεότης ἡ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπόστασις κηρύττηται παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπίσης τῷ Υἱῷ πεπλούτηκεν αἴτιον. Die Bezeichnung des Vaters als Quelle (πηγή), Ursprungs (ἀρχή), Wurzel (ῥίζα) [271 A] lässt sich von entsprechenden plotinischen Ausdrücken zur Aufzeigung des Einen als des einzigen Urgrundes, dem alles entstammt, besser verstehen. Vgl. Plotinus, Enneades III 8, 10 (4. 10–11 Henry/Schwyzer).

41 *PG* 142, 271A: τὰ δ' ἐκεῖθεν (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός) ἔχοντα τὸ εἶναι, ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς κατὰ γέννησιν, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα κατ' ἐκπόρευσιν. Διὰ τὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅπερ ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἕνα λόγον ἔχειν τοῦ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας λέγονται τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ὁμοούσια τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἀλλήλοις.

42 S. oben Fußnote 41.

43 *PG* 142, 271 A: τῷ μὲν Πατρὶ ὅτι οὐσιωδῶς ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἐκ φυσικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας, ἀλλήλοις δέ, ὅτι, τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ταυτὰ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ταυτά.

44 Vgl. Basilius, Homilia Contra Sabellianos, PG 31, 609B: ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ, τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνενδεές, ρίζα καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος; ep. 125, 3 (II 34, 29–30 Courtonne); Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or 29, 2 (*SC* 250, 178, 6–7 Gallay): ἡμῖν δὲ μοναρχία τὸ τιμώμενον; Or 34, 10 (SC 318, 216, 13–14 Moreschini): πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστι, πλὴν τῆς αἰτίας; Or 42, 15 (*SC* 384, 82, 17–18 Bernardi): ἕνωσις δὲ ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἀνάγεται τὰ ἑξῆς; Gregorius Nyssenus, Ad Graecos (*GNO* III/1, 25, 4–8 Mueller): «ἓν γὰρ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ αὐτό, τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται·· διὸ δὴ καὶ κυρίως τὸν ἕνα αἴτιον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν ἕνα θεόν φαμεν τεθαρρηκότως»; Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis nominibus. II, 5 (*PTS* 33, 128, 11–12 Suchla): μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου

Vaters als konstitutives Element des trinitarischen Dogmas verteidigt hat, erkennen. Die Hervorhebung des Vaters zum einzigen Urgrund dient dazu, den höchstmöglichen Einheitsgrad innerhalb der Trinität sicherzustellen. Der Vater stellt den Bezugspunkt, in dem sich die beiden Verursachten vereinigen, dar.[45] Wäre die gemeinsame Usia der Bezugs-Vereinigungspunkt der drei Hypostasen, dann wäre sie als ein viertes Element[46] in der Gottheit, d.h. als eine „deutera Usia" im aristotelischen Sinne gedacht.

Des Weiteren hat die Betrachtung der Person des Vaters als eines absoluten grundlosen Urgrundes und seine Erhebung zum Einheits- und zugleich Unterscheidungsträgers in der Trinität feste Grundlagen im antiken (neuplatonischen) Denken: Der absolute Ursprung ist der Auffassung Plotins nach an sich der Grund jeder Vielheit. Es muss einen unbegründeten, von seinem Prinzipiierten unabhängigen Ursprung geben, auf den alles Begründete zurückzuführen ist. Die henologische Reduktion treibt das Denken zu einer ursprünglichen Einheit, die allem enthoben ist: Διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀναγωγὴ πανταχοῦ ἐφ' ἕν. Καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου μέν τι ἕν, εἰς ὃ ἀνάξεις, καὶ τόδε πᾶν εἰς ἓν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἕν, ἕως τις

---

θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ; Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Thesaurus 15, *PG* 75, 277B ; ebd. 9, 112AB: κἂν ἔχῃ τινὰ διαφορὰν ὁ Υἱὸς ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα, καθ' ἣν ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ ἀρχή ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς …; ebd. 11, 141D: … μείζονα αὐτόν (scil. τὸν Πατέρα) φησιν ὡς ἄναρχον, ἔχων ἀρχὴν κατὰ μόνον τὸ ἐξ οὗ…. Im Hinblick auf den Hl. Geist siehe außerdem: Thesaurus 34, *PG* 75, 577B; 580C; 589AB, 596B, 600BC, 617B. An allen diesen Stellen wird dem Vater das Ursprungsein auch für den Geist zuerkannt. Obwohl bei Kyrill keine ausdrückliche Aussage über die Monarchie des Vaters zu finden ist, hält er trotzdem den Vater für die einzige Quelle in der Gottheit, für den grundlosen Grund. Vgl. auch Joh. Dam., *Expositio Fidei* I, 8 (*PTS* 12, 19, 30–31 Kotter): εἰς ἕνα Πατέρα τὴν πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν, οὐκ ἔκ τινος γεννηθέντα, ἀναίτιον δὲ καὶ ἀγέννητον μόνο ὑπάρχοντα; ebd. (30, 274–275): εἷς Πατὴρ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ἄναρχος, τουτέστιν ἀναίτιος· οὐ γὰρ ἔκ τινος; ebd. I, 12b (36, 57): μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ Πατήρ.

45 Vgl. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or. 42, 15 (*SC* 384, 82, 17–18 Bernardi). S. oben Fußnote 44. Vgl. auch Or. 29, 2 (*SC* 250, 178, 9–11Gallay): ἀλλ' ἣν φύσεως ὁμοτιμία συνίστησι, καὶ γνώμης σύμπνοια, καὶ ταὐτότης κινήσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἓν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ σύννευσις. Ebenso vgl. auch bei Gregor Palamas, *Logos Apodeiktikos A'* 37 (über den Ausgang des Hl. Geistes), [Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράματα I–V, ed. P. Chrestu/B. Bobrinskoy, Thessalonike 1988, 68, 24–25]: Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅτι μία φύσις εἷς θεός, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἓν πρόσωπον τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς ἓν αἴτιον καὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναφέρεται. (Es gibt einen Gott, nicht nur weil die Natur eine einzige ist, sondern auch weil die von Ihm Hervorgebrachten auf eine Person ihren Bezug nehmen und weil die einem Ursprung Entstammten auf ein Verursachendes und einen Ursprung zurückzuführen sind).

46 Das Wort „Element" wird im uneigentlichen Sinne verwendet.

ἐπὶ τὸ ἁπλῶς ἓν ἔλθῃ· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπ' ἄλλο.[47] (Darum führt der Rückgang überall auf eines. Und bei einem jeden gibt es eines, worauf du es zurückführen kannst, und dieses Ganze auf das eine vor ihm, das nicht schlechthin eines ist, bis man zu dem schlechthin Einen kommt – dieses aber ist auf kein anderes mehr rückführbar).

Diese ursprüngliche Einheit, von der jede Vielheit abkünftig ist und die man allein für sich selbst nehmen muss,[48] ist durch Teillosigkeit (ἀμερές, ἀμέριστον)[49] gekennzeichnet, was wiederum auf das durchaus Vielheitslose, absolut Einfache verweist.[50] Nur durch Ihre absolute Einfachheit kann die ursprüngliche Einheit eine Arché, d. h. Grund jeder Unterscheidung sein. Das lässt sich an der antiken Auffassung über den Begriff der Zahl deutlich erkennen. Die Zahl Eins wird als quantitätslos betrachtet. Die Eins als unteilbare Einheit ist nicht die quantitative, sondern die formale Bedingung der Zahlen. Die unteilbare Einheit erscheint nicht als Zahl, sondern als Konstitutivum der Zahl.[51] Eins und Zahl verhalten sich wie Prinzip und Prinzipiiertes zueinander.[52] So ist auch nach Pseudo-Dionysius die Einheit der Grund jeder Zweiheit, während die Zweiheit keinen Grund darstellen kann.[53]

Dieses strikte vielheitslose Einheitsverständnis scheint auf die spätere byzantinische Theologie wesentlich und fruchtbar eingewirkt zu haben. In der palamitischen Theologie wird der Vorrang des Vaters als Quelle und gotterzeugende Gottheit sehr deutlich zum Ausdruck ge-

---

47 Plotin, *Enn.* III 8, 10 (*PO* I, 375, 20–23 HENRY/SHWYZER). Übers. nach G. HUBER, Das Sein und das Absolute. Studien zur Geschichte der ontologichen Problematik in der spätantiken Philosophie. Basel 1955, 54.

48 Vgl. Enneades V 6, 3 (*PO* II, 259, 2–4 HENRY/SHWYZER): οὐ δύναται γὰρ πολλὰ μὴ ἑνὸς ὄντος, ἀφ' οὗ ἢ ἐν ᾧ, ἢ ὅλως ἑνὸς καὶ τούτου πρώτου τῶν ἄλλων ἀριθμουμένου, ὃ αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δεῖ λαβεῖν μόνον. (Denn Vieles kann nicht sein, wenn es nicht Eines gibt, von dem her oder in dem es ist, oder wenn es nicht überhaupt Eines gibt, und dies im Vergleich zu den anderen als Erstes gezählt wird, das man für sich selbst nehmen muß. Übers. Nach C. HORN, Plotin über Sein, Zahl und Einheit. Eine Studie zu den systematischen Grundlagen der Enneaden. *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*, 62. Stuttgart 1995, 291.

49 Vgl. Enneades VI 9, 2 (*PO* III, 273, 21 HENRY/SHWYZER).

50 Vgl. Enneades V 3, 16 (PO III, 230, 13–16 HENRY/SHWYZER): εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ (sc.τὸ Ἓν) πολύ, οὐκ ἀρχὴ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἄλλο πρὸ τούτου. Συστῆναι οὖν δεῖ εἰς ἓν ὄντως παντὸς πλήθους ἔξω καὶ ἁπλότητος ἡστινοσοῦν, εἴπερ ὄντως ἁπλοῦν.

51 Vgl. Aristoteles, Physik Δ 12, 220b 21 f. Dazu siehe HORN, Plotin über Sein (wie oben Fußnote 48) 291.

52 Vgl. HORN ebd. 291 mit Berufung auf Euklid, Elementa VII 1; II 103 HEIBERG: Μονάς ἐστιν, καθ' ἣν ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἓν λέγεται…ἀριθμός δὲ τὸ ἐκ μονάδων συγκείμενον πλῆθος.

53 Vgl. De divinis nominibus IV 21 (*PTS* 33, 168, 22 SUCHLA).

bracht. Es gibt einen einzigen Grund, auf den die zwei Prinzipiate ihren Rückbezug nehmen. Denn die Einheit wird weder von der Zweiheit hervorgebracht, noch ist auf sie zurückzuführen.[54]

b) Zeugung und Hervorgang werden als zwei verschiedene Existenzweisen betrachtet, die auf deutliche Weise den beiden Verursachten Sohn und Geist entsprechend zuzuweisen sind.

c) Zeugung und Hervorgang werden zudem auch als gleichwertig betrachtet, damit Sohn und Geist denselben Bestimmungsgrund des Seins erlangen.

d) Die Wesenseinheit innerhalb der Gottheit ist in der Hypostase des Vaters und nicht in der gemeinsamen Usia gegründet. Die Betrachtung des Vaters als des Einheitsträgers in der Trinität wird deutlich in der Mystagogie des Photius mit dem Grundsatz hervorgehoben: „der Geist ist ja wesenseins (mit dem Vater), weil er (von ihm) ausgeht, und nicht umgekehrt ist er ausgegangen, weil er wesenseins ist".[55]

e) Da Sohn und Geist beide mit dem Vater desselben Wesens sind, weil sie ihm als dem einzigen Urgrund entstammen, sind sie auch miteinander wesenseins. Dieses ergibt sich auch nach dem logischem Prinzip, wonach zwei Dinge, welche mit einem Dritten identisch sind, auch miteinander identisch sind.[56]

Wenn also der Geist mit dem Sohn wesenseins ist, weil beide mit dem Vater desselben sind, und wenn die Usia des Vaters mit der des Sohnes identisch ist, und vom Geist gesagt wird, er sei aus der Usia des Vaters, dann könnte man behaupten, dass der Geist auch aus der Usia des Sohnes sei. Diese Behauptung ist aber nach Kyprios ausschließlich im Rahmen des Wesenseinen (ὁμοούσιον) gültig. In Hinsicht auf die Hypostase ist eine entsprechende Behauptung nicht annehmbar. Der Geist könnte auch aus der Hypostase des Sohnes sein, wenn diese mit der des Vaters zahlenmäßig zusammenfiel, wie es bei ihrem Wesen der Fall ist.[57] Das ist aber gerade hier nicht der Fall. Hier handelt es sich um zwei strikt voneinander unterschiedene Hypostasen, an denen das Zweifache (δυαδικόν) erschaut wird. Was aber an der Hypostase zu beobachten ist,

54 Vgl. Logos Apodeiktikos Αʹ, 20 (I, 48, 24–25 Chrestu/Bobrinsky): οὐκ ἐκ τῆς δυάδος προάγεται τὸ ἕν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν δυάδα ἀναφέρεται. Palamas beruft sich in dem Zusammenhang auf Pseudo-Dionysius, De divinis nominibus II 5 (*PTS* 33, 128, 10–13 Suchla).

55 Photius, Mystagogia 91, *PG* 102, 385B: καὶ γὰρ ὁμοούσιον, διότι ἐκπορεύεται, οὐ διότι δὲ ὁμοούσιον, ἐκπορευτόν.

56 *PG* 142, 271 A. S. oben Fußnote 41.

57 *PG* 142, 271B: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἑνίζεσθαι καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἦν ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

wird nicht in der Gesamtheit der Natur erschaut; das aber, was innerhalb der Natur vorhanden ist, existiert zwangsläufig in allen drei Hypostasen.[58]

Die dritte Begründung, die Kyprios bei seiner Argumentation ins Feld führt, bezieht sich auf die logische Frage, ob es sich gebührt, da der Geist aus dem Vater ist, und da die Usia des Vaters und des Sohnes eine ist, aus diesem Grund den Geist auch als etwas dem Sohn Entstammendes zu denken?[59] Bei seiner Stellungnahme zu dieser Frage gibt Kyprios die folgende Erklärung: Es ist eine logische Notwendigkeit, dass man den Geist als etwas auch aus der Usia des Sohnes Herkommendes anerkennt, weil diese mit der des Vaters eine ist; es ist hingegen nicht logisch notwendig, den Geist als etwas aus der Hypostase des Sohnes Ausgehendes zu denken, weil seine Hypostase mit der des Vaters nicht eine (μὴ μία) ist.[60] Denn eines ist die Hypostase des Vaters und ein anderes ist die des Sohnes; und das Ursachesein in Bezug auf den Sohn und den Geist gehört als Eigenschaft nur der väterlichen Hypostase.[61] Diese sei die gotterzeugende ursprüngliche und die einzige Quelle der ganzen Gottheit, welche als absolut vollkommen die zwei anderen Hypostasen hervorbringt und die sich als Grund ihrer Wesenseinheit mit ihr und miteinander erweist.[62]

Würde man zu diesem Punkt die axiomatische Behauptung ἅπασα οὐσία ἐνυπόστατός ἐστι, καὶ ὑπόστασις πᾶσα ἐνούσιος[63] (jede Usia existiert in ihrer eigenen Hypostase und jede Hypostase besitzt ihre eigene Usia) als künstlichen Einwand erheben, dann würde es zum einem Durcheinander bei den innertrinitarischen Verhältnissen führen. Wie das? Man sagt ja nicht, weil es drei Hypostasen gibt, bestehen

---

58 *PG* 142, 271BC: καὶ τὸ τῇ ὑποστάσει… ἐνθεωρούμενον ἥκισταν χώραν ἔχει καὶ τῇ ὅλῃ φύσει ἐνθεωρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ αὖ τὸ ἐνυπάρχον τῇ κοινῇ φύσει, τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν ἐνυπάρχειν ἀνάγκη.

59 *PG* 142 271C: ποῦ προσῆκον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα, μία δὲ οὐσία Πατρός τε καί Υἱοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁμολογεῖσθαι αὐτό;

60 *PG* 142, 271C: ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὅτι μία ἐστὶ τῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνάγκη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὅτι μὴ μία οὐκ ἀνάγκη.

61 *PG* 142, 271C: ἄλλη γὰρ ὑπόστασις ἡ πατρική, ἄλλη δὲ ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τὸ αἰτίαν εἶναι Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος τῆς πατρικῆς ἐστιν ὑποστάσεως…

62 *PG* 142, 271CD: ὅθεν καὶ θεογόνος θεότης καὶ πηγαία θεότης, καὶ μόνη πηγὴ τῆς ὅλης θεότητος … ὀνομάζεται (scil. ὁ Πατήρ). Καὶ γεννᾷ δὴ καὶ προβάλλει, ἐξ' ἑαυτῆς τελεία οὖσα καὶ ὑπερπλήρης, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τελείας ὑποστάσεις ὑπερπλήρεις, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστηκυίας τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὁμοουσίους καὶ ὁμοφυεῖς ἑαυτῆς, ἐπειδὴ ὃ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγος τοῦ εἶναι ἥκει διὰ τῶν τριῶν.

63 *PG* 142, 271D.

darum auch drei Wesenheiten-Usiae. Und wiederum sagt man nicht, weil es eine Usia gibt, gibt es auch nur eine Hypostase. Die Übertragung der Zahl der Hypostasen auf die Usia und umgekehrt die Übertragung des Einheitlichen der Usia auf die Hypostasen[64] zerreißt die Dreifaltigkeit und die in ihr innewohnende Symmetrie.

Um diesen Gedanken des Kyprios zu erläutern, könnte man folgende Vermutung anstellen: Nimmt man das Axiom ἅπασα οὐσία ἐνυπόστατός ἐστι, καὶ ὑπόστασις πᾶσα ἐνούσιος zur Begründung eines hypostatischen Hervorgangs des Geistes auch aus dem Sohn an, muss man an diesem Axiom konsequent festhalten. D. h., die Hypostase des Sohnes bringt auch den Geist hervor, und da vom Geist gesagt wird, er sei aus der Usia des Sohnes, welche in ihrer eigenen Hypostase besteht (d. h. enhypostatisch ist), darum sollte die Hypostase des Geistes gemäß diesem Axiom auch den Sohn oder eine andere, vierte Hypostase hervorbringen, sofern sie im vollkommenen Besitz des einen gemeinsamen Wesens gleichwertig mit den zwei anderen Personen ist. Kommt dem Sohn die Eigenschaft auch des Hervorbringens aufgrund seiner Wesenseinheit mit dem Vater zu, warum soll dann der Hl. Geist der Eigenschaften des Erzeugens und des Hervorbringens beraubt sein, da er an derselben Wesenseinheit teilhaftig ist?[65] Eine solche plausible Fragestellung stellt sich, wenn man aus dem (Ausdruck) „aus der Usia des Sohnes das (auch) aus seiner Hypostase" erschließt. Der Hl. Geist gehe also nach Kyprios wesensmäßig aus dem Vater hervor, aus seiner Usia existierend. Da nun die Usia des Vaters keine andere als die des Sohnes, sondern ein und dieselbe sei, einzig aus diesem Grund erkennt man notwendigerweise, dass der Hl. Geist auch aus der Usia des Sohnes sei.[66] Kein stichhaltiges Argument könnte uns überzeugen, einen hypostatischen Hervorgang des Geistes aus dem Sohn anzunehmen, insofern es uns keinen Beweis erbringt, dass Usia und Hypostase ein und dasselbe sind und dass alles, was in den Hypostasen vorhanden ist, in der gesamten

---

64 *PG* 142, 271D–272 A: …ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τρεῖς οὐσίας λεκτέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ, ὅτι καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις· μηδὲ πάλιν μίαν ὑπόστασιν, ὅτι καὶ μία οὐσία, τὸ γὰρ μεταφέρειν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποστάσεις τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἑνιαῖον μετάγον, πρὸς τῷ σοφίσματι ἐοικέναι, οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ Σαβελλίου ἐκφύγοι δόξαν ποτέ …

65 Eine solche Frage stellt Photius in seiner Mystagogie, Par. 3 und 46, *PG* 281B–284 A; 324B–325 A.

66 *PG* 142, 272B: Φαμὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχον αὐτοῦ. Ὅτι δὲ πάλιν οὐχ ἑτέρα οὐσία Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, μία δὲ καὶ ἡ αὐτή, ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα.

Natur notwendig existieren muss.[67] Immerhin ist noch zu berücksichtigen: wenn man von (jemandem) sagt, er entstamme der Usia irgendeines (anderen), dann sagt man damit keineswegs, er rühre auch aus dessen Hypostase, dessen Usia er, wie behauptet, entstammt.[68] Als kennzeichnendes Beispiel zur Begründung einer solchen Ansicht (und damit schließt Kyprios seinen Gedankengang ab) gilt Christus. Denn das Menschliche in ihm ist wesenseins mit allen Menschen und unseres Wesens, entstammt unserer Usia und Natur, seine Existenz aber erlangt er, wie es heißt, nicht aus der Hypostase eines jeden von uns, sondern aus der jungfräulichen Mutter, von der er auch das uns gleiche Wesen empfing.[69]

Kyprios setzt seinen Gedankengang weiter fort, indem er Bezug auf Kyrill von Alexandrien nimmt. Der Bezug auf die Kirchenväter und besonders auf Kyrill ist unausweichlich, da die Anhänger des Filioque anhand von seinen Zitaten aus dieser Litetratur nachzuweisen versuchten, dass der Hl. Geist auch aus dem Sohn hervorgeht.[70] Kyrill sei nach dem Anspruch der Filioquisten ein starker Bundesgenosse zugunsten ihrer Ansichten, wenn er sagt: „Der Hl. Geist ist dem Wesen des Sohnes eigen und hat seine Existenz in ihm (dem Sohn) und nicht von außen her und existiert wesensmäßig aus ihm und bekommt alle seine Kraft und Wirkung aus dem Wesen des Sohnes, indem er sich aus beiden, d.h. aus dem Vater durch den Sohn ergießt“.[71]

---

67 *PG* 142, 272B: Ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, οὐδείς ποτε λόγος ὁμολογεῖν ἀναπείσειεν, ἕως ἂν μὴ δεικνύῃ οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν ἕν τι κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὄντα, μηδὲ τὰ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν ἐνυπάρχοντα, ταῦτα καὶ κοινῇ τῇ ὅλῃ τῶν ὁμοουσίων ἐνυπάρχει φύσει…

68 *PG* 142, 272C: … τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τινὸς λεγόμενον μὴ πάντως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, οὗπερ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι λέγεται, λέγεσθαι.

69 *PG* 142, 272C: Καὶ ὁ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπος ὁμοούσιος μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως εἶναι λεγόμενος, τὴν δ' ὕπαρξιν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἡμῶν ἑκάστου, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Παρθένου μητρὸς ὑπάρχων, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνελάβετο.

70 *PG* 142, 272C: Τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις, φησί, (sc. die Gegner) Κύριλλον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως προβάλλονται μάρτυρα.

71 *PG* 142, 272CD: διὸ καὶ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστι σύμμαχος ἐκεῖνα λέγων, ἴδιον τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔξωθεν ὑποστατὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φυσικῶς ὑπάρχον, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχον, οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἤτοι ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον. Vgl. Sancti Patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis Evangelium, ed. P.E. Pusey. Oxford 1872 ([2]1965), I 136, 22; 692, 14; Athanasius, Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate, *PG* 75, 596C. 609 A; ebd. 34, *PG* 75, 585 A: … πρόεισι δὲ καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, πρόδηλον ὅτι τῆς θείας ἐστίν οὐσίας, οὐσιωδῶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς προϊόν; Vgl. auch *De adoratione in Spiritu et*

Auf das von den Gegnern ins Feld geführte Zitat aus Kyrill antwortet Kyprios nicht direkt, sondern verlagert den Schwerpunkt auf die Unterscheidung zwischen Theologia und Oikonomia und auf die Verschiedenheit der beiden Existenzweisen, d.h. der Zeugung und des Hervorgangs. Während nach dem gemeinsamen Glauben der Kirche alle Seienden auf geschöpfliche Weise (δημιουργικῶς) ins Sein gerufen sind, erlangen hingegen Sohn und Geist ihre Existenz auf eine ganz andere Weise, d.h. der eine durch Zeugung (γεννητῶς), der andere durch Hervorgang (ἐκπορευτῶς); und so sind sie wesensmäßig im Besitz von alldem, was der Vater hat. Aus diesem Grund sagt man, dass beide der Usia des Vaters entstammen.[72] Dies stiftet ein gemeinsames Merkmal für Sohn und Geist: Beide entstammen dem Vater als einem natürlichen Grund und Ursprung und damit beide nicht in eins zusammenfallen, muss das eine dem anderen (in einer logischen Anordnungs-Reihe) folgen.[73] Entweder kommt zuerst das Gezeugtwerden und der Sohn ist das Gezeugte; oder es kommt zuerst das Hervorgehenlassen und der Geist ist das Hervorgegangene.[74] Nun, das wovon man sagt, er werde weder vom Vater gezeugt noch dass er von ihm ausgehe, könne weder die Existenz von ihm erlangen noch ihn als natürlichen Grund und Ursprung im Überfluß haben.[75] Die Tatsache, dass Sohn und Geist durch Zeugung und Hervorgang entsprechend wesensmäßig dem Vater entstammen, macht sie miteinander wesenseins.[76] Kyprios beteuert, dass Kyrill überall in seinen Abhandlungen (πανταχοῦ) die Zeugung als sein eigenes Proprium dem Sohn und den Hervorgang als

---

*veritate: PG* 68, 148 A: … εἴπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἤγουν ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον Πνεῦμα. Über Zitate bei Kyrill, welche auf den ersten Blick das Filioque zu begünstigen scheinen und deren gründliche Analyse siehe die Studie von A. Theodoru, Ἡ περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδασκαλία Κυρίλλου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἐπιφανίου Κύπρου. Athen 1974, 60–76. Dazu siehe auch S. Papadopulos, Ἅγιος Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας. Athen 2004, 112–124.

72 *PG* 142, 272D: ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ὑποστῆναι ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐδέτερον δημιουργικῶς ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευτῶς, πάντα ἔχοντα κατ' οὐσίαν ὅσα καὶ ὁ Πατήρ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄμφω ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας φαμὲν τοῦ Πατρός.

73 *PG* 142, 272D: Ὥστε καὶ ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας φυσικῆς εἶναι ὁμολογεῖται, γνώρισμα τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπάρξεως, δυοῖν τούτοιν ἀναγκαίως θάτερον ὡς ἑπόμενον ἔχει.

74 *PG* 142, 272D–273A: ἢ τὸ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ ἔστιν Υἱὸς τὸ γεννώμενον, ἢ τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἐστιν.

75 *PG* 142, 273A.

76 *PG* 142, 273A.

sein eigenes Merkmal dem Geist zuweist.[77] Diese letzte Äußerung des Kyprios wird von den Ergebnissen der modernen Forschung nicht ganz bestätigt, welche eine Ungenauigkeit in der von ihm verwendeten Terminologie[78] und eine nicht eindeutige oder einheitliche Haltung bei der Zuschreibung der hypostatischen Eigentümlichkeiten feststellt, was dem Leser den Eindruck vermittelt, dass sich bei Kyrill eine Vermischung der unterschiedlichen Idiome der göttlichen Personen aufspüren lässt.[79]

Kennzeichnende Beispiele dafür sind die folgenden Stellen:

> 1) Πιστεύομεν γάρ, ἔφασαν (sc. die Väter des Konzils von Nicäa), εἰς αὐτό, (sc. τὸ Πνεῦμα), καθάπερ ἀμέλει εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν. Ὁμοούσιον γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. Καὶ προχεῖται μέν, ἤγουν ἐκπορεύεται, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, χορηγεῖται δὲ τῇ κτίσει διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ.[80]
> 2) … προχεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Υἱοῦ) καθάπερ, ἀμέλει καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ Πατρός.[81]
> 3) Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπαράλλακτον εἰσφέρων τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν προχεόμενον Πνεῦμα.[82]

Kyrills Bestehen darauf, dem Vater allein das Hervorgehenlassen des Geistes zuzuweisen, stünde nach Kyprios dem nicht im Wege, dass Kyrill für eine enge Beziehung und Verbindung zwischen Sohn und Geist plädierte – allerdings unter dem Bestimmungsgrund der Wesenseinheit.[83] Ein doppelter Hervorgang würde nach Kyprios nicht nur eine Verletzung der Monarchie, sondern auch der Vollkommenheit der

---

77 *PG* 142, 273A: Οὐκοῦν ἴδωμεν καὶ Κύριλλον τὸν θεῖον, ποῖόν τι γνώρισμα τοῦ εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τίθησιν, οὐ πανταχοῦ τὴν γέννησιν; Τὸ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι; Vgl. Cyrillus, De Trinitate 8, *PG* 44, 1137B; ebd. 9, 1140BC.

78 Die Ansicht, dass Kyrill in manchen Formulierungen nicht akkurat ist, vertreten viele Forscher, wie A. Theodoru, Ἡ περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως (wie oben Fußnote 71) 80; M. Orphanos, The Procession of the Holy Spirit according to certain Greek Fathers. Athens 1979, 45; C. G. Berthold, Cyril of Alexandria and the Filioque. *Studi Patristici* 19 (1989) 147; Papadopulos, Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας (wie oben Fußnote 71), 115, 118.

79 Vgl. Papadopulos, ebd. 115.

80 Cyrillus, Epistula 35, *PG* 77, 316D.

81 Cyrillus, Epistula 17 ad Nestorium, *PG* 77, 117C.

82 Cyrillus, Commentarius in Ioannem 2 (I 188, 29 Pusey).

83 *PG* 142, 273C: Ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ πρὸς ἕνωσιν συνάπτεται τῷ Υἱῷ κατὰ τὸν ὁμοουσιότητος λόγον.

Hypostase des Vaters bedeuten. Gegenüber seinen Gegnern wendet er dazu Folgendes ein: Wenn sie behaupten, dass Kyrill das zur Existenz Gelangen des Geistes aus dem Vater als vollkommen betrachtet, wo gibt es dann Raum für einen zweiten Hervorbringer? Wie wird die Annahme gewahrt bleiben, dass der Geist auch dem Sohn entstammt? Und wenn auch der Eingeborene Verursacher und Ursprung des Geistes ist, wie kommt es, dass der Geist aus dem Vater vollkommen ist, und dass er vom Vater allein ausgeht, wie Kyrill sagt, und als Herr seine Stellung bewahren wird?[84] Außerdem wendet Kyprios wiederum ein: „Entweder bezeichnet ihr die Existenz des Geistes aus dem Vater als unvollkommen, die sich aber durch den Sohn vervollkommnet, oder als irgendwie überflüssig und als eine, die bei den Theologen nutzlos und umsonst überliefert ist".[85] Hier basiert der Einwand des Kyprios auf einer logischen Überlegung, welche als Hauptelement die Idee des Vollkommenen in sich enthält, und welche auf einen ähnlichen Gedanken des Photius in der Mystagogie zurückzuführen ist. Dort bezweifelt dieser die Nützlichkeit eines doppelten Hervorgangs des Geistes auch vom Sohn und stellt als Ausgangspunkt seiner Argumentation die logische Frage: Gibt es etwas Zusätzliches, das der Geist empfängt, was er nicht bereits basäße als aus vom Vater Ausgehender?[86] Wenn wir annehmen (sagt Photius), dass der Hervorgang aus dem Sohn etwas Zusätzliches zu bringen vermag, dann scheint der Hervorgang des Geistes aus dem Vater der Beifügung durch den Sohn bedürftig zu sein, und daher erweist sich die Hypostase des Vaters als unvollkommen. Bringt hingegen der Hervorgang aus dem Sohn nichts Zusätzliches, was ist dann der Sinn eines Hervorgangs, der nichts bewirken kann?[87]

---

84 *PG* 142, 273CD: Κύριλλον γὰρ αὕτη φωνή, καὶ ὑμεῖς προσμαρτυρεῖτε καὶ τελείαν Πατρόθεν ἐμφαίνειν τοῦ Παρακλήτου τὴν ὕπαρξιν λέγετε. Ποῦ λοιπὸν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόπος; Πῶς σωθήσεται τό, Ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι τῷ Πνεύματι; … Καὶ εἰ αἴτιος ὁ Μονογενὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχή, πῶς τέλειον ἐκ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὅ φησι Κύριλλος, Κύριον διαμενεῖ;

85 *PG* 142, 273D: … ἢ ἀτελῆ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὕπαρξιν τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγετε, τελειουμένην δὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ περιττήν τινα καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις εἰκαίως παρειλημμένην;

86 Photius, Mystagogia 7, *PG* 102, 288B: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Τί δήποτε προσλαμβάνον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἐκπορευόμενον τοῦ Πατρός;

87 Vgl. Mystagogia 7, *PG* 102, 288B: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τι λαβεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὃ προσείληφε, πῶς οὐχὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσλήψεως ἀτελές, ἢ πάντως γὲ μετὰ τὸ προσλαβεῖν; Εἰ δὲ μηδὲν προσείληφεν … τίς ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐδὲν παρασχεῖν δυναμένης ἐκπορεύσεως; Vgl. Ep. 291 (III 143, 124–126 Westerink): Ἄλλως τε δέ, εἰ μὲν τελεία ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν ἐκπόρευσις, τίς ἡ χρεία τῆς δευτέρας ἐκπορεύσεως, ἤδη τῆς

Der Kernpunkt der Argumentation beiden Denker liegt also in dem Begriff des Vollkommenen, dem man bereits in der Geburtsstunde der Ontologie begegnet, nämlich in der eleatischen Konzeption des autarken, sich rein selbst entsprechenden Seins.[88] Dieser Aspekt der Selbstgenügsamkeit wird stark von Plotin in Hinsicht auf das absolute Eine hervorgehoben. Diese Selbstgenügsamkeit sei das von allem vollkommen Unabhängige und so das Erste, αὐταρκέστατόν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἁπάντων.[89] Die absolute Unbedürftigkeit und Unabhängigkeit des Einen besteht nach Plotin in der Tatsache, dass das Eine für alles andere der Urgrund ist, und daher verdankt es sich selbst keinem anderem; es ist also keines anderen bedürftig.[90] Im Gegensatz zu dem absoluten Einen ist jede Vielheit zusammengesetzt d.h. auf die Anwesenheit ihrer Bestandteile angewiesen und deshalb abhängig und kontingent:[91]

> Δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἱκανώτατον ὂν ἁπάντων καὶ αὐταρκέστατον, καὶ ἀνενδεέστατον εἶναι· πᾶν δὲ πολὺ καὶ μὴ ἓν ἐνδεὲς μὴ ἓν ἐκ πολλῶν γενόμενον. Δεῖται οὖν αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία ἓν εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ οὐ δεῖται ἑαυτοῦ· αὐτὸ γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ μὴν πολλὰ ὂν τοσούτων δεῖται, ὅσα ἔστι, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὂν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐνδεὲς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάρχον, καὶ καθ' ἓν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὅλον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνδεὲς παρέχεται. Εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ τι αὐταρκέστατον εἶναι, τὸ ἓν εἶναι δεῖ τοιοῦτον ὂν μόνον, οἷον μήτε πρὸς αὐτὸ μήτε πρὸς ἄλλο ἐνδεὲς εἶναι.[92]
>
> (Denn weil das Eine das Zureichendste von allem und das Selbstgenügenste ist, muss es auch das Unbedürftigste sein. Alles Viele und Nicht-Eine aber ist bedürftig, da es erst aus Vielem ein Eines geworden ist. Es bedarf also sein Wesen des Einen, um Eines zu sein. Jenes aber bedarf seiner selbst nicht, denn Es ist Es selbst. Was ferner Vieles ist, bedarf so vieler Dinge als es ist; weiter existiert jedes der Dinge in ihm mit den anderen verbunden und steht nicht auf sich selbst, weil es der

τελειότητος ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς προόδου καθορωμένης τῷ Πνεύματι; εἰ δ' ἀτελής, τίς ὑποίσει τὸ ἄτοπον;

88 Vgl. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Artikel Vollkommenheit, Bd. 11, 1115–1116.

89 Vgl. Enneades V 4, 1 (*PO* III 234, 12–13 Henry/Shwyzer); II 9, 1 (*PO* I, 203, 8–10 Henry/Shwyzer).

90 Vgl. J. Halfwassen, Der Aufstieg zum Einen. Untersuchungen zu Platon und Plotin. *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde*, 9. Stuttgart 1992, 70. Dazu siehe auch Horn, Plotin über Sein (wie oben Fußnote 48) 296–297.

91 Vgl. ebd. 62.

92 *Enn.* VI 9, 6 (PO III 280, 17–26 Henry/Shwyzer).

anderen bedürftig ist, und dadurch wird ein solches Wesen sowohl in seinen Einzelbestandteilen wie als Ganzes bedürftig. Wenn anders es nun ein vollkommen Selbstgenugsames geben muss, so muss Es das Eine geben, denn Es allein ist so beschaffen, dass Es weder gegen sich selbst noch gegen ein anderes bedürftig ist).[93]

In der Fortsetzung seines Argumentationsganges untersucht und analysiert Kyprios die von Kyrill häufig verwendete Bezeichnung des Hl. Geistes als „dem Sohne oder dem Christus eigen“ (ἴδιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἴδιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ).[94] Diese Bezeichnung dürfte nach Kyprios den Leser überhaupt nicht in Verwirrung bringen, so dass er irrigerweise auf einen existenziellen Hervorgang des Geistes auch vom Sohn schlösse. Kyrill wolle mit diesem Ausdruck eher die Verwandtschaft und die Konsubstantialität[95] der Natur hervorheben. Wie der Geist als „des Sohnes eigen“ genannt werde, genau so werde er als „des Vaters eigen bezeichnet“.[96] Und wie der Geist vom Vater hervorgeht und daher der Vater von ihm selbst und in ihm (selbst) seinen eigenen Geist hat, genau so hat auch der Sohn den Geist in ihm (ἐν ἑαυτῷ), weil er mit ihm desselben Wesens ist.[97] Außerdem versteht Kyrill an anderen Stellen die existenzielle Abhängigkeit des Geistes allein vom Vater, indem er mit aller Deutlichkeit sagt, dass der Geist vom Vater seine Existenz habe (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει τὴν ὕπαρξιν).[98]

Ein Abkunftsverhältnis von Sohn und Geist, das Kyprios durchaus verneint, schließt ein enges Verhältnis zwischen beiden im Rahmen der Heilsgeschichte (beim Sichoffenbaren Gottes) und auf der Basis der Wesenseinheit nicht aus. Kyprios sieht dieses enge Verhältnis in den Äußerungen Kyrills, wenn er (Kyrill) Christus als Verleiher (δοτήρ) und Gewährer (χορηγός) des Geistes bezeichnet, weil er (Christus) mit ihm der Natur nach verknüpft und er desselben Wesens ist.[99] Durch die

---

93 Textübers. nach R. Harder, Plotins Schriften. Hamburg 1956, I 188, 41–43.

94 Vgl. Cyrillus, Commmentarius in Joannem 7, 39 (I 622, 14 Pusey): Ἴδιον γὰρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν εἰπεισκρίνεται παρὰ θεοῦ χορηγούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει φυσικῶς αὐτῷ καθάπερ καὶ τῷ πατρί. Vgl. auch De Trinitate 3, *PG* 75, 840C. Für weitere Belege siehe Theodoru, Ἡ περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως (wie oben Fußnote 48) 39–40.

95 Vgl. Orphanos, Procession (wie oben Fußnote 78) 42.

96 *PG* 142, 274 A.

97 *PG* 142, 274 A.

98 *PG* 142, 274B.

99 *PG* 142, 274C: Ὡς Υἱὸς δηλαδὴ καὶ μονογενὴς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ θεὸς φύσει, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πνεῦμα συμφυὲς ἔχων καὶ ὁμοούσιον. Ὅτι δοτήρ ἐστιν … καὶ

wesensmäßige Teilhabe des Christus an dem Geist sei er imstande aus eigener Kraft und Natur, aus der die Heiligung ströme und die er nicht von außen her besitze, die Wundertaten zu bewirken.[100] Nach Kyprios habe der Sohn als Gott wesentlich die Fähigkeit, den Geist zu verleihen, zu spenden und senden, und dieses aus Gründen (seines) Heilswerkes und seiner Kondeszendenz (οἰκονομίας λόγῳ καὶ συγκαταβάσεως).[101] In Hinsicht auf sein Wesen, werde der Hl. Geist hingegen (wenn man in frommer Weise rede) weder verliehen, noch gesendet, weder ausgegossen, noch geschenkt oder gewährt.[102] Hier zieht Kyprios deutlich den Unterschied zwischen dem Hl. Geist als Hypostase und den Gnadengaben des Geistes – ein subtiler Unterschied, den er später zum Ende der Schrift aufgreifen wird. Der einzige Grund also, weshalb Kyrill vom Geist sagt, dass er aus dem Sohn existiere, ist nach Kyprios nicht sein ins Sein Gelangen, sondern seine Ausstrahlung und Manifestation in die Welt: „Der Hl. Geist existiert aus dem Sohn, hat Kyrill gesagt, nicht aber wegen seines ins Sein-Tretens selbst, denn dieses selbst geschieht nur aus dem Vater, sondern wegen der Ausstrahlung und Manifestation des Geistes, der vom Vater (hervorgehend) mit dem Sohn verknüpft ist, und in ihm (dem Sohn) weilt. Denn er tritt gewiss durch den Sohn in Erscheinung und strahlt durch ihn aus, (aber) als der, der vom Vater ausgeht; er existiert (auch) aus dem Sohn, wenn wir (ihn) als in Erscheinung Tretenden, Gegebenen, Gesendeten, Eingehauchten (sc. z.B. in Gestalt der Charismen denken), wenn er kommt, die Schöpfung zu erneuern, und wenn er gegeben wird, hat er auf diese Weise den Sohn als Geber,

---

χορηγὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγιασμός, ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀθάνατον τῆς φύσεως μεταβολή … αὐτοῦ ἐστι φύσει, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος. Vgl. bei Cyrillus, Epistula L, in Sanctum Symbolum, *PG* 77, 316D: ἐκπορεύεται καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, χορηγεῖται δὲ τῇ κτίσει διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ; Commmentarius in Joannem 14, 11 (II 432, 14 Pusey): προϊὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πατρός) καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μένον ἀεί, χορηγούμενον δὲ τοῖς ἀξίοις διὰ Χριστοῦ; Commmentarius in Lucam 3, 17, *PG* 72, 521C: οὐκοῦν ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, χορηγεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ τῇ κτίσει καὶ δίδωσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ὡς φύσει τε καί ἀληθῶς Υἱός, ὁ μονογενὴς αὐτοῦ Λόγος καῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀξιώμασι διαπρέπων.

100 *PG* 142, 274D: μετοχῇ Πνεύματος ἐκεῖνος χάριν λαβεῖν ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ παράδοξα οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει οὗτος καί φύσει πηγαζούσῃ τόν ἁγιασμόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξωθεν ἐχούσῃ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ παράδοξα.

101 *PG* 142, 274D.

102 *PG* 142, 274D.

und wenn er gewährt wird, hat er ihn als Gewährer (Ausrüster), und wenn er gesendet wird, hat er ihn als Sendenden.[103]

Das Zitat zeigt klar und deutlich, dass Kyprios ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis des Geistes vom Sohn auf die heilsgeschichtliche Ebene beschränkt und zwar auf die Aus-teilung und Sendung des Geistes, d.h. der Gnadengaben des Geistes in die Welt. Dabei stützt er sich auf seine Kirchenväterüberlieferung und konkreter auf Gregor von Nyssa, der schon auf ein so geartetes Verhältnis des Sohnes zum Geist hingewiesen hatte. Der Hl. Geist beziehe sich auf den Sohn, weil er durch ihn in Erscheinung getreten sei.[104] Ein Verhältnis auf innertrinitarischer Ebene zwischen Sohn und Geist sieht hingegen Kyprios nur im Rahmen der Wesenseinheit und konkreter in dem ewigen Weilen und Gegründetsein des Geistes im Sohn.[105] Von der Aussage also, der Geist sei aus dem Sohn,[106] die bei Kyrill von Alexandria begegnet, dürfte man nach Kyprios nicht auf das (von ihm) Sein-Erlangen (ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν) schließen, da beide Ausdrucksweisen miteinander nicht kompatibel, eher gegensätzlich sind.[107] Deshalb warnt Kyprios davor: Da Kyrill sagt, der Geist existiere aus dem Sohn, dürfe man, so Kyprios, nicht auf das (durch ihm) ins Sein Gelangen (ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν) schließen, dass er aus diesem Grund auch die Existenz vom Sohn erlangt habe.[108] Zur Begründung dieser Schlussfolgerung beruft er sich auf Kyrill und konkreter auf eine Stelle in *Thesaurus*, wo gesagt werde, der Hl. Geist sei

---

103 *PG* 142, 275CD: Ὑπάρχει ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, Κύριλλος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίωσιν, ἐκ μόνου γὰρ αὕτη τοῦ Πατρός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ συναπτομένου τῷ Υἱῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μένοντος ἀπόλαμψιν καὶ φανέρωσιν· ἐκφαίνεται γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκλάμπει ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ὑπάρχει ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὡς φανερούμενον νοῶμεν, ὅταν διδόμενον, πεμπόμενον, ἐμφυσώμενον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακαινίσαι τὴν κτίσιν ἐρχόμενον καὶ διδόμενον οὕτω τὸν Υἱὸν ἔχει δοτῆρα, καὶ χορηγούμενον χορηγόν, καὶ πεμπόμενον πέμποντα…

104 Vgl. Gregius Nyssenus, Contra Eunomium I 280 (*GNO* I 108, 19–109,1 Jaeger).

105 *PG* 142, 275C: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (sc. ὑπάρχειν τὸ Πνεῦμα), ὡς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ὁμοφυοῦς, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου ᾧ συνάπτεται τῷ τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἀναπαύεται καὶ ἵδρυται, καὶ ἀνεκφοίτητον τὴν μονὴν ποιεῖται, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον.

106 Vgl. *Commentarius in Iohelem* 2, 28–29, *PG* 71, 377D–380 A.

107 *PG* 142, 273B: Εἰ τοίνυν ὡς ὑμῖν ἔστι, σὺ ὦ πρὸς θεοῦ ταῦτα περὶ ἐκείνου ἀποκρινόμενος, ἐπειδὰν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσοις αὐτίκα, καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν καθαρπάξεις, οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὡς ἀσύμβατα καὶ οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον τἀναντία μὴ συνιέναι ἀλλήλοις, ἢ ταῦτα ὅ γε λελογισμένος ὁμολογήσει; Dem Ausdruck ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν ist man schon bei den Kappadoziern begegnet. Vgl. Gregius Nazianzenus, Or. 32, 5 (*SC* 318, 94, 14 Moreschini/Gallay).

108 *PG* 142, 275D: Μὴ δὴ αὖ λέγε, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ὑπάρχει, φησίν, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔχει.

aus Gott, und zugleich gelehrt werde, dass der Hl. Geist aus dem Vater seine Existenz erlange.[109] Dabei aber drängt sich die Frage auf, warum entsprechend der Behauptung des Kyprios das „aus Gott-Vater Sein" notwendig auf das Sein-Erlangen (des Geistes) von ihm verweist, während derselbe Ausdruck in Bezug auf den Sohn kein direktes Abkünftigkeitsverhältnis zwischen Geist und Sohn bezeichnet?

Diese These ist kaum nachvollziehbar, da der Leser in den Schriften Kyrills und besonders in seinem Kommentar zum Johannes-Evangelium den entgegengesetzten Eindruck gewinnt, nämlich dass man leicht vom ersten Ausdruck auf den zweiten schließen kann. Eine Untersuchung mit Hilfe des *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* hat gezeigt, dass der Ausdruck „aus jemandem existieren/sein" auf ein direktes wesensmäßiges Abkunftsverhältnis hinweist: kennzeichnender Beweis: τὸ ἐξ' οὗ, διὰ τὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐκ Πατρός.[110] Die Behauptung also des Kyprios, dass der Ausdruck „aus jemanden existieren/sein", mit dem „aus jemanden das Sein erlangen" nicht kompatibel sei, und das vor allem in Hinsicht auf das Verhältnis des Sohnes zum Geist, ist also nicht stichhaltig, eben weil derselbe Ausdruck in Zusammenhang mit Vater und Geist (bei Kyrill) die seinsmäßige Abhängigkeit des Zweiten von Ersten bezeichnet.

Eine seinsmäßige Abhängigkeit des Geistes vom Sohn will aber Kyprios bei Kyrill nicht ausgedrückt finden, denn er argumentiert, Kyrill hätte nicht unterlassen, ausdrücklich vom Hervorgang des Geistes vom Sohn zu sprechen, falls das seiner Überzeugung entsprochen hätte. Im Gegenteil: Eben weil eine solche Ansicht in sein theologisches Denken nicht hineinpasst, bestimmt er genau, dass der Hl. Geist wesensmäßig von beiden (ἐς ἀμφοῖν οὐσιωδῶς) ausgegossen und der Schöpfung gewährt wird.[111] Er sei dem Sohne eigen und ihm nicht fremd.[112] Dies

---

109 *PG* 142, 274B: Καὶ πάλιν ἐν θησαυροῖς. Διὸ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ, εἶπε, διδάσκων ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχειν τὴν ὕπαρξιν. Vgl. Cyrillus, Thesaurus 33, *PG* 75, 568C: [τί, ἐξ οὗ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος κείμενον, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας (sc. τοῦ Πατρός) αὐτό φυσικῶς ὑπάρχον ἀποδεικνύων (sc. Παῦλος)].

110 Cyrillus, Commentarius in Iohannem (I 20, 6 Pusey). Vgl. auch ebd. ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Μονογενῆ) ὑπάρχειν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς (I 37, 13); ὁ διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πατρὸς) κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχειν (I 985, 8); ὅτι κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλάττων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχειν (I 485, 8); ὁ δὲ ἰσομέτροις ὡς πρὸς θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τιμαῖς ἐπαγλαϊζόμενος, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχειν (I 241, 5).

111 *PG* 142, 2760. Vgl. Cyrillus, Thesaurus 34, *PG* 75, 600BC; Contra Julianum 4, *PG* 76, 725C: Πρόεισι μὲν οὖν ἀρρήτως … ἐκ Πατρός, τὸ ζωοποιοῦν ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· χορηγεῖται δὲ τῇ κτίσει δι' Υἱοῦ.

112 *PG* 142, 276 A: μηδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀρχὴν λέγε τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὃ μηδεὶς εἴρηκεν. Οὐδὲ Κύριλλος· εἰ γὰρ ᾔδει, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δεῆσαν εἰπεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα, τοσαῦτα

heißt, er sei mit ihm dem Bestimmungsgrund der Wesenseinheit gemäß (τῷ τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος λόγῳ) verbunden.[113] In Hinsicht auf sein ins Sein-Gelangen aber gehe er nur vom Vater als aus einer Quelle hervor.[114]

Die Betrachtung des Vaters als des einzigen Monarchen, des einzigen Ursprungs versucht Kyprios im weiteren Verlauf seiner Argumentation auf die Überlieferung der Väter zu stützen. So beruft er sich zuerst auf Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita und konkreter auf seine Schrift *De Divinis Nominibus*, wo der Vater als quellenhafte (πηγαία) und gotterzeugende Gottheit (θεογόνος θεότης) und der Sohn und der Geist als gottentkeimte Sprossen (βλαστοὶ θεόφυτοι), Blüten und überwesenhaften Lichter (ἄνθη καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα) bezeichnet werden.[115] Die weitere Berufung auf Athanasius von Alexandrien erweist sich als sehr knapp und beschränkt sich auf die Bezeichnung des Geistes als des Sohnes eigen[116] und auf die Verwendung der Analogien des Lichtes und seines Abglanzes (durch Athanasius), der Quelle und des Flusses zur Erläuterung des wesensmäßigen Hervorgangs des Sohnes und des Geistes entsprechend aus dem Vater.[117] Der Rückgriff auf die Überlieferung der Väter zwingt Kyprios, unausweichlich auf die Kappadozier Bezug zu nehmen und vor allem auf Basilius von Cäsarea.

Er zitiert fast wörtlich eine Stelle aus Basilius' Schrift *Contra Sabelianos und Arianos*, wo der große Kappadozier betont, dass die Weise des Hervorgangs des Geistes etwas Unaussprechliches ist, ohne aber den Begriff ἐκπόρευσις als personkonstituierendes Merkmal für den Geist zu benennen: „Und (eben) weil der Sohn aus dem Vater hervorging und der Geist vom Vater ausgeht; einerseits geht der Sohn vom

---

προσδιωρίζετο, ὥσπερ δεδιὼς μή τι ἐκ τούτου ταύτην σχοίην ὑπόνοιαν, δι' αὐτοῦ προχεῖται, χορηγεῖται, ἀλλ' ἴδιον καὶ οὐκ ἔξωθεν ὑποστατόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον. Ἀλλ' ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἐκ Πατρός, ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν οὐσιωδῶς, ἢ ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον. Vgl. Cyrillus, De adoratione in spiritu et veritate 1, *PG* 68, 148 A: ἔσται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον Πνεῦμα; vgl. auch: De Trinitate 2, *PG* 75, 721D–724 A; ebd. 3, 840AB; 6, 1013B; Homilia Paschalis 18, *PG* 77, 817AB.

113 *PG* 142, 276D. Vgl. Cyrillus, Commentarius in Lucam 5, 20, *PG* 72, 704AB.

114 *PG* 142, 276D.

115 *PG* 142, 277C. Vgl. Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis Nominibus II (*PTS* 33, 132, 1–3 Suchla).

116 Vgl. Athanasius Alexandrinus, Epistula ad Serapionem I, 2, *PG* 26, 533B: ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὄν, παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδοται τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. Ebd. 25; 588C–589 A: Εἰδὲ ὁ Υἱός, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐστιν, ἴδιος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ λεγόμενον, ἴδιον εἶναι κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ.

117 *PG* 142, 277D–278 A. Vgl. Athanasius Alexandrinus, Epistula ad Serapionem I, 19, *PG* 26, 573B–576 A.

Vater zeugungshaft, der Geist andererseits unaussprechlich aus Gott hervor".[118] Kyprios bringt wiederum eine weitere Basilius-Stelle vor, und zwar aus seiner dogmatischen Schrift *De Spiritu Sancto*, in der Basilius die wesensmäßige Verwandtschaft (κατὰ φύσιν κοινωνίαν) des Geistes von Vater und Sohn zu beweisen versucht. So bewegt er sich in derselben Argumentationslinie und unterscheidet die Existenzweise des Geistes von der aller Geschöpfe, indem er ausführt, der Hl. Geist entstamme Gott auf eine Weise, welche der der Geschöpfe nicht entspreche, aber auch nicht zeugungshaft wie der Sohn, sondern als Geist seines Mundes, als Geist Christi, dem er der Natur nach zugehörig sei.[119]

Nach Basilius führt Kyprios Gregor von Nyssa ins Feld, welcher in der Trinität eine grundlegende Unterscheidung zwischen dem Verursachenden und Verursachten (αἴτιον–αἰτιατόν) erkennt und damit die innertrinitarischen Verhältnisse zwischen den göttlichen Personen beschreibt. Kyprios widmet einen großen Teil seiner Auslegung einer besonders wichtigen Stelle aus Gregors Schrift *Ad Ablabium*, der die Filioque-Anhänger (im 13. Jahrhundert) große Bedeutung zur Begründung der Idee einer vermittelnden Kausalität des Sohnes beim Hervorgang des Geistes beimaßen.[120] An dieser Stelle ist vor allem zu erklären, was die vermittelnde Funktion des Sohnes dem Hervorgang (des Geistes) aus dem Vater hinzufügt, und noch mehr ob sie auch eine kausale Bedeutung hat? Kyprios legt die Stelle wörtlich vor: Indem wir das Unveränderte der Natur bekennen, lehnen wir den Unterschied gemäß der Relation Verursachendes–Verursachtes nicht ab, in dem wir nur wahrnehmen, dass sich das eine von dem anderen unterscheidet. Denn wir glauben, das eine sei Verursachendes, das andere sei aus dem Verursachenden. Bezüglich dessen aber, was Verursachtes ist, bemerken wir einen weiteren Unterschied. Denn das eine ist unmittelbar aus dem Ersten, während das andere mittels des unmittelbar (aus dem Ersten Hervorgegangenen) aus dem Ersten ist, so dass das (Attribut)

---

118 *PG* 142, 278 A. Vgl. Basilius, Contra Sabelianos et Arianos, *PG* 31, 616C: ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

119 *PG* 142, 278 A: καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις (sc. an einer anderen Stelle) ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι λέγεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐχ ὡς τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προελθόν, οὐ γεννητῶς ὡς ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' ὡς πνεῦμα στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ ᾠκειωμένον κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ. Vgl. De Spiritu Sancto 18, 46 (*SC* 17, 408, 1–4. 410, 10–11 Prusche).

120 Vgl. Johannes Beccuss, Epigraphae 5 (Laemmer 472); Konstantin Melitiniotes, Antirreticus I f. 101v fol. 102 (172, 6–11. 174, 13–17 Orphanos). Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Ad Ablabium. Quod non sint tres Dei (*GNO* III/1, 56, 6–10 Mueller).

„eingeboren“ unbestritten dem Sohn verbleibt und kein Zweifel daran besteht, dass der Geist aus dem Vater ist, da die Mittlerschaft des Sohnes das „eingeboren“ für ihn (den Sohn) wahrt, und den Geist von seiner natürlichen (wesenhaften) Beziehung zum Vater nicht ausschließt.[121]

Kyprios fragt sich, wo der Sohn an dieser Stelle als Verursachendes auftritt. Und: Wo lasse sich sagen, dass der Geist aus dem Sohn hervorgeht?[122] Nach Kyprios unterscheidet sich der Sohn vom Vater aufgrund des Verursachtseins, eine Eigenschaft, an der der Geist auch Anteil hat, weil auch dieser Verursachtes vom Vater sei.[123] Der Sohn könne weder Verursacher des Geistes sein, noch gehe der Geist aus ihm hervor, so dass er (der Sohn) mittels dessen, was ihn vom Geist unterscheide, mit dem Vater verbunden sei.[124] Dies heißt: Wenn der Sohn Verursacher des Geistes wäre, hätte er einen gemeinsamen Anknüpfungspunkt mit dem Vater, aufgrund dessen er sich zugleich vom Geist unterschiede. Aber der obigen Textstelle zufolge wird vom Nyssener dem Sohn die gleiche Eigenschaft wie dem Geist zugewiesen. Durch diese Zuweisung sei Gregor von Nyssa der Gefahr einer Vermischung entgangen, weil er ausdrücklich gesagt habe, dass sich der Sohn aufgrund des Verursachtseins vom Vater unterscheide, dass er selbst kein Verursachendes wie der Vater sei, und dass der Geist nicht vom ihm sei; weil er gesagt habe, dass der Geist durch ihn und nicht aus ihm sei, dass er (der Sohn) kein Verursachendes sondern Verursachtes sei.[125] Die Unterscheidung/Trennung (διαίρεσις), welche Gregor von Nyssa vornimmt, hält den Sohn für keinen Verursacher und den Geist für kein ihm Entstammtes, sondern für ein Verursachtes mittels des Sohnes

---

121 Gregorius Nyssenus, Ad Ablabium. Quod non sint tres Dei (*GNO* III/1, 55, 24–56, 10 Mueller): τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦντες, τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα, ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν, τῷ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου· καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίας ὄντος, ἄλλην πάλιν διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου· ὥστε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἀναντίρρητον ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μένειν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα μὴ ἀμφιβάλλειν, τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεσιτείας καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης.

122 *PG* 142, 279B: Ἡ μὲν οὖν ῥῆσις τοιαύτη· ποῦ δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἴτιον ὁ Υἱός; ποῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ;

123 *PG* 142, 279B: Διακρίνεται (sc. ὁ Υἱός) μὲν γάρ … τοῦ Πατρὸς τῷ αἰτιατὸς εἶναι, κἂν τούτῳ ἥνωται τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ αὐτῷ αἰτιατῷ ὄντι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός.

124 *PG* 142, 279B: οὐ μὴν ἔστι καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος αἴτιος (sc. ὁ Υἱός), οὐ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἵν' οἷς διακρίνεται τοῦ Πνεύματος συνάπτηται τῷ Πατρί.

125 *PG* 142, 279C.

(vom Vater).[126] Nach dieser ersten kurzen Auslegung wendet Kyprios gegen seinen Gegner ein: „Siehst du nicht ein, dass (Gregor) nur im Blick auf das Verursachtsein den Sohn vom Vater unterscheidet und ihn mit dem Geist in Verbindung bringt? Im Hinblick auf das Verursachersein aber verbindet er ihn (den Sohn) weder mit dem Vater noch unterscheidet er ihn vom Geist".[127]

Die Absicht des Nysseners an dieser Stelle war, fährt Kyprios fort, weder die Eigenschaft des Hervorbringens noch das Ursachesein dem Vater zu entziehen. Hätte er das getan, hätte er zugleich beide Eigenschaften auf den Sohn übertragen.[128] (Und) in einem solchen Fall wäre der Geist, da unmittelbar aus dem Sohn hervorgegangen, nicht aus dem Vater hervorgegangen. Eher wäre er gezeugt, wenn anders auch der Sohn, von dem der Geist ist, dem Vater zeugungshaft entstammt.[129] Wäre wiederum der Vater nicht Hervorbringer des Geistes, dann wäre er im eigentlichen Sinne kein Verursacher (κυρίως αἴτιος), weil das andere neben ihm stehende Verursachende (sc. der Sohn) nicht auf ihn als den Hauptverursachenden zurückzuführen wäre.[130] Wenn wiederum absurd ist, dass der Sohn den Geist zeugt, dann wäre es eher passender, dem Sohn als dem Vater das Hervorbringen-Lassen beizulegen.[131] Wenn er also als Hervorbringer erscheint, dann entsteht der unausweichliche Widerspruch, dass sich der Sohn als etwas erweist, das etwas Gegensätzliches in sich enthält. Denn er ist zugleich Verursacher und Verursachtes.[132] Eine solche Alternative ist aber unhaltbar; denn sie lässt die theologische Position Gregors von Nazianz außer Acht, nach der, dem Sohn alles, was der Vater besitzt, zugesprochen wird, ausgenommen das Verursachersein. Denn der Begriff der Ursache schließt eine Ursache

---

126 *PG* 142, 279C.

127 *PG* 142, 279D–280 A: Οὐχ ὁρᾶς ὡς τῷ αἰτιατῷ μόνῳ διαστέλλει τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ συνάπτει τῷ Πνεύματι; τῷ δὲ αἰτίῳ οὔτε τῷ Πατρὶ συνάπτει, καὶ οὐ διαστέλλει τοῦ Πνεύματος.

128 *PG* 142, 280B: Οὐ τοῦτό γε δὴ βούλεται ὁ Νύσσης Γρηγόριος, οὐδὲ ἦν σκοπὸς αὐτῷ ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος. Ἀφαιροῖτο δι' ἂν εἰς Υἱὸν μετατιθέμενος τοῦτο.

129 *PG* 142, 280B: Τότε γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπορεύοιτο. Γεννῷτο δὲ μᾶλλον εἴπερ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννητῶς.

130 *PG* 142, 280C.

131 *PG* 142, 280D: διατὶ μᾶλλον οὐχὶ γεννᾶν τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλὰ προβάλλειν δικαιότερος ὁ Υἱός;

132 *PG* 142, 280D: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν αἴτιον ὄντα καὶ αἰτιατὸν καθ' ὑμᾶς.

neben ihr oder mit ihr (συναίτιον) aus.[133] Wäre die Mit-Ursächlichkeit des Sohnes beim Hervorgang des Geistes tatsächlich in Geltung, wäre das Axiom der Monarchie, der einzigen Ursache, sofort aufgehoben.[134]

Der Beweisgang, jede Nuance von Ursächlichkeit der Hypostase des Sohnes abzusprechen, reicht für eine vollkommene Auslegung der gregorianischen Stelle nicht aus. Es bleibt immer noch erläuterungsbedürftig, was Gregor unter dem Ausdruck διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς meint. Kyprios sieht sich genötigt, auf diese Frage gründlich einzugehen.[135]

Anhand der in der Bibel vorhandenen Aufforderung des Herrn an seine Jünger, das Evangelium zu verkünden (μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος)[136], erkennt Kyprios eine Ordnung beim Ausruf der Namen der göttlichen Personen. In dieser Zusammenordnung (σύνταξις) kommt notwendig unmittelbar nach dem Namen des Vaters der des Sohnes und nachher der des Geistes. Diese Zusammenordnung hat also eine biblische Begründung.[137] Aber es nicht nur dies. Es ist auch die Kraft jedes einzigen Namens, welche den anderen (Namen) nach sich zieht, und keinen denkbaren Abstand zwischen beiden zulässt.[138] Einerseits hindert die Kraft der Namen daran, dass man den Geist unmittelbar nach dem Vater nennt, und verbindet sie so den Sohn direkt mit dem Vater, andererseits verbietet der arithmetische Fortschritt dem Zählenden, nach der einen Monas zwei (Monaden) aufzuzählen.[139] Dies

---

133 *PG* 142, 283AB. Vgl. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Or. 34, 10 (216, 13–14 Moreschini).

134 *PG* 142, 283B.

135 *PG* 142, 283B: Ἀλλ’ ἀνακτέον πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ῥῆσιν, καὶ τὸ προσεχῶς καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς, ὅ τι ποτὲ βούλεται τῷ δασκάλῳ σκεψώμεθα.

136 Matth. 28, 19.

137 *PG* 142, 283D: μόνῃ τῇ συντάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος κλῆσις προφέρηται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν μὲν καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τύπον τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως…

138 *PG* 142, 283D: καὶ διὰ τῶν κλήσεων δύναμιν, λέγω τῆς Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, αἵ γε σχετικαὶ οὖσαι, καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐφελκυστικαί, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἁπάντων μεταξὺ καταδέχονται, διὰ τοῦτο προσεχῶς ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρί. Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Eun.* I (*GNO* I 138, 6–10 Jaeger): ἐξ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πατρός) δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς ἀδιαστάτως ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ συνεπινοεῖται, δι’ αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι κενόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον διὰ μέσου παρεμπεσεῖν νόημα, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνημμένως καταλαμβάνεται.

139 *PG* 142, 283D–284 A: Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα εἴργει μὲν προσεχῶς εἰπεῖν ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων δύναμις, Υἱὸν ἀμέσως συνάπτουσα τῷ Πατρί, εἴργει δὲ καὶ ἡ πρόοδος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, οὐδέποτ’ εὐθὺς τῷ ἀρθιμοῦντι μετὰ μίαν δύο προδεικνῦσα μονάδας. Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Hexaemeron, *PG* 44, 85C: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἀριθμός, εἰ μὴ μονάδων σύνθεσις.

heißt: Die Zahl Drei ist in drei Einheiten-Monaden geteilt. Der einen Monas folgt die andere und der die andere. Die menschliche Vernunft ist nicht in der Lage, alle drei auf einmal zu nennen. Sie ist von Natur aus gezwungen, sie bruchstückhaftig darzulegen. Darüber hinaus impliziert die Zusammenordnung der Namen keine Seinsabstufung.[140] Sie bringt nur die wesensmäßige Verbindung (συνάφεια) der Personen miteinander zum Ausdruck und verdankt ihren Charakter der begrifflichen Assoziation zwischen den Namen bzw. zwischen Vater und Sohn.[141] Der Begriff des Vaters impliziert den des Sohnes und umgekehrt.

Der Sohn sei also unmittelbar (προσεχῶς) dem Vater nachgeordnet, nicht weil er Verursacher des Geistes ist, sondern weil er einziggeborener Sohn ist – direkt mit dem Vater mitgedacht.[142] Hätte man den Namen des Vaters durch den Namen des Hervorbringers (προβολεύς) ersetzen wollen, wäre dann nicht der Sohn unmittelbar nach dem Vater, sondern das Hervorgebrachte (τὸ πρόβλημα) mitzudenken?[143] Die sogenannte Mittlerschaft des Sohnes hindert weder die wesensmäßige Beziehung des Geistes zum Vater noch durchbricht sie diese.[144] Sie ist nur im Sinne einer gedanklichen Priorität (προεπινόησις) des Sohnes dem Geist gegenüber zu erklären. Sie bezieht sich wiederum auf gar keinen Fall auf das ins Sein-Gelangen des Geistes und stellt keinen Hinweis auf die Existenz des Sohnes als Ursache des Geistes dar.[145]

---

140 *PG* 142, 284A: καὶ τρίτον ἐκφέρεται (sc. τὸ ἅγ. Πνεῦμα) οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ εἶναι … μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνταξιν.

141 *PG* 142, 284A: ἡ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον ἀναγκάζει συνάφειαν.

142 *PG* 142, 286D: Προσεχῶς… ὁ Υἱός, οὐχ ἵν' αἴτιος, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατέ, εἴη τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μονογενής ἐστιν Υἱός, ἔστιν εὐθὺς συνεπινοούμενος τῷ Πατρί. Vgl. auch Gregorius Nyssenus, Refutatio confessionis Eunomii (*GNO* II 315, 3–9 Jaeger): ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωμεν πατέρα, ταύτην ἀναλαμβάνομεν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ νοεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν σχέσιν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐμφάσεως ἀποσημαίνει. οὐ γὰρ ἂν πατὴρ κεχωρισμένος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ νοηθείη, μὴ υἱοῦ συνημμένου διὰ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκφωνήσεως. πατέρα οὖν μαθόντες τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν πίστιν συνεδιδάχθημεν.

143 *PG* 142, 284 A: εἰ μή τι βούλεται τὸ Πατρὸς ὄνομα εἰς προβολέα μεταβαλεῖν, τότε γὰρ προσεχῶς οὐ τὸν Υἱὸν ἂν ἴδῃς, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρόβλημα ἐφελκόμενον.

144 *PG* 142, 287A.

145 *PG* 142, 287D: Ἐπείπερ αἴτιος μὲν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ὁ Πατήρ, τῷ Πατρὶ δὲ ᾗ Πατρὶ εὐθὺς συνεπινοεῖται ὁ Υἱὸς κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρός τι φύσιν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συναγομένων τῷ λόγῳ, φησί, τῆς αἰτίας, ἤτοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τὸν αἴτιον σχέσεως, προεπινοεῖται τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εἶναι πρόοδον, οὐδὲ τῷ αἰτίαν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Diesen nicht kausalen Charakter der Mittlerschaft des Sohnes erläutert Kyprios durch die häufig von den Vätern[146] verwendete Metapher der Sonne, die mittels des Strahls das Licht hervorbringt. Ebenso wie das Licht mittels des Strahls aus der Sonne hervorströmt und sie als Quelle und Ursache seines Daseins und als dasjenige besitzt, das es sich wesensmäßig ergießen lässt, so geht der Geist, dem Vater entstammend, durch den Sohn hervor. Genau so wie das Licht, aus der Sonne hervorgehend, hervorleuchtet, mittels des Strahls, dem es jedoch weder seine Existenz noch sein ins Sein-Gelangen verdankt, so strahlt der Geist vom Vater naturhaft ausgehend durch den Sohn aus.[147]

Die oben vorgelegte Auslegung der Gregorstelle durch Kyprios im Sinne einer nicht kausalen Mittlerschaft hat breiten Anklang bei seinen Nachfolgern, besonders bei Gregor Palamas gefunden. Palamas' Interpretation bewegt sich auch auf den gleichen Bahnen, wenn er im Ausdruck des διὰ τοῦ προσεχοῦς die begriffliche Assoziation zwischen einem Vater und einem Sohn sieht, nach der der eine Begriff den anderen impliziert. So denkt man den Geist durch den unmittelbar zum Vater gedachten Sohn dem (entstammend), der ihn hervorgehen lässt.[148]

---

146 Vgl. Athanasius, Contra Arianos 3, 15; *PG* 26, 352C–353 A; Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 31, 32 (338, 1–3 Gallay); Gregorius Nyssenus, Contra Eunomium III (*GNO* II 190, 17–27 Jaeger).

147 *PG* 142, 287BC: … δι' αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προέρχεται καὶ ἐκλάμπει· τέλειον πλὴν ἔχον τὸ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πατρός, καθ' ὃν δὴ τρόπον καὶ τὸ φῶς εἴρηται διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἔχον μὲν πηγὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ προχέα κατὰ φύσιν τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φυσικήν, δι' ὃν δὲ ὅμως ᾖ καὶ προϊὸν καὶ ἐκλάμπον διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος, ἐξ ἧς οὐχ ὕπαρξις τῷ φωτί οὐδ' οὐσίωσις. Die gleiche Metapher verwendeten zur Begründung des Filioque aber auch die byzantinischen Filioquisten des 13. Jahrhunderts. Genau wie der Strahl zur Erscheinung des Lichtes, das aus der Sonne hervorgeht, beiträgt, so tritt der Sohn ins Mittel beim Hervorgang des Geistes aus dem Vater. Vgl. Konstantin Melitiniotes, De processione Spiriritus sancti 1, 29, *PG* 141, 1089 A; 2, 5; 1153CD; Johannes Beccus, De unione Ecclesiarum 3, *PG* 141, 132B*; Refutatio libri Photii* 19, *PG* 141, 781 A; Georgius Metochites, Ad Maximum Planudem, *PG* 141, 1284C.

148 Gregorios Palamas, Apodeixis Β′ 54 (Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα I–V, ed. P. Chrestu/B. Bobrinsky, Thessalonike 1988, 127, 30–128, 3): Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἔστι καὶ νοεῖται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δι' ἑαυτὸ μὲν ἐκ προβολέως εἴη ἂν καὶ νοηθείη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ δὲ τοῦ προσεχῶς νοουμένου ἐκ πατρός, υἱοῦ, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς εἴη ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐκπορεύοντος μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα γεννῶντος δὲ τὸν υἱόν (Einerseits ist der Sohn aus dem Vater und wird [auch] als ihm [entstammend] begriffen; andererseits dürfte der hl. Geist an sich einem [ihn] Hervorvorbringenden entstammen und [eben so] begriffen werden, nicht jedoch [unmittelbar] dem Vater; mithin wäre der Hl. Geist durch den unmittelbar zum Vater gedachten Sohn aus dem Vater (entstammend) zu begreifen, welcher einerseits den Geist selbst hervorbringt, andererseits den Sohn zeugt].

Für eine gedankliche Verknüpfung des Begriffs des Vaters mit dem des Sohnes, welche zu einer logischen und nicht seinsmäßigen Vorrangstellung des Sohnes gegenüber dem Geist bei Ausruf und Aufzählung der drei Hypostasen führt, plädiert auch Nilus Kabasilas, der sogar behauptet, dass auch der Hl. Geist nur gedanklich dem Sohn vorangestellt werden könnte, und dies aufgrund seiner direkten kausalen Beziehung zu seinem Hervorbringer (sc. dem Vater) und wenn die Bezeichnung des Hervorbringers für den Vater in den Vordergrund gestellt wird. Es ist genau das, was Kyprios vertritt: Das Hervorgebrachte (πρόβλημα) ist unmittelbar auf seinen Hervorbringer zurückzuführen.[149]

Diese bemerkenswerte Interpretationsalternative der Stelle aus Gregor von Nyssa, welche uns die Bekämpfer des Filioqueansatzes in Byzanz geliefert haben, hat bis heute keine entsprechende Beachtung bei den Gelehrten des Westens gefunden. So behaupten sie, dass die Ausdrücke κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς und διὰ μέσου kein direktes Hindernis für die Zeugung des Sohnes sowie für seine Mittlerschaft beim Ausgang des Geistes darstellen.[150] Ihnen fällt auch nicht schwer, einen Hervorgang des Geistes *per Filium* im immanenten Sinn mit dem trinitarischen Dogma Gregors zu vereinen.[151] Sie sehen die Rolle des Sohnes beim in Erscheinung-Bringen des Geistes nicht nur auf die temporale Dimension beschränkt und bekräftigen daher die These einer Kontinuität zwischen Theologia und Oikonomia bei Gregor von Nyssa.[152] Einer solchen Kontinuität, sogar einem Entsprechungsverhältnis zwischen Immanenz und heilsgeschichtliche Offenbarung[153] widerspricht Kyprios

149 De processione Spiritus sancti II, 25, 1 Marcianus gr. II 9, fol. 162v. Zitiert bei K. Liakuras, Ἡ περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδασκαλία τοῦ Νείλου Καβάσιλα. Athen 1997, 194.

150 Vgl. A. de Halleux, «Manifesté par le fils». Aux origines d'une formule pneumatologique. *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 20 (1989) 24.

151 B. Studer, Mysterium Caritatis. Studien zur Exegese und zur Trinitätslehre in der Alten Kirche. *Studia Anselmiana*, 127. Rom 1999, 450.

152 G. Maspero, Trinity and Man. Gregory of Nyssa's Ad Ablabium. *Vigiliae Christianae, Suppl.* 86. Leiden 2007, 176.

153 Dieses Entsprechungsverhältnis, das später die westliche Theologie prägen wird, lässt sich bei Augustinus deutlich erkennen: „et sicut spiritui sancto donum dei esse est a patre procedere, ita mitti est cognosci quod ab illo procedat". (Wie für den Hl. Geist Geschenk-Gottes-sein so viel ist wie aus dem Vater hervorgehen, so bedeutet für ihn Gesandtwerden so viel wie erkennen lassen, dass er aus ihm hervorgeht). Vgl. De trinitate IV 20, 29 (De trinitate libri XV, ed. W.J. Mountain/F. Glorie. *CC*, 50. Turnhout 1968, 199, 101–102). Dazu siehe B. Oberdorfer, Filioque. Geschichte und Theologie eines ökumenischen Problems. *Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie*, 96. Göttingen 2001, 125.

mit Nachdruck. In *De Processione Spiritus sancti* unterlässt er es nicht, auf eine solche Frage einzugehen. Er erhebt gewichtige Einwände gegen diejenigen, welche die Existenz des Schöpfers auf eine solche Weise auslegen, die der Weise der Erschaffung der Geschöpfe entspricht![154] Dieser klar ausgesprochene Vorwurf gegen die Filioquisten hat einen konkreten Ausgangspunkt: ihren Versuch, den Vorwurf der Dyarchie[155] von sich zu weisen. Dies erfolgt, indem sie den Vater und den Sohn in ein einziges Verursachendes zusammenführen. Nach ihrer Auffassung, wie sie Kyprios darstellt, seien der Sohn wie auch der Vater wahrhaft Verursacher des Geistes; trotzdem sei der Verursacher einer und nicht zwei.[156] Dies erklärt sich aus der Übertragung ökonomischer Verhältnisse auf das innertrinitarische Sein Gottes und zwar aus der willkürlichen Vermischung der Eigenschaft des Schöpfer-Seins mit der des Ursache-Seins. Wenn Vater und Sohn als ein Schöpfer in Bezug auf die Seienden auftreten, dann sind sie genau so ein Verursacher im Hinblick auf den Geist.[157] Dieser Gedanke, der übrigens den Ausgangspunkt der Argumentation seitens der Filioquisten bildet,[158] erweist einen strukturellen Zusammenhang mit dem augustinischen Denken, das einen enormen Einfluss auf die westliche Position im Mittelalter ausgeübt hat, wie es sich im Synodalbeschluss von Lyon erkennen lässt.[159] So steht bei Augustin: „Wenn also das, was gegeben wird, den Geber zum Urgrund hat, weil dieser nicht anderswoher nimmt, was aus ihm hervorgeht, dann muss man gestehen, dass Vater und Sohn der

154 *PG* 142, 281C: Πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλος μὲν ἄν τις ἴσως ἔσχε σιγῇ βύσας καὶ τὰ ὦτα, μὴ θεμιτὸν κρίνας πρὸς ἄνδρας, οἱ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς κτίσεως ὕπαρξιν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ποιημάτων τροπολογοῦσιν.

155 *PG* 142, 281B: τὸ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐπαγόμενον τῆς δυαρχίας ἔγκλημα.

156 *PG* 142, 281B: Καὶ πῶς, φησι, βεβαιῶ, εἴπερ εἰς ἓν τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν συνάγομεν αἴτιον; καὶ γάρ ἐστιν αἴτιος παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ Πατήρ; ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ' εἷς αἴτιος καὶ οὐ δύο.

157 *PG* 142, 281B: Καίτοι τοῦτο ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστί, σαφέστατα ἂν καὶ βραχὺς ἀποδείξειε λόγος. Δημιουργὸς ἐστί τε καὶ λέγεται ὁ Πατήρ. Δημιουργὸς καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. Δημιουργὸς καὶ δημιουργός, ἀλλ' εἷς δημιουργός. Τοῦτό φησι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου, καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ μεταγαγών, καλῶς ἡμῶν τὸ ἓν αἴτιον καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν εὑρήσεις. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα.

158 Vgl. Konstantin Meliteniotes, Antirrheticus I f. 91v (143, 9–144 Orphanos): οὐ δύο τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀντιδιῃρημέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀρχαί, μία δὲ μᾶλλον, καὶ εἷς αἴτιος ὁ Πατήρ, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γε μήν, οἷα φυσικῶς μεσιτεύοντος.

159 Vgl. H. Denzinger/P. Hünermann, Enchiridion Symbolorum definitionem et declarationum de rebus Fidei et Morum. Freiburg im Br. 2001, Nr. 850: Spiritus Sanctus aeternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno principio, non duabus spirationibus, sed unica spiratione procedit.

Urgrund des Hl. Geistes sind; nicht zwei Urgründe, sondern wie Vater und Sohn ein Gott sind und in Bezug auf die Schöpfung ein Schöpfer und ein Herr, so sind sie in Bezug auf den Hl. Geist ein Urgrund".[160]

Wie reagiert Kyprios auf eine solche Alternative? Er fragt: Nennt die Schrift den Vater, den Sohn und den Geist im einzelnen Schöpfer und Verursacher der Seienden, bezeichnet sie aber den Sohn weder als Verursacher, noch als Ursprung zusammen mit dem Vater auf besondere Weise in Hinblick auf die Theologie? Man solle zuerst beweisen, dass der Sohn an sich als Verursacher genannt wird, bevor man ihn mit dem Vater in ein Verursachendes zusammenführt.[161] Ein weiterer Gedanke: Welche Art von Einheit stellt das Eins-Sein der Ursache dar? Eines, das sich auf die Usia bezieht? Wird dann der Geist, der Eines im Blick auf die Usia mit dem Vater und dem Sohn ist, auch die Eigenschaft des Hervorbringens und Ausgehenlassens nicht haben?[162] Mit anderen Worten: Wenn man aus der Art von Einheit zwischen Vater und Sohn, die sich bei ihrer schöpferischen Tätigkeit feststellen lässt und die auf die Einheit des Wesens zurückzuführen ist, indem man sie auf die innertrinitarischen Verhältnisse überträgt, auf die Einheit des Verursacherseins rückschließt, sollte man dann aus dieser Art von Einheit (sc. des Verursacherseins) den Geist nicht ausschließen, da er am heilsgeschichtlichen Werk Gottes den gleichen Anteil wie die zwei anderen Personen hat? Wenn die trinitarischen Personen nach außen strikt gemeinsam und untrennbar wirken, sollten sie sich in ihrem ewigen Sein ähnlich verhalten.

Die Vermischung zwischen Theologie und Ökonomie verschärft sich noch mehr, wenn man aus der Verleihung, (χορηγία) Sendung (πέμψις) und Ausgießung (ἔκχυσις) des Geistes, Rückschlüsse auf die ewigen von

---

160 Vgl. De Trinitate V 14, 15 (223, 30–35 Mountain / Glorie): *Si ergo et quod datur principium habet eum a quo datur quia non aliunde accepit illud quod ab ipso procedit, fatendum est patrem et filium principium esse spiritus sancti, non duo principia, sed sicut pater et filius unus deus et ad creaturam relatiue unus creator et unus dominus, sic relatiue ad spiritum sanctum unum principium;…*

161 *PG* 142, 281D–282 A: Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, αἴτιος δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ εἴρηται, οὐδὲ ῥίζα, οὐδ' ἀρχή, οὐδὲ προβολή. Ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος. Εἰ τοίνυν δημιουργὸς μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς αἴτιος δὲ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ οὔτε μετὰ τοῦ Πατρός, φησὶν ἡ Γραφή, οὐκ ἄρα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ δημιουργοῦ εἰς ἕνα συναγομένων καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα τοῦ Πνεύματος αἴτια εἰς ἓν συναχθήσεται. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ πρὶν ἢ συναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὅτι καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ Υἱὸς αἴτιος λέγεται δεικνύναι.

162 *PG* 142, 282C: Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ποία τις ἑνότης τὸ ἓν τῆς αἰτίας παρίστησιν; Πότερον τῆς οὐσίας; Καὶ πῶς ἓν κατ' οὐσίαν Πατρί τε καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα θεολογούμενον οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸ προβλητικὸν ἔσται καὶ ἐκπορευτικόν;

der menschlichen Vernunft unbegreiflichen Hervorgänge zieht. Man darf nicht Zeugung und Hervorgang mit dem ökonomischen Wirken Gottes parallel denken oder gleichsetzen.[163] Diese Gleichsetzung hat wegen der Unterscheidung zwischen Wesen und Wirkung Gottes keine Gültigkeit. Letztere ist diejenige, welche grundsätzlich das Verhältnis zwischen Theologie und Ökonomie bestimmt. Das was gesendet, verliehen, und ausgegossen wird, ist nicht die Hypostase des Geistes selbst, sondern sind seine Gnadengaben wegen des Wohlwollens (εὐδοκία) und der Anpassung an die menschlichen Umstände (συγκατάβασις).[164] Der Geist ist nicht identisch mit den Gaben selbst, sondern er ist deren Bewirker.[165] Nur uneigentlich überträgt man auf ihn die Bezeichnung Gabe oder Wirkung (ἐνέργεια), aufgrund seiner Wohltaten und Spendungen.[166] Diese auf die heilsgeschichtliche Offenbarung bezogenen Werke Gottes, wie πέμψις, χορηγία und δόσις der Gaben des Geistes sind deutlich die Erfüllung des göttlichen Willens (θελήματος πληρώσεις) und nicht des Wesens.[167] Gäbe es nicht die Unterscheidung zwischen Wesen und Willens-Energien Gottes, wären auch der Hl. Geist

---

163 *PG* 142, 282D–283 A: ἐκ παραλλήλου τιθέμενοι ὥσπερ αὐτὴν τὴν γέννησιν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκπόρευσιν, ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν σκαιῶς τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἐκεῖθεν ὕπαρξιν τῷ Πνεύματι νέμωσιν, ὅθεν ἐκχεῖσθαι καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπεσθαι λέγεται, ὥσπερ ὅθεν καὶ ἐκπορεύεται, τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς γῆν κλίνοντες καὶ μιγνύντες ἃ μὴ πέφυκε, καὶ πάντα φέροντες καὶ συγχέοντες. Vgl. Sabbatos, Ἡ θεολογικὴ ὁρολογία (wie oben Fußnote 10) 62.

164 *PG* 142, 288B.

165 *PG* 142, 288B: Ἀλλ' ἴσως ὅτι δωρεὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα; Καὶ τί παρὰ τοῦτο. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἁγιασμός, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ εἰρήνη … παρὰ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ οὐχ ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργήσαντος.

166 *PG* 142, 288C: ἐπειδὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πνεύματος) πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἥκει, καὶ ὅσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίαι, θεόθεν, αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι καὶ δωρεαί, εἰκότως ἐνέργεια κέκληται καὶ δωρεά. Die Nichtgleichsetzung des Subjekts mit dem Namen und die Bildung der Namen aufgrund der Wirkungen Gottes ist eine bei den Kappadoziern weit verbreitete Idee, die Kyprios hier übernimmt. Vgl. Gregorius Nyssenus, Contra Eunomium II (*GNO* I 306, 1–3 Jaeger): ἄλλο μέν ἐστι τῇ φύσει τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ σημαντικὸν τοῦ πράγματος ὄνομα; ebd. (268, 27–29): ὀνομάζεται (sc. ὁ θεός) δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων οὐκ αὐτὸ ὅ ἐστιν (ἄφραστος γὰρ ἡ φύσις τοῦ ὄντος) ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐνεργεῖν τι περὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν πεπίστευται. Vgl. auch ebd. (329, 9–12). Für die Unterscheidung zwischen Gabe und Hypostase des Geistes stützt sich hier Kyprios auf Athanasius, den er wörtlich zitiert. Vgl. Epistula ad Serapionem I, 20, *PG* 26, 580 A: Ἑνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἁγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν, ἥτις ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένου ἐκλάμπει, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδοται. Vgl. Gregorios Kyprios, *PG* 142, 288AB.

167 *PG* 142, 282D.

und seine Gaben ununterscheidbar, d.h. wäre die Trennungslinie zwischen dem Teilhabbaren und Unteilhabbaren (μεθεκτόν–ἀμέθεκτον) aufgehoben und damit eine pantheistische Auffassung der Welt zuwege gebracht.

Vor einer solchen Auffassung warnt Kyprios, indem er am Ende von *De Processione* ein wichtiges Zitat aus Dionysius Areopagita in den Vordergrund rückt: „Und wie wird je die Gabe mit dem Schenkenden wesenseins sein? Wie wird sie mit ihm im Blick auf die Natur zusammengeordnet werden? Wie wird die Energeia denselben Bestimmungsgrund mit dem Wesen haben, dessen Wirkung sie ist? Und wie wird etwas seinen Eigenstand haben, wenn es Energeia ist? Denn die Bestimmung der Energeia lässt das nicht zu. Unabhängig davon: als was wirst du denn den Vater bezeichnen? Als Verursacher? (Dann) aber des Sohnes. Wen aber wirst du als Verursacher und Arché des Geistes lehrmäßig festlegen? Etwa nicht den unmittelbaren, nicht denjenigen, der im eigentlichen Sinn Verursacher ist, nicht diesen, der von sich selber und der durch diesen, d.h. durch den Sohn Verursacher ist? Wo hast du eigentlich diese Dinge in der Schrift aufgefunden? Und ergänzend zu dem (was vorher gesagt worden ist), wenn die in ihrer eigenen Hypostase befindliche Usia selbst des Parakleten Gabe und Energeia ist,[168] wir aber Teilhaber des Geschenkes sind, für die die Gabe und die Erleuchtung bewirkt werden, haben und gewinnen wir also Anteil an dem Wesen selbst? Welche Wahrheit wird dann noch die Aussage desjenigen haben, der sagt, man könne an dem Göttlichen nur mittels Energien und Ausstrahlungen Anteil haben?“[169]

---

168 Im Gegensatz zu den Antifilioquisten behaupteten die Filioquisten, dass in den Charismen des Geistes die Hypostase des Geistes selbst gegenwärtig ist. Vgl. Johannes Beccus, Ad Andronicum Camaterum 12, *PG* 141, 424C: Λέγων γὰρ ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις, ‘ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός’ οὐχὶ χάριν τινὰ πέμπειν ἐμφαίνει πνευματικήν, οἱονεὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀποδιῃρημένην τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Παράκλητον, ὅστις θεός ἐστι τέλειος καὶ ἀληθὴς ὡς ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός.

169 *PG* 142, 289–290 A: Καὶ πῶς ἡ δωρεὰ τῷ δωρουμένῳ ὁμοούσιος ἔσται ποτέ; Πῶς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ συνταχθήσεται; Πῶς ἡ ἐνέργεια τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἕξει τῆς οὐσίας ἧς ἐστιν ἐνέργεια; Πῶς δὲ αὐθυπόστατον, εἴπερ ἐνέργεια; οὐ γὰρ παραδέχεται τοῦτο τῆς ἐνεργείας ὁ λόγος. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, τί καὶ ὀνομάσεις τὸν Πατέρα; Αἴτιον; Ἀλλὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος τίνα δογματίσεις αἴτιον καὶ ἀρχήν; οὐ τὸν προσεχῆ, οὐ τὸν κυρίως, οὐ τὸν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν δηλαδή; Ταῦτα καὶ σὺ ποῦ τῆς Γραφῆς εὕρηκας; Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰ δωρεά ἐστι καὶ ἐνέργεια αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Παρακλήτου ἐνυπόστατος οὐσία, μέτοχοι δὲ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἡμεῖς πρὸς οὓς ἡ δωρεὰ καὶ ἡ ἔλλαμψις ἐνεργεῖται, αὐτῆς ἄρα μετέχομεν τῆς οὐσίας καὶ μεταλαμβάνομεν; Καὶ τίνα λοιπὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἕξει ὁ λέγων ἐνεργείαις μόναις καὶ ἐλλάμψεσι τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν μεθεκτόν;

Die Rückschlüsse, die man, den Text objektiv bewertend, ziehen kann, sind in den folgenden wichtigen Punkten zusammengefaßt: Man dürfe nicht behaupten, da der Geist vom Sohn gesendet, verliehen und ausgestrahlt wird, dass er aus diesem Grund auch von ihm ausgeht, sofern das, was gesendet, gespendet und verliehen wird nicht der enhypostatische Geist ist, sondern seine Gnadengaben. Der geschaffene Mensch könne nicht an der Usia Gottes und damit des Geistes teilhaben; Teilhabe sei möglich nur an Energien und Erleuchtungen des Göttlichen, mittels deren Es aus sich selbst heraustrete und mit der Welt in Relation stehe. Der Text macht zusätzlich den begrenzten Charakter eines Analogieschlusses aus der Ökonomie auf die Theologie einsichtig, zumal da gezeigt wird, dass das Verhältnis des Geistes zum Sohn im ökonomischen Sinn keine existenzielle Abhängigkeit des Ersten vom Zweiten bedeutet, wenn schon die Trennungslinie zwischen Sein und dem, das über das Sein hinausliegt, gewahrt bleibt. Hier wird also ein ökonomisches Verhältnis oder eine bestimmte Abhängigkeit des Geistes vom Sohn nicht negiert,[170] sondern eher die Betrachtung dieser Abhängigkeit als Voraussetzung oder Hinweises auf ein direktes Abkunkftsverhältnis zwischen Sohn und Geist deutlich in Frage gestellt.

Als Krönung des Beweisganges, der ein begrenztes Entsprechungsverhältnis zwischen Theologie und Ökonomie zu zeigen beabsichtigt, erweist sich ein Spruch aus Athanasius, mit dem Kyprios die Entfaltung seiner Argumente abschließt: „Die Herabkunft des Hl. Geistes erfolgt mittels Energien und Kräften“.[171]

---

170 Vgl. Wendebourg, Geist oder Energie (wie oben Fußnote 10) 74. Wendebourg behauptet, dass der vorgelegte Abschnitt, begrifflich (wie θεῖον und μέθεξις) und dem Gedankengang nach aus einem anderen Zusammenhang übertragen zu sein scheint, eine Behauptung, die sich aber aus folgenden Gründen nicht bestätigen läßt: Kyprios verwendet ein breites Begriffsmaterial, das er den vorausgangenen Kirchenvätern entnimmt, für die entsprechenden Zusammenhänge. So bezeichnet er z.B. den Vater als Quelle und als gotterzeugende Gottheit und zur Begründung dieser Bezeichnung verweist auf Dionysius Areopagita (277C). In dem in Rede stehenden Abschnitt verwendet er auch den Begriff δωρεά, der schon bei Athanasius häufig gebraucht wird (288BC), wenn er zwischen Geist und den Charismen unterscheidet. Da also schon Dionysius Areopagita in der *Processione* zitiert wurde und die Idee in Vordergrund gestellt wird, dass (anhand Athanasius) Geist und Geistgabe zu unterscheiden sind, scheint nicht absurd zu sein, da sich Kyprios hier auf Dionysius beruft, um die Plausibilität seines Anliegens zu stützen.

171 *PG* 142, 290 A.

Die wichtigsten Punkte dieses Argumentationsganges, welche die vorliegende Studie ans Licht zu bringen versucht hat, sind die folgenden:

Es ist (nach Kyprios) völlig annehmbar zu sagen, dass der Hl. Geist aus der Usia des Sohnes, nicht aber aus seiner Hypostase stamme. Die erste Alternative ist wegen der Wesenseinheit plausibel, welche Sohn und Geist ausmachen und die sie dem Vater als ihrem einzigen Urgrund verdanken.

Der Begriff ἐκπορεύεσθαι bleibt im eigentlichen Sinn für den Hervorgang des Geistes aus dem Vater reserviert. In Hinsicht auf den Hervorgang durch den Sonn (δι' υἱοῦ) verwendet Kyprios andere Verben, wie προϊέναι, προχεῖσθαι, ἐκλάμπειν, ἐκφαίνειν, hingegen im Blick auf die ökonomische Sendung des Geistes, d.h. der Geistgaben wie ἀποστέλλειν, πέμπειν, χορηγεῖν.

Kyprios macht einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen der Existenzweise der Geschöpfe und der der zwei ewigen Verursachten (Sohn und Geist). Alle Geschöpfe sind Verursachte auf schöpferische Weise (αἰτιατά δημιουργικῶς), während der Sohn Verursachendes auf geborene Weise (αἰτιατός γεννητῶς) und der Geist auf die Weise des Hervorgehenlassens (αἰτιατόν ἐκπορευτῶς) sind. Der Paraklet leuchtet durch den Sohn hervor und erscheint, wie aus der Sonne durch den Strahl das Licht. Dies bedeutet zugleich auch die Verleihung, die Gabe und Sendung an uns.[172]

Das Axiom ἅπασα οὐσία ἐνυπόστατός ἐστι, καὶ ὑπόστασις πᾶσα ἐνούσιος, falls es zur Begründung eines hypostatischen Hervorgangs des Geistes vom Sohn verwendet wird, führt zu verheerenden Abwegigkeiten, zumal wenn man im Blick hat, dass die Übertragung der Zahl der Hypostasen auf die Usia und umgekehrt, die Übertragung des Einen der Usia auf die Hypostasen, die Symmetrie innerhalb der Trinität aufhebt.

Bezeichnungen des Geistes als „des Sohnes eigen“, die bei Kyrill vorzufinden sind, dürfen auf gar keinen Fall zugunsten des Filioque, sondern im Sinn einer bestehenden Homousie und Verwandtschaft der Natur ausgelegt werden.

Ausdrücke wiederum, die den Sohn als Ausgießenden, Gewährer und Verleiher des Geistes bezeichnen, beziehen sich ausschließlich auf

---

172 Vgl. Apologia, *PG* 142, 240B-C: δἰ' υἱοῦ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως αὐτὸς ἀϊδίως ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀναδείκνυται ὁ παράκλητος, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἀκτῖνος τὸ φῶς· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς χορηγίαν καὶ δόσιν καὶ ἀποστολήν.

die Ökonomie und auf die Anpassung (συγκατάβασις) Gottes im Rahmen der Heilsgeschichte.

Das heilsgeschichtliche Handeln gibt uns keinen direkten Hinweis auf die innertrinitarischen Verhältnisse, auf das „Sein“ Gottes. Kyprios verneint mit Nachdruck einen Analogieschluss aus der Ökonomie auf die Theologie. Ein Entsprechungsverhältnis wird wiederum in Frage gestellt. Wenn es überhaupt eine innergöttliche Voraussetzung für die zeitliche Sendung des Geistes durch den Sohn gibt, dann liegt sie in der Einheit des Wesens. Umgekehrt: Die Sendung des Geistes und konkret nicht des enhypostatischen Geistes, sondern der Geistgaben, verweist bloß auf die Einheit des Wirkens und folglich des Wesens.

Hinsichtlich des inneren Seins Gottes gibt es keine Ordnung (ἀκολουθία τοῦ εἶναι) bei den Hypostasen, sondern eine bloße Zusammenstellung ihrer Namen (σύνταξις ὀνομάτων), soweit die menschliche Vernunft nicht alle und auf einmal begreifen und aussprechen kann.

In seiner Auslegung des umstrittenen Zitats Gregors von Nyssa „διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου” im Sinne einer gedanklichen Priorität des Sohnes in Bezug auf den Geist als unmittelbar nach dem Vater gedachten Person, hat Gregor Palamas in der Figur des Kyprios seinen Vorläufer gefunden.

In *De Processione* ist wenig die Rede von einer innergöttlichen Offenbarungsrelation zwischen Sohn und Geist. Dieser Punkt, der bis heute nur obenhin von der Forschung berührt worden ist,[173] bedarf immer noch einer gründlicheren Untersuchung, zumal in Hinblick darauf, ob aus der ewigen Manifestation des Geistes durch den Sohn ein direktes Abkunftsverhältnis beider voneinander erschließbar ist. Kyprios ist derjenige byzantinische Theologe, der nach Blemmydes die ewige Beziehung zwischen dem Geist und dem Sohn auf der Grundlage der Sendung des Geistes durch den Sohn in die Welt einer genaueren Bestimmung zuzuführen gesucht hat.

## Abstract

Focussing on the thirteenth-century endings of Byzantine writings against the Latin innovation of the Filioque, the present study aims, on the basis of the work *De processione Spiritus sancti* (1283), to provide the reader with an insight into the nature of the Orthodox argumentation refuting the Filioque. The work was until now attributed to Gregorios Kyprios Patriarch of Kon-

---

173 Vgl. Wendebourg, Geist oder Energie, 102–104; Sabbatos, Θεολογικὴ ὁρολογία (wie oben Fußnote 10), 195–214. Vgl. Apologia, *PG* 142, 267B.

stantinople (1283–1289). However, it is not a product of his pen, but a compiled version of his earlier work, the "Antirrheticos against Bekkos". Throughout the study the writer follows step by step Kyprios' reasoning and tries to control the validity and soundness of the arguments advanced, making at the same time specific references to the patristic and philosophical background of Kyprios' thinking. The study shows beyond any doubt that Kyprios is indebted to his predecessors, mostly to the Cappadocians and Dionysius Areopagites, and that he argues on the same line of reasoning with them in respect to the idea of the "Monarchy" of the Father, of the incommunicable of hypostatic properties, and of the possibility of beings to be in communion with God only through the divine energies. On the ground of these three fundamental ideas, a procession of the Spirit also from the Son is categorically rejected. Only the mission of the Spirit (what is implied here, are the gifts of the Spirit and not the Spirit itself) into the world through the Son is acceptable.

# LEO III AND THE ANEMODOULION

BENJAMIN ANDERSON / WASHINGTON

The Anemodoulion (Ἀνεμοδούλιον, also Ἀνεμοδούριον) was one of the principal marvels of medieval Constantinople, figuring both in the semi-canonical recitation of Constantine of Rhodes and in the reports of foreign travelers.[1] Located just north of the junction of the Mese and the Makros Embolos, it was an exceptionally tall four-sided (or "four-legged") monument with a pyramidal roof, crowned with a bronze statue of a winged woman that functioned as a weather vane.[2] Its upper regions also featured Erotes entangled in vines (here one thinks of some form of inhabited scroll) and two figures of the winds in the form of youths blowing horns (probably in relief, although the text does not specify).[3] Beneath, it was ornamented with a variety of pastoral scenes, apparently marble reliefs, including a number of birds and fruit-trees, and scenes of ploughing, milking, and fishing.[4]

---

Completion of this paper was facilitated by a research fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington. I wish to thank Albrecht Berger and the two anonymous readers for their comments.

1 Constantine of Rhodes: Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des saints Apôtres, ed. É. Legrand. Paris, 1896. Foreign travelers: see the *Kitâb al-Ishârât ilâ Maʿrifat al-Ziyârât* of ʿAlî ibn Abî Bakr al-Harawî, ed. J. W. Meri, A lonely wayfarer's guide to pilgrimage. Princeton 2004, 121: *qubba al-āhwīa al ārbaʿa* "the dome of the four winds." See also A. Berger, Das *Chalkun Tetrapylon* und Parastaseis, Kapitel 57. *BZ* 90 (1997) 7–12, at 9, for a possible reference in Robert de Clari.

2 Location: Berger, *Chalkun tetrapylon* (as footnote 1 above), with the sketch at page 12. Exceptionally tall: Nicetae Choniatae historia, ed. J. van Dieten. *CFHB*, 11. Berlin 1975, at 648 (nearly equal in height to the column monuments of the city). Four-sided: Choniates (τετράπλευρον). Four-legged: Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), line 186 (τετρασκελὲς). Pyramidal roof: Constantine of Rhodes, line 182; Choniates (ἐς ὀξὺ σχῆμα κατὰ πυραμίδα τελευτῶντος). Female figure: Choniates (γυναικόμορφον). Bronze, winged: Constantine of Rhodes, lines 196 f.

3 Erotes on high mock those below: Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), lines 190–192. Figures of the winds: Constantine of Rhodes, lines 193–195.

4 Marble reliefs: Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί (Parastaseis) in: Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum, ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig, 1901, at § 40 (ἀπὸ μαρμάρων ἀναγεγλυμμέναι). (For Parastaseis § 40 as a description of the Anemodoulion, which it does not explicitly name, see e.g. A. Berger, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos. *Poikila Byzantina*, 8. Bonn

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.003

The first source that explicitly names the Anemodoulion/Anemodourion is the eighth-century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai.*[5] It seems certain, however, that it is identical to the bronze tetrapylon (Χαλκοῦν Τετράπυλον) mentioned in passing in various chronicles and in the Synaxarion and Typikon.[6] The earliest report (ordered not by date of the text, but of the event related) pertains to the earthquake of 447.[7] It is possible to collect various scattered reports of its later history; thus by the tenth century it seems to have marked the site of a hay market, while Andronikos Komnenos planned to complement it with a column monument bearing his own statue.[8] Our last report of the Anemodoulion dates to the early 13th century, when Niketas Choniates included it in his catalog of monuments destroyed by the Crusaders.[9]

We have three explicit statements regarding the date of the Anemodoulion's construction. The eighth-century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* record it as a work of Constantine I, while the early tenth-

1988, at 313; F. A. BAUER, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Mainz 1996, at 237.) Birds: *Parastaseis* § 40; Choniates (as footnote 2 above), at 648 (ἅπας μουσικὸς ὄρνις τὰ ἐαρινὰ μελῳδῶν ἐκεῖ ἐντετύπωτο). Fruit-trees: Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), line 189. Ploughing: Parastaseis § 40; Cf. Choniates (γεηπόνων ἔργα). Milking and fishing: these scenes described at some length by Choniates.

5 Parastaseis (as footnote 4 above) § 29. For the date see esp. O. KRESTEN, Leon III. und die Landmauern von Konstantinopel: zur Datierung von c. 3 der *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai. Römische Historiche Mitteilungen* 36 (1994) 21–52.

6 For their identity: BERGER, Untersuchungen (as footnote 4 above), 313 f.; BAUER, Stadt (as footnote 4 above), 237; BERGER, Chalkun Tetrapylon (as footnote 1 above), 8 and fn. 7, responding to the doubts of C. MANGO, The columns of Justinian and his successors, in: Studies on Constantinople. London, 1993, study X.

7 Ioannis Malalae Chronographia, ed. I. THURN. *CFHB*, 35. Berlin 2000, here at 284 f.; Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. DINDORF. *CSHB*, 9. Bonn 1832, here 589. For the date of the earthquake, see B. CROKE, Two early Byzantine earthquakes and their liturgical commemoration. *Byz* 51 (1981) 122–147, here at 131–144.

8 Hay market: *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, ed. L. RYDÉN. Uppsala 1995, lines 1940–43. For the date see fundamentally L. RYDÉN, The date of the *Life of Andreas Salos. DOP* 32 (1978) 127–153. Andronikos: Choniates (as footnote 2 above), 332 f. He did not plan to replace the female figure atop the Anemodoulion with his own statue *(pace* C. MANGO, The art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: sources and documents. Englewood Cliffs 1972, here at 44 fn. 114*)*, but rather to erect a column monument next to the Anemodoulion.

9 Choniates (as footnote 2 above), 648.

century poem of Constantine of Rhodes attributes it to Theodosius I.[10] The late tenth-century *Patria Konstantinopoleos*, finally, report that it was constructed by one Heliodoros during the reign of Leo III.[11] The report of the *Patria* has not been taken seriously by modern commentators, and indeed it would seem to be obviously false if the bronze tetrapylon and the Anemodoulion were identical.[12] In the following, however, I wish to argue that it contains a grain of truth.

Let us begin with a simple consideration: none of the early Byzantine references to the bronze tetrapylon make any mention of its decoration or indicate a function as a weathervane; the designation Anemodoulion/Anemodourion, containing a specific reference to the winds, does not appear before the eighth-century *Parastaseis*.[13] A tetrapylon was a standard element in the urban armature of the Roman era, serving primarily to articulate the junctions of major thoroughfares.[14] For this reason, although we can establish no solid *terminus post quem* for the construction of the bronze tetrapylon, Mango's suggestion that the

---

10 Parastaseis (as footnote 4 above) § 40; Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), line 184.

11 Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Patria) in: Scriptores, ed. Th. Preger (as footnote 4 above), here at § III.114.

12 Mango, Art (as footnote 8 above), at 44, calls the *Patria*'s attribution "highly unlikely in view of its decoration"; if this is a reference to the putative iconoclasm of Leo, one need only recall the lively tradition of figural secular arts among the Isaurian emperors. Thus already A. Grabar, L'iconoclasme byzantin: le dossier archéologique. Paris 1957, here at 157: "les empereurs iconoclastes rejetaient les images religieuses, mais maintenanaient les figurations du cycle impérial." Berger, Untersuchungen (as footnote 4 above), 323, describes the entire passage as "völlig unhistorisch," without further argument.

13 The references known to me from the late Roman chronicles are: Malalas (as footnote 7 above), 284 f. and 424; Chronicon Paschale (as footnote 7 above), 589. From later Byzantine chronicles, but clearly reliant upon late Roman sources: Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor. Leipzig 1883, here at 226; Kedrenos, Historiarum compendium, ed. I. Bekker. *CSHB* 34–35. Bonn 1838–39, at I.609–611 and I.658.

14 For an excellent analysis of the type and its function, see W. L. MacDonald, The architecture of the Roman Empire II: an urban appraisal. New Haven 1986, here at 87–92. M. M. Mango, The porticoed street at Constantinople, in: N. Necipoğlu (ed.), Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life. Leiden 2001, 29–51, at 31, understands the crossing of the Mese and Makros Embolos as the junction of *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*, the ideal site for a tetrapylon.

bronze tetrapylon "appartenait vraisemblablement au tracé primitif" of the Constantinian city is inherently plausible.[15]

While late Roman tetrapyla were frequently embellished with statues, extensive decoration with relief sculptures was somewhat rarer.[16] Furthermore, the pastoral subject matter of the reliefs that decorated the Anemodoulion would be entirely out of place on a civic monument of the late Roman era.[17] We do, however, have a solidly attested instance of the addition of novel two-dimensional representations to a tetrapylon in eighth-century Constantinople. Under Philippikos Bardanes, the Milion was decorated with depictions of the five ecumenical councils, to which a sixth was shortly added; under Constantine V these were replaced with images of horse-racing.[18] Here we might also cite the image which, as related in the letter of the Patriarch Germanos to Thomas of Claudiopolis, was erected "before the royal dwellings" (thus presumably on the Chalkê) by Leo III and Constantine V, "our all-pious and Christ-loving emperors." This portrayed the forms of the apostles and prophets together with texts by the same concerning the Lord.[19] It has been understood by Leslie Brubaker as an ensemble of sculptures in the round, but given that Germanos refers to the image first as a single στήλη, then as a single εἰκών, it is just as likely that we are dealing with a relief sculpture (or indeed a mosaic or painting).[20]

---

15 C. Mango, Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe – VIIe siècles). Paris 2004, here at 30. At 57 he describes the Anemodoulion, which he believes to be distinct from the bronze tetrapylon, as a "belle oeuvre du Ve siècle." No reason is given for the date.

16 Thus also J. Mühlenbrock, Tetrapylon: zur Geschichte des viertorigen Bogenmonuments in der römischen Architektur. Paderborn, 2003, 56–65, esp. at 59 for the "ungewöhnlich" nature of the relief decoration of the Anemodoulion.

17 For a masterful analysis of the iconography of late Roman imperial monuments, see E. Mayer, Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist: Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II. Mainz 2002.

18 Grabar (as footnote 12 above), 55 f. on the council paintings; and 155–157, on the chariot scenes.

19 PG 98: 185 A (cf. Mansi XIII, 124E–125 A):Τί δὲ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τὰ πάντα εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς στήλην ἀληθῶς τῆς οἰκείας φιλοθεΐας, τὴν πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων λέγω εἰκόνα ἐγείραντες, ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἀναθέμενοι τὰς ἰδέας καὶ τὰς τούτων περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐγγράψαντες φωνὰς, τῆς ἑαυτῶν πεποιθήσεως τὸ καύχημα τὸν σωτήριον σταυρὸν ἀνεκήρυξαν;

20 L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, Byzantium in the iconoclast era (ca. 680–850): the sources. *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 7. Aldershot 2001,

Let us return, then, to the report of the *Patria* concerning the Anemodoulion. Its exclusive focus is on the decoration of the monument, not its structure (indeed, no reference is made to a tetrapylon), and its reliefs are explicitly stated to be spolia, reportedly from Dyrrachion.[21] One detail of Constantine of Rhodes's description also makes one think of spolia: he explicitly refers to only two figures of the winds ("one of the west wind, the other of the south wind").[22] If the Anemodoulion were decorated with newly fashioned sculpture, we would expect the full complement of four winds, but if it were decorated with spolia, it is conceivable that only two were available. Is it possible, then, that we are dealing with an eighth-century embellishment of a late Roman tetrapylon?[23] A number of considerations speak in favor of this hypothesis.

First, and most compellingly, we have the marked shift in terminology between the late Roman and the medieval sources. As noted above, Ἀνεμοδούλιον/Ἀνεμοδούριον does not appear before the eighth-century *Parastaseis.*[24] In the medieval period, on the other hand, Χαλκοῦν Τετράπυλον is retained only by those chronographers dependent upon earlier sources in their accounts of late Roman history (Theophanes, Kedrenos) and in the liturgical literature.[25] The latter phenomenon could also be explained by conservative retention: whereas most entries in the Synaxarion use the bronze tetrapylon simply as a topographical indicator, it is discussed more directly in the account of the earthquake of 447, where the text is clearly dependent upon the reports of the late Roman chroniclers.[26] It is also conceivable that ecclesiastical retention

here at 75 f. See also on this passage C. Barber, Figure and likeness: on the limits of representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm. Princeton 2002, here at 52 f.

21 Patria (as footnote 11 above), § III.114: Τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα χαλκουργεύματα τὰ μεγάλα ἤχθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου.

22 Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), line 195: ζέφυρον ἄλλος, ἄλλος αὖ πάλιν νότον.

23 Berger, *Chalkun tetrapylon* (as footnote 1 above), 9, anticipates an argument of this sort: "Die auf dem Tetrapylon dargestellten Szenen passen nicht recht zu einem Siegesdenkmal und überhaupt einem Monumentalbau. Ihre Deutung im Zusammenhang mit diesem Bau ist unklar und würde es auch bleiben, wenn man von einer nachträglichen Anbringung von Reliefs an einen älteren Bogen ausgehen wollte." I hope to show that such an argument does, in fact, clarify the interpretation of the monument.

24 See footnote 5 above.

25 See footnote 13 above.

26 Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano, ed. H. Delehaye. *Acta Sanctorum* 63. Brussels 1902, here at 425: ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωαδισίων ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ χαλκοῦ Τετραπύλου. Malalas (as footnote 7 above), 284 f.: ἀπὸ

of Χαλκοῦν Τετράπυλον indicates a certain reluctance to acknowledge the resolutely secular subject matter of the Anemodoulion's decoration (naked Erotes, etc.).[27] On the other hand, if we are to date the figural decoration of the Anemodoulion to late antiquity, we must imagine that its weathervane and its fantastically baroque decoration attracted no notice from contemporary authors.

We must also consider the rough fate of the bronze tetrapylon in late antiquity. It was affected in one manner or another (specifics are never given) by the earthquake of 447, the fire of 464, and the conflagrations attendant upon the faction riots of 548 and 561.[28] The seventh century does not seem to have witnessed any significant efforts at urban renewal in Constantinople, and by the eighth century the tetrapylon must have been in poor shape, a perfect candidate for a concrete display of *renovatio* under the Isaurian emperors.

Indeed, the decoration of the Anemodoulion fits well within the broader context of artistic production in the era of Iconoclasm. Three sets of wind figures, otherwise a very rare motif in medieval Byzantine art, appear in the Vatican Ptolemy (Vat. Gr. 1291), in all likelihood an imperial commission of Constantine V.[29] From the little that we know of the contemporary decoration of churches, the Isaurian emperors seem

---

τῶν λεγομένων Τρῳαδησίων ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ Χαλκοῦ Τετραπύλου. Chronicon Paschale (as footnote 7 above), 589: ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων Τρῳαδησίων Ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ χαλκοῦ Τετραπύλου.

27 The nudity of the Erotes is emphasized by both Constantine of Rhodes (as footnote 1 above), line 190, and Choniates (as footnote 2 above), 648. For a survey of medieval Byzantine attitudes towards the representation of nudity, see H. Maguire, The profane aesthetic in Byzantine art and literature. *DOP* 53 (1999) 189–205, here at 200–203.

28 Earthquake of 447: Malalas (as footnote 7 above) 284–285; Chronicon Paschale (as footnote 7 above), 589. Fire of 464: Kedrenos (as footnote 13 above), I.609–611; for the date, see C. Mango/R. Scott, The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern history AD 284–813. London 1997, here at 174. Riots of 548: Theophanes (as footnote 13 above), 226; Kedrenos, I.658. Riots of 561: Malalas, 424.

29 At folios 45v–46r, 46v, and 47v. For a reproduction of 46r, see B. Obrist, La cosmologie médiévale. Textes et images. I. Les fondements antiques. Florence 2004, Fig. 60. For the date of the manuscript, see D.H. Wright, The date of the Vatican illuminated handy tables of Ptolemy and of its early additions. *BZ* 78 (1985) 355–362. Wind personifications also appear in manuscripts of the *Christian Topography* (e.g. Vat. Gr. 699, f. 40v; reproduction in C. Stornajolo, Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste. Milan 1908, Tav. 7) and in the Khludov psalter, an image clearly derived from the *Topography* (Moscow, Historical Museum Cod. 129, f. 133r; reproduction in M.V. Ščepkina, Miniatjury chludovskoj psaltyri. Moscow 1977).

to have favored pastoral imagery of the sort found on the Anemodoulion, in particular representations of fruits and birds.[30] Here we should also mention the poorly understood question of the Horologion of Hagia Sophia, a public monument that attracted much attention from medieval travelers and is comparable to the Anemodoulion as a metrological monument. The bronze doors of the Horologion, at least, were erected in 838/39 under Theophilus and Patriarch John ("the Grammarian"), and it is easy to imagine that their installation would have coincided with a renovation (or the original construction?) of the monumental clock itself.[31] It is noteworthy that Hârûn ibn Yahyâ and al-Harawî were both told that the clock was a work of Balînâs/Apollonius, and that John the Grammarian was remembered in later centuries as "the new Apollonius."[32] It is thus conceivable that a memory of Patriarch John's activity was concealed behind the popular attribution to the famous magician.

A similar mechanism may be at work in the *Patria*'s account of the Anemodoulion. The only truly fabulous element of this passage is its statement that the monument was built παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς, "by the impious Heliodoros." Heliodoros was a name that, by the middle Byzantine period, had become attached to a multitude of figures, nearly all of whom were capable of conflation with each other: the author of the *Aethiopica*, a fourth-century bishop of Tricca, the author of some iambic verses on alchemy, and the sorcerer-adversary of Leo of Catania in the *Life* of the latter (*BHG* 981). In brief, Heliodoros

30 See especially: La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre, ed. M.-F. Auzépy. *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs*, 3. Aldershot 1997, here at 126 f. (text) and 221 f. (translation).

31 For the inscriptions of the bronze doors, see C. Mango, When was Michael III born? *DOP* 21 (1967) 253–258, at 253 f.

32 Hârûn: J.-C. Ducène, Une deuxième version de la relation d'Hârûn ibn Yahyâ sur Constantinople. *Der Islam* 82 (2005) 241–255, here at 246 (text) and 248 (translation). Harawî: a fragment preserved in Zakariyyâ' b. Muhammad b. Mahmûd al-Qazwînî, *Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1848, here at II.407. French translation in A. Vasiliev, Quelques remarques sur les voyageurs du Moyen Age à Constantinople, in: Mélanges Charles Diehl. Paris 1930, I.293–298, here at 296. Identification of the clock described by Harawî with the horologion of Hagia Sophia requires reading *al-mīdān* not as "hippodrome", but more generically as "square" (i.e. the Augusteion): thus also Vasiliev, "il se trouve dans l'Hippodrome (ou sur une place?)". The entire question of the public clocks of medieval Constantinople is confused and merits a separate study. John as "new Apollonius": P. Magdalino, L'orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VIIe–XIVe siècle). Paris 2006, here at 58–59.

had become "il tipo del sapiente munito di un sapere arcano, del filosofo-mago."[33] It is simultaneously possible that an actual historical figure, some functionary of Leo III, lies behind this popular attribution.

Indeed, if one strips the *Patria*'s report to its essentials, there is nothing inherently implausible about the claim that the Anemodoulion was decorated under Leo III. In fact, the attribution solves a number of difficulties regarding the interpretation of the monument and the sudden shift in the terminology used to describe it. It is furthermore difficult to imagine why the patriographers should have wished to attribute one of the marvels of Constantinople to an emperor whom they openly despised.[34] There is no patriographic reflex to ascribe monuments to Leo, as there was to Constantine I. The assertion of Constantine of Rhodes, that the Anemodoulion was a work of Theodosius I, could conceivably refer to the erection of the original bronze tetrapylon, a possibility not excluded by that original monument's *terminus ante quem* of 447. But had Constantine of Rhodes been aware of an association with Leo III, he would have had every reason to suppress any mention of the (by then) hated Isaurian in the composition of a work dedicated to Constantine VII.

I would therefore propose the following chronology for the bronze tetrapylon: it was erected early in the city's history, perhaps already under Constantine I, as a standard element of Roman civic armature. At this time the most notable feature of its decoration was its incorporation of bronze, and it was this that led to its conventional name (Χαλκοῦν Τετράπυλον). We should probably imagine that its pyramidal roof was

---

33 See A. A. Longo, La Vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro. *RSBN* 26 (1989) 1–98, here esp. at 13–15; quotation at 15. A potential problem results if one views the Heliodoros of the *Patria*, apparently a functionary of Leo, as "identical" to the Heliodoros of *BHG* 981, who is explicitly presented as an adversary of "our most pious emperors, Leo and Constantine," usually identified as Leo III and Constantine V; for the identification *ibid.*, 43–44. The *Vita* has further been read as a specimen of "iconoclast" hagiography, and Heliodoros as the figure of the "iconodule" rendered ridiculous: *ibid.*, 43–55 and M.-F. Auzépy, L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des vies de saints iconoclastes. *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992), 57–67, here at 62–67. The problem is avoided if one simply sees Heliodoros as the stock character of the sorcerer.

34 See e. g. Patria (as footnote 11 above), § III.31, with Berger, Untersuchungen (as footnote 4 above), 283 (legend of the destruction of the Octagon, related in full polemical mode).

clad in bronze tiles, not unlike the gate of the imperial palace.[35] The structure suffered from numerous earthquakes and fires throughout the subsequent centuries, but by the late eighth century had been redecorated with a weathervane, in addition to reused figures of the winds and pastoral reliefs, and was rechristened the Anemodoulion/Anemodourion. The eighth-century *terminus ante quem* of this redecoration, provided by the references in the *Parastaseis*, renders the *Patria*'s attribution of the structure's decoration to Leo III plausible. Furthermore, elements of its decoration fit far better in the artistic environment of the eighth century than in that of late antiquity.

If the attribution of the Anemodoulion proper to the reign of Leo III is accepted, it is furthermore possible to propose a specific occasion for its erection. The Arab naval siege of Constantinople in 717/18 was, as all sources agree, ultimately crushed when a storm arose and scattered the ships, which may already have been in retreat.[36] A fascinating account of this event is preserved in the Armenian historiographical tradition. According to the earliest version of this narrative, the Arab commander Maslama wrote to Leo bragging that he would turn Hagia Sophia into a bathhouse and break the True Cross over his head if he should not surrender. In response Leo "took the unconquerable standard upon his shoulders, accompanied by the patriarch and the multitude of the populace, with candles and incense, raising a hymn, and came through the gate of the city. The king struck with the standard of the cross the waters of the sea, saying thrice, 'Help us, Christ, Savior of the world.' And straightway the depths of the sea were stirred and drowned the army of Ishmael."[37]

---

35 See e.g. C. MANGO, The brazen house: a study of the vestibule of the imperial palace in Constantinople. *Arkaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser*, 4,4. Copenhagen 1959, here at 21.

36 For the sources see esp. I. ROCHOW, Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes: quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813. *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*, 57. Berlin 1991, here at 95–97; P. SPECK, Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der *Liber Pontificalis:* eine quellenkritische Untersuchung. Teil 1: Die Anfänge der Regierung Kaiser Leons III. *Poikila Byzantina*, 19. Bonn 2002, here at 273–281.

37 S. GERO, Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III. *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalia, Subsidia*, 41. Louvain 1973, here at 134–136, translated from the text of the eleventh-century chronicler Stephen of Taron. Cf. Des Stephanos von Taron armenische Geschichte, tr. H. GELZER and A. BURCKHARDT. Leipzig, 1907, here at 96. A more elaborate version of the story, which Gero believes to depend on Stephen, is preserved in: History of Lewond, the

The historicity of this episode it not of interest to us. What is clear is that it represents a pro-Isaurian account of the siege of 717/18 that cannot possibly derive from "local" Armenian sources, but must rather derive from a lost Greek source of the eighth or ninth century. As Gero has argued, that source may well have been "a lost iconoclastic *synaxis* for August 15", on which date, in later centuries, the delivery of the city through the intervention of a Marian icon would be celebrated.[38] Two elements of the account are suggestive of a composition in the immediate aftermath of the siege: its unambiguously positive image of Leo, and the frequent comparison of the Arab troops to Pharaoh's army. This latter motif is prominent in the two earliest extant Greek accounts of the siege, a homily of Germanos and the iambic verses of Theodosius Grammaticus.[39]

Although the topographical indicators of the procession described are extremely vague, it is nevertheless possible to present a plausible reconstruction of its course. Let us begin with its terminus: the company exited through a gate and onto the shore, where Leo struck the water with a cross. Our sources invariably present the storm as arising in the Sea of Marmara, so we should imagine the procession as issuing on that coast. The southern sea walls possessed a number of gates, which have been the subject of some confusion in the literature, but our attention here should be drawn to a notice in the *Patria* according to which the Kontoskalion Gate took its name from a certain *tourmarch* named Agallianos Kontoskeles.[40] This figure is to be identified with the Agallianos, *tourmarch* of the Helladic fleet, who mounted an unsuccessful revolt against Leo III in 727.[41] The Kontoskalion itself is now

eminent Vardapet of the Armenians, tr. Z. Arzoumanian. Wynnewood, 1982, here at 112.

38 Gero, Leo III (as footnote 36 above), 37 and 189. For the argument against any use of a Marian icon in the procession of 717–18, B. V. Pentcheva, Icons and power: the Mother of God in Byzantium. University Park 2006, 46–48.

39 V. Grumel, Homélie de Saint Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople. *REB* 15 (1957) 183–205, especially at 197 (text) and 204 (translation). For the poem of Theodosius Grammaticus see S. P. Lampros, Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα. Athens, 1884, 129–132, especially at line 15; further Gero, Leo III (as footnote 36 above), 172–176.

40 Patria (as footnote 11 above), § III.133.

41 PMBZ 113. For the revolt, see Theophanes (as footnote 13 above), 405; cf. Rochow, Byzanz (as footnote 35 above), 118 f. and Speck, Leon III. (as footnote 35 above), 489 f. For the identity of the patron and rebel, e.g. Preger, Scriptores (as footnote 4 above), 329; R. Guilland, Les ports de Byzance sur la Propontide. *Byz* 23 (1953) 181–238, here at 226.

commonly identified with the easternmost of the two major harbors on the Marmara coast, that of Julian / Sophia.[42] We should imagine, then, that the Harbor of Julian and its gate (the Turkish Kum Kapı) were restored in the decade following the defeat of the Arab siege. The renewed site will have provided the ideal terminus for a procession commemorating the victory.[43]

If the procession terminated at the Kontoskalion, then it must have originated at the bronze tetrapylon, whence a street led southwest to this very gate.[44] Indeed, the tetrapylon was a close neighbor of one of the three major cross monuments of Constantinople, that which was named, according to the ninth-century "Guidi-Vita" (*BHG* Nr. 364) of the Emperor Constantine, "Victory" and "Invincible".[45] Although the medieval sources see this as a dedication of Constantine himself, later restored by Heraclius, it seems likely that it was erected only under Heraclius in the seventh century.[46] The site of a major cross monument

---

42 E.g. W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur topographie Istanbuls. Tübingen 1977, here at 62 f.; A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, Τὸ Κοντοσκάλιο καὶ τὸ Ἑπτάσκαλο: Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτητῶν λιμανιῶν τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης κατὰ τὴν ὕστερη περίοδο. Βηζαντινά 13 (1985) 1302–28.

43 Berger, Untersuchungen (as footnote 4 above), 483 f., argues that the Patria's etymology for the name of the gate / harbor is a "nachträgliche Konstruktion," and that the name Kontoskalion actually indicates "Hafen mit kurzem Anlegesteg." This is quite plausible, but it does not explain why the authors should wish to associate the gate with Agallianos. It is more likely that they knew an inscription on the gate naming the *tourmarch*, and then invented a second name for him (Kontoskeles) to provide a fake etymology for the harbor's conventional name. Berger argues that "Mit dem Bau des Hafens kann er [Agallianos] nach den historischen Umständen seines Aufstandes kaum etwas zu tun haben." But this ignores that he was clearly named tourmarch *before* launching his rebellion, and must therefore have had a long career in the navy, during which he might at any time have been involved in the construction of a harbor and / or gate (thus e.g. between 718 and 727). More to the point is Guilland, Ports (as footnote 40 above), 226: "En sa qualité de tourmarque, Agallianos était tout à fait qualifié pour diriger les travaux d'un port."

44 See esp. A. Berger, Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel. *IstMitt* 47 (1997), 349–414, here at 406 with Abb. 9.

45 Un βίος di Costantino, ed. M. Guidi. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* Ser. 5, 16 (1907) 304–340 and 637–662, here at 650–652. Cf. the translation by F. Beetham, Constantine Byzantinus: the anonymous *Life of Constantine* (BHG 364), in: S. N. C. Lieu / D. Montserrat (eds.), From Constantine to Julian: pagan and Byzantine views. London 1996, 97–146, here at 139 f.

46 Bauer, Stadt (as footnote 4 above), 351–353.

would form a fitting starting point for a procession in which the emperor bore a cross upon his shoulders.[47]

The decoration of the bronze tetrapylon with a weathervane and reliefs of the winds, therefore, would have been an appropriate gesture in the aftermath of the Arab siege, which according to Isaurian ideology had been lifted when Leo implored God to raise up a storm that blew the fleet away. The bronze tetrapylon would have been the ideal candidate for this new decoration on account of its proximity to the cross known as "Invincible" and associated with Constantine and Heraclius. We can well imagine a yearly re-enactment of the event on August 15th, beginning at the Anemodoulion and ending at the Konstoskalion. The restoration of the two termini by Leo and his officials would represent an attempt to lend the new triumphal route an appropriate monumentality.

Mango has argued that the outer portion of the so-called Golden Gate at the southern end of the Constantinopolian land walls, which was decorated with various mythological reliefs in secondary use, was a "triumphal monument of the middle Byzantine period." He preferred a ninth- or tenth-century date for this ensemble, a proposal which has since been seconded on technical grounds.[48] If the arguments presented above are accepted, then we have recovered a still earlier triumphal monument of medieval Constantinople, and one with striking similarities to the Golden Gate: a pre-existing monument embellished in the medieval period with re-used late Roman reliefs of a secular character.

Thus the apparent origin of the Anemodoulion in the era of Leo III should cause us to reconsider the origins of imperial efforts to rebuild Constantinople as a fitting capital for a medieval empire. If we are correct to associate the construction of the Anemodoulion with the defeat of the Arab fleet, then this would constitute the first proper triumphal monument erected in Constantinople since the reign of

47 This remarkable detail in the Armenian account adds an element of *imitatio Christi* to the Mosaic resonances of Leo's procession that have frequently been noted. Typology in a single body! Although the reference of the Armenian sources to the cross as "unconquerable" may be generic, it is also possible that it preserves an allusion to this specific monument, known in the Greek sources as the ἀνίκητον (as in the Guidi-Vita, as in footnote 44 above, and Nikephoros Kallistos, PG 146, 121B).

48 C. Mango, The triumphal way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *DOP* 54 (2000) 173–188, here at 181–186; N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-İstanbul: historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen. *Millennium-Studien*, 18. Berlin, 2007, here at 61–71.

Heraclius.[49] Nor would it be a unicum in Leo's reign. A stretch of the walls of Nicaea was restored after the Arab attack of 727, and the finely cut inscription, which attributes the work to "our Christ loving emperors Leo and Constantine," explicitly commemorates the site where "the insolence of the enemies was put to shame."[50] The style of the rebuilt walls, consisting of regularly cut and coursed spoils, is highly distinctive and, it might be argued, intentionally historicizing.[51]

After the earthquake of 740, large stretches of the land walls of Constantinople were likewise restored, with the inscriptions once more invoking the victory of Leo and Constantine.[52] Their dedication was accompanied by a procession in which the victorious emperors were acclaimed by the circus factions in traditional fashion.[53] The style of the walls is, in this case, most noteworthy for the effort that was made to replicate the appearance of the original Theodosian walls.[54]

The emperors of the seventh and early eighth centuries had precious few victories to celebrate, but following the retreat of the Arab fleet in 718, Leo and his confidants might reasonably have felt that a corner had been turned. The appropriation of the old tetrapylon as a new victory monument and the rebuilding or restoration of the Kontoskalion gate would thus mark the first concrete traces of a new ideology of *renovatio*. As such it bears comparison to the *Ecloga*, promulgated in all likelihood at the very end of Leo's reign, and explicitly presented as a reform

49 The last attested monument before the Anemodoulion would be the equestrian statue of Niketas, cousin of Heraclius, celebrating his victory over the Persians in 614. Anth. Plan. 46 and 47; and see further F. A. Bauer, Statuen hoher Würdenträger im Stadtbild Konstantinopels. *BZ* 96 (2003), 493–513, here at 511–512: "das letzte vollplastische Bildwerk der Antike überhaupt".

50 ἔνθα θεεικῇ βοηθείᾳ τὸ τῶν ἐκθρῶν καταισκύνθη θράσος, / ἐκεῖ οἱ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς Λέων κ(αὶ) Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνε- / καίνησαν πόθῳ τὴν πόλιν Νήκαιαν …. A.M. Schneider/W. Karnapp, Die Stadtmauer von İznik (Nicaea). *İstanbuler Forschungen*, 9. Berlin, 1938, here at 49.

51 See especially C. Foss and D. Winfield, Byzantine fortifications: an introduction. Pretoria, 1986, at 90 and 100.

52 For the most recent appraisal of the stretches restored, see Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer (as footnote 48 above), 174–175. For the inscriptions see B. Meyer-Plath/A.M. Schneider, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel, Zweiter Teil. *Denkmäler antiker Architektur*, 8. Berlin, 1943, at 127 (nos. 12, 13, and 16), 128 (no. 18), 130 (no. 24), 131 (no. 29), 132 (no. 32), 134 (nos. 38 and 39): typical is the formula Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου.

53 Parastaseis (as footnote 4 above) § 3. See fundamentally on this passage Kresten, Leon III. (as footnote 5 above), esp. at 44–46 for comparisons with late Roman acclamations.

54 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer (as footnote 48 above), 174.

measure to ensure the better comprehension of the law, with the ultimate hope that the emperors of a just state might be crowned with further victories over their enemies.[55]

The ideology of renewal, with specific reference to late antique models, was continued in the reign of Constantine V, as Paul Magdalino has recently argued. At least two of the elements of this renewal can be traced directly back to Leo's reign: the emphasis on developing the region between the Mese and the Kontoskalion, anticipated by the monumental constructions discussed here, and the revival of interest in imperial ceremonial, anticipated by the procession to the sea and the dedication of the restored walls of Constantinople.[56] Thus, even if it now seems inaccurate to trace the origins of imperial iconoclasm back to Leo's initiative, we might still seek in his reign the origins of an Isaurian ideology of imperial renewal more broadly construed.[57]

## Abstract

The Anemodoulion, a Constantinopolitan tetrapylon decorated with numerous figural reliefs and crowned by a weathervane, has traditionally been seen as an entirely late antique construction. A re-evaluation of the medieval sources shows that, while the tetrapylon itself was constructed in late antiquity, its figural decoration and conversion into a weathervane likely date to the reign of Leo III (717–741). Viewed in connection with other monuments of Leo's reign, in particular the gate of the Kontoskalion Harbor, and historical accounts of the end of the Arab siege of 717/18, the Anemodoulion may be interpreted as a triumphal monument celebrating the dispersal of the Arab fleet via a powerful storm. It thus provides new insight into the earliest efforts of the Isaurian emperors to rebuild Constantinople as a fitting capital for a medieval empire.

---

55 As explicitly stated in the Proimion. Ecloga, das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V., ed. L. Burgmann. *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 10. Frankfurt, 1983, here at lines 21–51; and pages 100–104 for the date.

56 P. Magdalino, Constantine V and the Middle Age of Constantinople, in: Studies on the history and topography of Byzantine Constantinople. Aldershot, 2007, Study IV. For an ideological building program under Constantine see also R. Ousterhout, The architecture of iconoclasm: the buildings, in Haldon and Brubaker, Iconoclast era (as in note 19 above), 3–19, here at 17–18.

57 See esp. P. Speck, Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der *Liber Pontificalis:* eine quellenkritische Untersuchung. Teil 2: Eine neue Erkenntnis Kaiser Leons III. *Poikila Byzantina*, 20. Bonn 2003.

# A POEM OF PHILES TO MAKARIOS CHRYSOKEPHALOS? THE CASE OF POEM FLORENTINUS 58

MARINA BAZZANI/OXFORD

Philes' poem Flor. 58 is one of a series of 6 short iambic poems without title sandwiched between a composition entitled Χαρτοφύλακι τῷ Κουτάλῃ and some Ἐπιτάφιοι τῷ δεσπότῃ κυρῷ Μανουήλ.[1] In a footnote to the first of these texts Miller, the editor of Philes' poems, reports the following annotation by Bandini, the author of the manuscript catalogue of the Laurentiana library,[2] who described the codex where these compositions are found: "Varia epigrammata iambica, nullo titulo,

I wrote this article during a fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks and after discussing some of Philes' poems at the Friday reading group. I am most grateful to Alice-Mary Talbot for inspiration and to Stratis Papaioannou for his helpful comments.

1 E. Miller, Manuelis Philae Carmina. Paris 1855–1857 (reprinted Amsterdam 1967) I 232–235 (hereafter Carmina). In his edition Miller grouped the poems according to the provenance of the manuscripts (*Escurialenses*, *Florentini*, *Parisini*, *Vaticani*); in the text poems will be identified by the manuscript initial and its numbering in the manuscript. A shorter volume of poems was published by E. Martini about fifty years later: E. Martini, Manuelis Philae Carmina inedita. *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, 20. Naples 1900 (hereafter Carmina inedita). Several poems were also published by E. Gedeon in Μανουὴλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα. *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 4/3 (1882–83) 215–220, 244–250, 652–659. For bibliography, a discussion of the editions of Miller and Martini and a listing of the manuscripts containing Philes' poems see G. Stickler, Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase. Wien 1992, 71–84 (hereafter Psalmenmetaphrase). For a general discussion of the poet's life and works see A.-M. Talbot/A. Cutler, Philes, Manuel. *ODB* 3, 1651. In recent years Philes' poems, especially epigrams on works of art have attracted scholars' attention; see for example, A.-M. Talbot, Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its art. *DOP* 48 (1994) 135–165; ead., Epigrams in context: Metrical inscriptions on art and architecture of the Palaiologan era. *DOP* 53 (1999) 75–90; E. Pietsch, Manuel Philes und die übernatürliche Macht der Epigrammdichtung, in W. Hörandner/A. Rhoby (Hrsg.), Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme. Vienna 2008, 85–92; ead., Die Stummheit des Bildes. *JÖB* 57 (2007) 135–148; Ead., Ein Aspekt der Rezeption der Anthologia Planudea in Bildepigrammen des Manuel Philes, in: Imitatio – Aemuliatio – Variatio. Vienna (2010) 217–230. ead., Beseelte Bilder. Epigramme des Manuel Philes auf bildliche Darstellungen. Wien 2010.

2 A. M. Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus manuscriptorum qui iussu Petri Leopoldi imperatoris in Laurentiana translati sunt. Florence 1791–1793.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.004

sed videntur ad imperatorem Ducam scripta".[3] Although some elements of the poems seem to support such speculation – for instance, in poem Flor. 57 the recipient is addressed as βασιλεύς and πνοὴ τῶν Αὐσόνων; and Flor. 59 opens with the words Δοῦκα σθεναρέ[4] – I would like to suggest that Philes composed and dedicated poem Flor. 58 to the monk, exegete and later Metropolitan of Philadelphia Makarios Chrysokephalos. A close reading of the text reveals several hints, subtle allusions and puns which make this identification plausible. Moreover, if this identification were true, it would also be possible to date the poem with relative precision.

Makarios Chrysokephalos[5] was born around 1300 to a noble family of Trapezuntine origin,[6] his place of birth is uncertain as well as the vicissitudes of his youth.[7] He is first attested in July 1327[8] in the hexametric colophon of codex *Marc. gr.* 83 as Michael, his baptismal name.[9] By 1328 he became a monk and later a hieromonk, until he was

---

3 Miller, Carmina, I 232 note 5. Miller has a high regard for Bandini's work as he writes in his preface when describing the manuscripts used for his edition: "Florentinus codex […] maxima cura singulatim descriptus est in Bandini *Catalogo*, t. II, col. 147 et sq." *Ibid.*, II, viii–ix.

4 Miller, Carmina, I 232–233.

5 It is now universally accepted that Chrysokephalos was a proper family name and not a sobriquet given to Makarios because of his collection of excerpts from the Fathers of the Church (χρυσᾶ κεφάλαια), as Krumbacher had argued; see K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur. Munich 1897, 603. Further evidence of Makarios' last name and of the status of his family can be drawn from a seal that belonged to the ὕπατος Michael Chrysokephalos, perhaps one of his ancestors; see G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l' Empire byzantin. Paris 1884, 637.

6 For a detailed discussion of Makarios's life see G. Passarelli (ed.), Macario Crisocefalo (1300–1382): L'omelia sulla festa dell'Ortodossia e la basilica di S. Giovanni di Filadelfia. Rome 1980 (hereafter Macario Crisocefalo); A.-M. Talbot, Chrysokephalos, Makarios. *ODB* 1, 453; D. Stiernon, Macaire Chrysokephalos. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 10 (1980) 6–10. An interesting discussion of Makarios' autograph manuscripts is found in A. Turyn, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy. Urbana/Chicago/London 1972, I, 156–164, 168–172.

7 Stiernon affirms that Makarios was undoubtedly born in Constantinople and became a monk in one of the monasteries dedicated to the Trinity, Macaire Chrysokephalos, 6. Passarelli instead seems to accept the possibility that Makarios spent his youth, and perhaps was even born, in Philadelphia, Macario Crisocefalo, 25; but the evidence is very tenuous and quite inconclusive.

8 Passarelli (as footnote 6 above) 26.

9 Codex *Mar. Gr.* 83 is a miscellaneous collection of texts – it contains, for instance, a theological passage of Leo the Wise, a dodecasyllabic poem to the

elected metropolitan of Philadelphia in Lydia in January 1336, as can be inferred from an autograph note also written in *Marc. gr.* 83.[10] As metropolitan he often went to Constantinople where he took active part in the theological debates on the Union of the Churches and Palamism. Makarios was also a candidate for the patriarchal throne in 1353, but in the end the emperor chose Philotheos Kokkinos instead. Probably after 1365 he retired to Philadelphia where he died in 1382.[11] Makarios was a learned man renowned and praised among his contemporaries as an orator and a writer; he composed the *Rhodonia*, an anthology of proverbs and excerpts from classical authors, *Catenae* on Genesis, the Gospel of Matthew and Luke, several homilies and, probably in the last part of his life, a vita of St. Meletios of Galesios.

In the following pages I would like to offer an analysis and a short commentary on this poem in an attempt to prove that Makarios was its addressee, as well as to highlight what an unexpected richness of material can be discovered even in such a short occasional text.

Τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἥδιστα καινίζων σχέσιν,
Ὦ τῆς ἐμῆς ἄληκτε κοσμῆτορ τύχης,
Καὶ φιλοτιμότατε, καὶ πτωχοτρόφε,
Ῥύθμιζε καὶ πύκαζε καὶ στόλιζέ με
Τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς τῇ προληφθείσῃ σκέπῃ·
Τὴν γὰρ ἀκαλλῆ καὶ κατεσπιλωμένην,
Ἧς μακρὸς ἐξέλυσε τὸν τόνον χρόνος,
Ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐ φορητόν μοι στέγειν·
Σὺ δὲ χρυσοῦς ὢν τὴν χρυσῆν ἔχε σκέπην,
Κἂν εἰς τὰ μὴ ῥέοντα σωφρόνως βλέπῃς.

Renewing the customary bond of affection to my greatest pleasure,
Oh unceasing guide of my fate,

Mother of God, tetrastichs of Gregory of Nazianzus – but the largest part of the manuscript, f. 6r to 180v, is taken up by the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus. Passarelli argues that this, as well as the presence of the hexametric colophon, seems to indicate Makarios' interest in poetry during his youth, and considers it as the first step in the refinement of language and style for which Chrysokephalos would become famous among his contemporaries later in life. If so, we might think that Makarios' propensity for poetry was a reason for Philes' acquaintance with him and for his poetic homage. See Passarelli (as footnote 6 above) 26–27.

10 ibid., 28.

11 ibid., 43.

Both most munificent, and supporter of the poor,
Direct and surround and dress me
With the previously discarded hat from your head;
For I cannot bear to wear over my head
The unattractive and stained hat
Whose firmness a long period of time has destroyed.
Have the golden cover, you who are golden,
Even though you prudently fix your gaze on things that are not ephemeral.[12]

v. 1: Philes does not begin this composition with an appeal to his recipient, but by emphasising strongly the affectionate relationship that the dedicatee has with him; the kind of relationship existing between the two is more precisely defined by the expression ἥδιστα, which conveys the poet's satisfaction with this friendship, and ἐξ ἔθους, which reminds the addressee of his long familiarity with Philes, and thus, discreetly, of his obligations towards him. The importance of the relationship between the two is further underlined by the prominent position of τὴν σχέσιν which frames the line. Although in the first verse the poet strives to present the rapport as equal, it will soon emerge that Philes actually finds himself in a subordinate position, where he needs both material help and protection.

v. 2–3: once the bond of affection with the recipient has been clearly established, Philes finally addresses his recipient as κοσμῆτορ τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης. The use of the word κοσμῆτορ is a clear example of the several layers of meaning often present in Philes' poems. For κοσμήτωρ means both 'guide, leader' and 'one who adorns' (LSJ, s.v.). The ambiguity of this expression – on the one hand, the guiding function of leader, on the other the more material function of someone who adorns – seems to disguise a subtle request for gifts already from the beginning of the poem. The term κοσμήτωρ is found numerous times in Greek and Byzantine authors, but, the phrase κοσμῆτορ τύχης appears only in Philes (Flor. 118, 11; Flor. 131, 7; Martini 76, 5[13]) and always in the same verse position. It should also be noted that, even though ἄληκτε κοσμῆτορ – which is to be found only here – has a preeminent position in the centre of the verse, it is enclosed within τῆς ἐμῆς and τύχης, both of which refer to Philes: by doing so the reader's attention is immediately

12 The text printed above is edited in Miller, Carmina, I 233; the translation is mine. I would like to thank Mary Whitby for her help with it.

13 Martini, Carmina inedita, 97; this poem is a longer version of Flor. 131.

redirected from the recipient to the poet. The shift between request and homage continues into the next line; for Philes compliments his addressee and, at the same time, underlines his liberality – by defining him as φιλοτιμότατε, most munificent – and his concern for the poor: thus, the author ingeniously continues to solicit for gifts, while apparently praising his interlocutor.

v. 4–5: at this point Philes spells out his request: he is asking for the addressee's old hat. The request is carefully expressed in l. 4 by means of the three imperative verbs, which break the verse into three equal tetrasyllabic cola, differentiated only by the presence of με in place of καί at the end of the line, and make it very balanced. It is worth dwelling briefly on the verbs Philes uses here, as they are quite revealing and bring out different aspects of his relationship with the recipient.

ῥυθμίζω means to arrange, order something or, when referred to persons, to educate, train (LSJ, s.v.); by choosing this word Philes is resuming and playing with the preceding κοσμήτωρ: since the addressee is endowed with the skills of a leader, the poet seeks to be guided and educated by him; by doing so Philes is acknowledging the recipient's superior status and complimenting him for his skills. πυκάζω to cover closely, surround (LSJ, s.v.), often conveys also an idea of protection (*Il.* 10. 271; 17. 551); although at first glance one could interpret πύκαζε simply as 'wrap, cover', by chosing this verb Philes is expressing an appeal for protection and help. Finally στολίζω to equip, dress (LSJ, s.v.) brings the poet's request down to a practical level: after a plea for guidance and protection, now the poet asks for a material proof of affection from his benefactor; in a sort of anti-climax Philes moves from 'higher' to 'lower' things and makes his priorities clear.

The verse ends with the personal pronoun με that is thus given great force, and once again points the reader's attention to the poet. The enjambement between l. 4 and 5 interrupts the flow of thoughts and delays the disclosure of the object of Philes' request, somehow rendering it more significant. It is also worth noting how με at the end of l. 4 is connected with, and contrasted to τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς at the beginning of the next verse: again the poet plays with shifting the attention's focus back and forth from himself to the recipient as in a game of mirrors. One should also notice how σκέπη, placed at the end of the verse, holds a prominent position and, at the same time, delays as long as possible the revelation of what Philes wants.

Before proceeding to the second part of the composition, it is necessary to make a few observations on the use of σκέπη, as Philes is availing himself of the polysemy of this word to retain the double

register of meaning – spiritual and practical – that has emerged from the start, and thus to give unity to his composition. σκέπη – shelter, protection, covering and, by extension, roof or hat – applies to both material and symbolic protection, and appears quite often in Philes' poems mainly with three different meanings. Most frequently σκέπη is used in the sense of 'protection, refuge', which either the Virgin or powerful benefactors provide the poet with, as for instance in Par. 172.8 or Esc. 184.3. In this way Philes is reconnecting himself to a long-standing Christian tradition that depicts the Virgin and Christ as shelter for the human race; suffice it to mention the *Akathistos Hymn* 11.13 where Mary is called σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου, Romanos' hymn on Christmas 23.6, where Mary is σκέπη κραταιά, and the hymn on the Epiphany 1.9 where Christ is addressed as σκέπη γυμνοῖς. The second meaning which Philes uses for this word is that of 'grass or foliage', and usually entails a sense of rebirth and renewal; for example Esc. 191.69; Par. 61.152; Par. 113.34. The last meaning that Philes ascribes to σκέπη, which is the most relevant to this poem, refers to material coverings either for the body – a cloak, as in Flor. 136.22; a roof, as in Par. 56.62 – or for the head, as in this case or in Par. 86.2. I suggest that in this composition the author intentionally plays with the multiple meanings of σκέπη and, while he is soliciting for the addressee's dismissed hat – which to be sure constitutes his main objective – he is also asking for protection and guidance, so as to flatter his recipient; by doing so, Philes is also resuming the strand of thoughts started in l. 2 by the use of κοσμῆτορ τύχης and subsequently in l. 4 by ῥύθμιζε καὶ πύκαζε, and hence gives coherence to the text.

The first part of l. 5 prompts one further remark; the fact that the poet asks for τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς τῇ προληφθείσῃ σκέπῃ may seem somehow redundant, as a hat has its perfect place and function exactly on one's head. However, in this case it is very probable that Philes plays with the family name Χρυσοκέφαλος and pays homage to the addressee, while he also gives hints of the identity of the poem's recipient.

v. 6–8: at this point the poet explains the reason for his request: he needs a new hat because he cannot bear any longer to wear his old floppy one. Not only is his hat old, but it is also ugly and stained; the participle κατεσπιλωμένην, which occupies the second hemistich with its six syllables is certainly meant to highlight the inadequate condition of the poet's hat, and the 'seriousness' of the situation is then further underlined by the forceful and prominent statement οὐ φορητόν μοι in l. 8.

It is impossible to understand from these verses what type of hat Philes is requesting, since he defines it simply as σκέπη and does not provide any detail about its shape or colour. Hats were not part of Byzantine official attire until the eleventh century: there are no mentions of them in cerimonial handbooks of the ninth and tenth centuries, and furthermore, no one could wear a hat when the emperor was present.[14] In Palaiologan times, however, headdresses had become an essential and fashionable component of official clothing and were worn by all dignitaries, whose office was indicated by the colour of their hats. The most common types of head-covers were the *stephanos*, a circlet of gold with pearls and precious stones, which was worn by the despotes and the sebastokrator; the *skaranikon* and the *skiadion*, which were worn by all officials – including the despotes – in different colours according to one's rank.[15] Besides official headdresses, it is known that woollen hats could be found both in Constantinople and in Thessalonica, and casual head-covers – πῖλος – might be worn every day by ordinary citizens.[16] Monks usually did not wear hats as part of their monastic dress, but wore the *koukoulion:* a hood, generally dark and pointed at the top.[17] Yet evidence from both frescoes and illuminations shows that from the middle of the eleventh century monks and ecclesiastics could wear also small tight black caps or bonnets in place of the *koukoulion*;[18] and it is perhaps to this type of headgear that Philes is referring to.

---

14 For a thorough discussion of headgear in Byzantium see M. Parani, Reconstructing the Reality of Images, Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries). Leiden/Boston 2003, 67–71.

15 Parani, ibid. 69.

16 Hats were an essential garment in late Byzantium; gifts of and requests for hats appear occasionally also in Byzantine epistles, but not under the name σκέπη; see A. Karpozilos, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography. *BZ* 88 (1995) 68–84.

17 For a description of the monastic habit see A.-M. Talbot, Schema. *ODB* 3, 1849.

18 For a thorough discussion of the use and meaning of the monastic cap see J. Anderson, The illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art. *Viator* 22 (1991) 69–120, especially 70–76. Anderson argues that when caps first appeared in paintings, they were used to signify that the monk was then alive, recently deceased or considered contemporary, as in the case of the illuminator of the Pantokrator Monastery codex 234, who portrayed Michael Psellos in full monastic garb and wearing a rather tall round black cap. Several instances of monastic caps are also to be found in paintings of the Palaiologan era; the portrait of the metropolitan Jacob of Serres in a Slavonic Tetraevangelion of the British Museum, Add. 3926, dated 1354, shows Jacob clad in Byzantine clerical robe and a black bonnet; in codex Sinait. Gr. 198, a Palaiologan Tetraevangelion of the fourteenth century, the

It is also very hard to determine the sort of hat Philes wants to replace with the 'second-hand' one he is demanding; however, we can perhaps propose a hypothesis on the basis of the elements present in the poem. The poet complains about the loss of τόνος of his old hat; therefore, we could think that Philes' floppy old hat was one of those tall hats with concave sides and a very broad top larger than its base, which appear in some frescoes of the Palaiologan period;[19] loss of firmness and shape would surely make such headgear awkward and unsightly to wear, hence Philes' grumble about it.

But, as mentioned above, Philes complains not only about the hat's ugliness but also about the fact that it is stained. The word κατεσπιλωμένην in l. 6 is a rare occurance in Philes and deserves some consideration. κατασπιλόω is a later and strengthened form of the simple verb σπιλόω – to stain, soil (LSJ, s.v.); the perfect middle-passive participle appears in the New Testament in the phrase τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα (*Epistula Juda*, 23), as well as in the writings of several Patristic authors (Chrys. *De Spe*, PG 60, 774.33) to describe man's sinful soul. The form found in the present poem was previously used only once by Symeon the New Theologian in one of his *Hymns of the divine love*; in that case the word occupies the same metrical *sedes* but is used in a very different context, as it refers to the New Theologian's soul (τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν κατεσπιλωμένην, *Hymns* 19.13). Other forms of the participle appear several times, mostly in writings on religious subjects both Patristic and Byzantine, and usually refer to the human soul or body soiled by sin (χιτῶνα, οἷον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν σαρκικῶν

---

monk Germanos kneeled before St. John is portrayed with a black headdress. The most interesting case is represented by one of the miniatures of the codex Par. Gr. 1242, a luxury code probably completed between 1371 and 1375 containing four theological treatises of John VI Cantacuzenos, as well as several portraits of the same emperor. On f. 5$^{v}$ the emperor is depicted in full regalia, presiding over the Council of 1351 and flanked by the metropolitans of Constantinople, Heraclea, Thessalonike and Cyzicus, lay officers and clergy. According to I. Spatharakis, the three figures next to the patriarch of Cyzicus, all clad in a dark *sticharion* and a black headgear may represent the next three signers in the list of the *Tomos*, namely Makarios Chrysokephalos himself, Jacob of Chalcedon and Metrophanes of Melanicus. The identification is not incontrovertible, as the three could be anti Palamites instead; in any case, this is strong evidence that also monks and clergy wore hats. See I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine illuminated Manuscripts. Leiden 1976, 87–90, 129–139, 230–232, plates 56, 57, 58, 86, 174. I would like to thank Elizabeth Jeffreys for her help with this reference.

19 Parani (as footnote 14 above) 337 and plates 71, 77 note.

παθῶν, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν καὶ παραπτωμάτων κατεσπιλωμένον, Photius *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 4.14; ὁ τὸν κατεφθαρμένον καὶ κατεσπιλωμένον φορῶν χιτῶνα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, Palamas *Homily* 27, 10.10), thus clearly recovering and retaining the genuine meaning found in the Scriptures. In this instance Philes moves away from previous usage, as he passes over any metaphorical meaning and uses κατεσπιλωμένην only to signify the poor state of his hat;[20] but it might also be possible that the author is aware of the various usages of this word, and that he decides to play with it. If, as I think, this composition is dedicated to the monk and metropolitan Makarios, we can imagine that Philes is playing with his interlocutor, and is paying tribute to his knowledge and religious status: as a scholar and exegete he would certainly identify the scriptural allusion implicit in κατεσπιλωμένην.

v. 9–10: the poem concludes with a word-play based on χρυσοῦς and χρυσῆν. Undoubtedly this is another pun related to the family name Chrysokephalos, as well as a way to place further emphasis on the generosity of the recipient; for Philes very often describes his patrons as χρυσοῦς (Esc 90.3; Flor. 86.16) to solicit their liberality in an attempt to obtain greater recompense by flattering their wealth. In these verses it is also possible to detect a strong contrast between the repeated reference to gold and the closing remark on the recipient's lack of interest in material and transient things; Philes seems to imply that there are no excuses for the recipient to reject his request for a hat, as he no longer has need of earthly possessions but he is focussed only on spiritual matters.

In the second half of verse 9 the poet goes on to wish Makarios a χρυσῆν σκέπην. Although such wish may at first appear inappropriate – as it is addressed to a religious man or, possibly, to a man about to enter monastic life – I believe that Philes is yet again playing with the polysemy of the word σκέπη and, by doing so, he bestows simultaneously upon his wish a twofold significance. As mentioned before, σκέπη carries also the concrete meaning of 'roof' and 'cloak'; hence it is possible that the poet is no longer referring simply to a golden hat, rather that he is wishing, and predicting his addressee a brilliant ecclesiastical career. χρυσῆν σκέπην, in fact, may be a subtle allusion to the *sakkos*, one of the richly embroidered church vestments that

[20] The only other occurrence of this term in Philes' corpus, in the form κατεσπιλωμένον, is found in *De proprietate animalium* v. 951, F. Dübner/F. S. Lehrs (eds.), Poetae bucolici et didactici. Paris 1862, 3–68, in the description of an elephant.

metropolitans and bishops would wear as part of their attire.[21] In addition to this, Philes might be hiding in the mention of the golden covering a further clever reference to Makarios' family. For the family of the Chrysokephaloi seems to have originated from Trebizond, where – from early times – one of the main churches of the city was dedicated to the Panaghia Chrysokephalos; this church served as Metropolis already from the tenth century and, after several renovations, was rebuilt as imperial coronation church in 1214.[22] The name of the Panaghia Chrysokephalos has been variously explained as deriving either from the golden colour of its copper roof, or from a mosaic icon of the Virgin housed in the cathedral.[23] Regardless of the origin of such appellation, which is not specifically relevant to this poem, nevertheless it is possible to recognize in the phrase χρυσῆν σκέπην Philes' sophisticated poetic technique: not only he is wishing Makarios to become a high-rank ecclesiastic, but, at the same time, he also wishes him to become, in due course, Metropolitan of his family's place of origin.

The concluding verse deserves attention, as it seems to allude to the religious/monastic status of the addressee, and so it could offer a terminus *post quem* for dating the poem. As mentioned above, Chrysokephalos became a monk in 1328 and was later ordained hieromonk, before being elected Metropolitan of Philadelphia. Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence to prove that Makarios was in Constantinople before his election; nonetheless it seems very reasonable to assume that he may have been born and educated in the capital. If this was the case, considering that Philes was certainly

21 Theodore Balsamon says that wearing the *sakkos* was originally a patriarch privilege, but by the thirteenth century it was extended to metropolitans and, eventually, to bishops as well. See *PG* 138, 988–989, 1020. I would like to thank Marc Lauxtermann for his help with this problematic reference.

22 Passarell (as footnote 6 above) 26; G. Millet, Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde. *BCH* 19 (1895) 419–459; N. Baklanov, Deux monuments byzantins de Trébizonde: II. La Panagia Chrysocéphale de Trébizonde. *Byz* 4 (1927) 377–391; Chrysanthos, Metr. Trapezountos, Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος. *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 4–5 (1933); N. Oikonomides, Χρονολόγησις τῆς ἀνοικοδομήσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χρυσοκεφάλου. *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 18 (1953) 214–217.

23 Baklanov, ibid. 389; Chrysanthos, ibid. 380. The icon is mentioned already in a letter of Theodore Prodromos to the Metropolitan of Trebizond Stephanos Skylitzes; in it the poet begs Stephanos to plead with the χρυσοκεφάλῳ τῇ Θεομήτορι on his behalf; see *PG* 133, 1257.

alive until 1332[24] and Chrysokephalos was appointed to the metropolitan see in 1336, we could place the composition of this poem between 1328 and 1332/6; for it is logical to expect that Philes advanced his request while Makarios was still residing in the capital so that this poetic tribute, followed perhaps by the gift of the hat, would have been easily practicable, if indeed the donation ever occurred.[25]

The frequent mentions of the words head and gold, the final remark which stresses the addressee's disregard for secular pursuits as well as the potential scriptural allusion contained in the term κατεσπιλωμένην make the identification of the poem's recipient with Makarios Chrysokephalos very plausible: the poet seems to takes advantage of every opportunity to hint at Makarios' family name and to compliment him explicitly and implicitly by means of word-play and allusions. As it has been shown, Philes works on several levels of meaning in this poem: each word has its own literal meaning, but a closer reading reveals allusions which add another dimension to the text and disclose hidden implications.

I conclude with some general remarks on the content and the structure of this short, but intriguing, poem. It is interesting to note how the poem opens – by commending the friendship that ties Makarios to the poet – and ends on a spiritual note – by recalling the recipient's detachment from earthly matters – and with high praise for Chrysokephalos, praise which apparently deflects attention from the poet's request, but in fact prepares for the appearance of his plea right in the middle of the composition, and strengthens it before the conclusion. In addition to this feature which brings together the poem's beginning and end, it is possible to detect another unifying thread throughout the text: namely, the constant presence of terms related to the concept of protection, both symbolic and material. The use of words such as κοσμήτωρ, ῥυθμίζω and πυκάζω seems indeed to point to an unequal

24 Little is known about Philes' vicissitudes, and what is known is based on internal evidence derived from his poems. G. Stickler, who studied Philes in depth, believes that the poet died sometime in the 1330 s, as the last poem that can be dated with certainty is a panegyric for the birth of John V, which occurred in June 1332. For a detailed discussion of Philes' life see Stickler (as footnote 1 above) 19–23.

25 Another possibility would be to date the poem to the time before Makarios entered monastic life: perhaps he was known for his generosity and unworldly feelings, and this spurred Philes to address him his request for the gift of a hat. Such dating would resolve the puzzling wish for a golden covering – although I believe that that is another allusion to Makarios' family name and future career. I thank one of the anonymous readers for suggesting this alternative dating.

relation in which the recipient, who belongs to a higher rank, is supposed to provide guidance and protection to his protégé. Even when the poet puts forward a tangible request, by choosing the word σκέπη to refer to Makarios' hat he does not completely leave behind the symbolic realm of protection, as this word is ambiguous and is intended to convey diverse meanings, as seen earlier. One should presume that the ultimate aim of the poem is to obtain a concrete gift, but Philes strives to present himself as concerned with intangible gifts too.[26] Indeed, by means of learned allusions and metaphors throughout the text, the poet makes his appeal more detached, less blatant and also repays the addressee – as it were in advance – for his expected generous gift. This same kind of procedure is used also in other poems of similar content, for this is not the only poem in which the author asks for a hat, though it is certainly the longest and most elaborate. I would like to comment briefly on two other short poems dedicated by Philes to Pepagomenos – a physician who resided in Constantinople between 1295 and 1332[27] – in which the author again asks for the gift of a hat and, again, calls it σκέπη.[28] These are poems Par. 86 and 90.[29]

Par. 86 Εἰς τὸ αὐτό
Τὴν σὴν κεφαλὴν (τὴν ἐμὴν δήπου λέγω)
Τῇ σῇ σκέπῃ στόλιζε, κοσμῆτορ φίλων·
Ἴσως ἀπ' αὐτῆς εὐφρανεῖς τὴν καρδίαν,
Ὅταν λάβῃς πλόκαμον εὐρύθμων στίχων.

26 This is not a unique occurrence, for similar hedging on Philes' part is clear in other occasional poems too; see for instance Esc. 186. The use of allusions or the avoidance of very obvious requests for a reward can be interpreted in various ways: it allows the poet to maintain a double register and therefore offers more room for poetic embellishment and intellectual divertissement; it offers the opportunity to flatter the recipient and to praise his or her other qualities besides wealth.

27 Miller in a footnote to the first of the poems dedicated τῷ ἰατρῷ τῷ Πεπαγωμένῳ erroneously identifies the recipient with Demetrios Pepagomenos, also a doctor, who lived in Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century; see Miller (as footnote 1 above) II 139. For the identification of this Pepagomenos see *PLP* no. 22345.

28 Philes seems to be an exception in defining hats σκέπη, rather than referring to them by their usual names σκαράνικον, σκιάδιον, πῖλος. The term σκιάδιον is found only once in the title of poem Esc. 205 (Miller, as footnote 1 above, I, 100), while several times Philes uses the term κάλυπτρα, see Par. 84 and 89, Miller, ibid. II 142–143.

29 Miller, ibid. II 142–143.

Par. 90 Εἰς τὸ αὐτό
Δέδοικα, φιλόστοργε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον,
Μὴ πρίν με λαβεῖν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν σκέπην,
Ἄλγος κεφαλῆς ἐκδοθῇ μοι τῆς λύπης·
Ἱπποκράτους παῖ, δὸς τὸ χαυνοῦν τὸν πόνον.

There are numerous similarities and even repetitions between these poems and Flor. 58 that leap immediately to the eye. In poem 86, for instance, Philes reuses the forms στόλιζε and κοσμῆτορ, but this time, due to the brevity of the text, he condenses the two in a single verse; in poem 90 Papagomenos is called φιλόστοργε, an attribute Philes employs to underline the close bond of affection between him and the addressee, thus making his plea pressing and hard to reject, as it occurred also in Flor. 58. Besides the presence of linguistic parallels, another noteworthy feature is the fact that even in such short poems Philes avails himself of puns and allusions, which are always extremely pertinent to both the context and the recipient of his compositions, as has been shown earlier in this paper. It is worthwhile to have a closer look at these texts, since they may enhance our understanding of poem Flor. 58 and are also quite revealing of Philes' technique.

The first of these two poems is characterised by indistinctness and interchangeability from the start: Philes, in fact, urges Papagomenos to cover his head, indeed the poet's head, with a hat; if Pepagomenos does so, he will gladden his own heart.[30] This is certainly the sense of l. 3, especially in the light of the closing verse; however, the poet at first does not specify whose heart will rejoice. This ambiguity is easily explained by the fact that both the poet and the recipient will gain something from the exchange and will therefore have a cause to celebrate: Philes will receive a hat to adorn his head, while Papagomenos will have in return a tribute of harmonious verses sprung from the poet's head – ἀπ' αὐτῆς. There is also a clear sense of reciprocity in the poem, by which the author achieves a twofold result: on the one hand Philes employs it to underline the closeness between him and his patron; in this way he attempts to portray the relationship as equal and makes it difficult for Pepagomenos to decline his plea. On the other hand, the poet uses such reciprocity – which concerns not only the content, but also the language with its repetitions and puns – as a web that closely connects all the facets of the text. Finally, it is worth noting

30 Here Philes is alluding to *Proverbs* 23.15: υἱέ, ἐὰν σοφὴ γένηταί σου ἡ καρδία, εὐφρανεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καρδίαν.

that Philes describes his poetic homage as πλόκαμον, thus remaining within the semantic context of the initial and pivotal κεφαλή and giving further coherence to the composition.

In the second poem dedicated to Pepagomenos Philes presents his request from a different angle and with a more urgent tone: he needs a hat to avoid a headache, but it may already be too late. Contrary to what happens in the previous composition, this poem does not involve any reciprocal action or exchange between the writer and the addressee, as Philes is not offering verses as a recompense for the recipient's gift; rather he focuses on Pepagomenos' medical ability to heal his ailment, and asks for a remedy to curb the pain. Also in this poem κεφαλή plays a very significant role, which is further highlighted by the chiastic and antithetical pattern τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν σκέπην and ἄλγος κεφαλῆς in l. 2–3. The contrast in these expressions is related not only to form but, even more, to content; for, the former expression conveys a positive meaning and designates a protection for the head of the poet, while the latter is negative and may have distressing consequences for him, if Pepagomenos does not take action swiftly. The composition ends with a tribute aimed at praising the recipient's professional skills by calling him Ἱπποκράτους παῖ, and with the reiteration of the poet's request, which brings the poem to its ideal completion.

There are undoubtedly further aspects of these poems one could comment upon, but it is now time to draw some conclusions. We have seen that these poems differ substantially in inspiration, tone and complexity, though they are all occasional compositions written to request the gift of a hat. The same topic is developed from different perspectives, and also the relationship between the poet and his recipient is treated differently: sometimes the poet tries to present it as a rapport between equals, at other times he places himself in a subordinate position where he needs guidance and help. The general tone of the poems changes as well, and this contributes significantly to make similar texts entertaining and never monotonous; for example, in Flor. 58 Philes uses a tone of homage and praise, in Par. 86 the tenor is light-hearted, if not slightly cheeky, while in Par. 90 it is somehow urgent. Despite all the variation, however, it is possible to identify a unifying feature in the presence of metaphors and allusions, which give depth to the text, add meaning to it and often play with and flatter the recipient. The use of images and puns is not only interesting from a stylistic point of view, but it is also very useful for gaining insight into the environment in which Philes lived and operated. The whole poetic process is very subtle and clever, and shows how even in short poems

like these, the author carefully selects words, bestows multiple meanings upon them and manipulates their position, so as to achieve maximum effect and surprising outcomes. This is a sort of poetry quite different from what modern readers expect – more the creation of skilled poetic craftsmanship than an impulse of the soul – but a careful and close examination of these texts clearly reveals subtle ideas, and sparks of wit that make the poems entertaining, playful, and valuable to gain a deeper understanding of the Byzantine thought.

## Abstract

Manuel Philes dedicated countless occasional poems to his many benefactors to praise their qualities and ask for all sorts of assistance, both spiritual and material. This article analyses one of these compositions, namely poem Flor. 58, and offers a commentary of its language and content. On the basis of the imagery, repetitions and allusions present in the text, it is argued that this untitled poem was in fact dedicated to the scholar and metropolitan of Philadelphia Makarios Chrysokephalos to request the gift of a hat. The detailed reading of the text aims at showing the presence of several layers of meaning which characterise the whole poem, as well as illustrating Philes' sophisticated poetic technique.

# PROCOPIUS *DE AEDIFICIIS* 4.2.1–22 ON THE THERMOPYLAE FRONTIER

WILLIAM J. CHERF / DENVER

## Introduction

Opportunities to directly compare archaeological remains with ancient testimonia are rare occurrences. Whenever such a situation arises, an ancient historian's narrative can be laid bare and subjected to a litmus test of sorts that can shed insights into that author's relative historical value.[1]

In the fourth book of the *De aedificiis* (4.2.1–22) the court historian of the Emperor Justinian I (527–565), Procopius of Caesarea, described the second military frontier of the Balkans that was arrayed along the mountainous terrain of the southern Malian Basin.[2] Within this passage Procopius describes the area's topography, the renovation of frontier fortifications, mentions mountain routes, several toponyms, a major highway, and a narrow fortified pass, which both permitted a flanking maneuver against Thermopylae and allowed direct access into Central Greece. In the course of this descriptive tour, Procopius fixed upon a stronghold named Myropóles in close association with the above

---

1 For a strong critique of Procopius' *De aedificiis* from the archaeological perspective, see: B. Croke, J. Crow, Procopius and Dara, *JRS* 73 (1983) 143–159; to be balanced against M. Whitby, Procopius' Description of Dara (*Buildings* II.1–3), in O. Freeman/D. Kennedy (eds.), The Defense of the Roman and Byzantine East. *BAR International Series* 297 (ii). Oxford 1986, 737–783, who argues for Procopius' obligatory stylistic exaggeration rather than outright misrepresentation and fabrication.

2 It has been argued that the Balkan incursion by Alaric from 395–398 "provided the final stimulus for a comprehensive and coordinated defensive policy for Greece and the prefecture of Illyricum." So T.E. Gregory, Kastro and Diateichisma as responses to Early Byzantine Frontier Collapse, *Byzantion* 62 (1992) 242. What emerged was a defense-in-depth strategy that was memorialized in three, onion-like defensive layers that protected the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, the first Balkan frontier as enumerated by Procopius was located along the fortified right bank of the Danube River (*De aed*. 4.1.33, 4.5.1–17) and the third and last at the fortifications of the Isthmus of Corinth (*De aed*. 4.2.27–28). While the Thermopylai region's history was surely an apt *topos* for rhetorical attention, the region nonetheless represented a frontier that defended Central Greece just as the fortifications at the Isthmus were meant to protect the Peloponnesus.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.005

mentioned mountain pass that his emperor rebuilt and refortified anew. On the basis of the known architecture and archaeology of the southwestern Malian Basin and its terrain, Procopius' description of the region's frontier fortifications, its κλεισούρα, and the site of Myropóles all best correspond to the Oíte-Kallídhromos frontier barrier,[3] the Dhéma Pass, and the modern village of Káto Dhió Vouná, respectively. An examination of Procopius' account,[4] therefore, is appropriate in the

3 In both an administrative and military sense, the mountainous Thermopylae frontier, which is defined by the eastern slopes of Mount Oite's Tsoúka promontory, the Trachinian cliffs, and the Kallídhromos range, formed the traditional northern frontier of Achaia: a fact not immediately grasped by the Early Roman provincial administration (W. J. CHERF, The Roman Border between Achaia and Macedonia. *Chiron* 17 [1987] 135–142). However, by the late Roman period, the Thermopylae frontier would represent the last physical and psychological bastion that separated the province from incursive savagery. As such, this mountainous 15 km wide frontier barrier was studded with fortifications, walls, and lookout towers. These are, from west to east: the Dhéma Fortification Complex, the fortified mount of Herákleia, the Khalkómata tower, the watch tower at Tridhéndhri, the Fylakí complex, the Dhamásta cmplex, the remains at The Olive Orchard NNW of Muntzméno, the Muntzméno complex, the Long Wall of the Middle Gate, two separate watch tower remains, Thermopylae proper, a Long Wall west of Hill I, the Lithári fort, and the Long Wall of the East Gate. The command center of this frontier was presumably located at Kástro tés Horiâs, a late Roman site situated atop a solitary rock formation that commanded the immediate rear of the Thermopylae frontier at an elevation of 743 m.

4 This commentary follows for the most part the Greek text of D. HOESCHEL (ed.), Procopii Caesariensis Historiarum libri octo. Augsburg 1607 (= HOESCHEL); J. HAURY/G. WIRTH (eds.), Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia. Leipzig 1964 with reference to the editions of C. MALTRETUS (ed.), Corpus Byzantinae Historiae. Venice 1729 (= MALTRETUS), G. DINDORF (ed.), Procopius. *Corpus Scriptorum Historicorum Byzantinae.* III, Bonn 1838 (= DINDORF), and H. B. DEWING/G. DOWNEY (eds.), Procopius. VII. Buildings. Cambridge 1940 (= DEWING/DOWNEY). Regarding the MSS referenced, V = the 13th century codex *Vat. gr.* 1065, was written on silk folios by a single hand in a good script. Chapter titles, initial letters of paragraphs, and marginalia were written in red. Iota subscripts either were written or neglected altogether. A = the fourteenth century codex *Ambr.*75 A 182 sup. Written on 248 small, columned pages, pages 189 through 223 verso were devoted to the *De aedificiis.* Initial letters are sometimes written in red ink. Iota subscripts are missing. A few marginalia appear in red. Haury clearly preferred V over A as the superior MS. He noted that V is generally more refined in its language and grammatical construction. Furthermore, V contains the geographically organized lists of fortifications built or restored in the Balkans (*De aed.* 4.4, 4.9). Meanwhile A, although correct, is shorter, drier in style, and lacks these lists. On this basis, A has been judged as inferior to V, so G. DOWNEY, The Composition of Procopius' *De Aedificiis. Transactions and*

hope that something new may be revealed about Procopius' sources, his work's purpose, and perhaps even its value to an archaeologist.[5]

An analysis of this passage's organization and structure reveals that Procopius broke it up into three geographical subdivisions,[6] which he then described in turn:

1) The fortifications of the Thermopylae region (4.2.1–15),
2) The fortified Thessalian settlements scattered along the western uplands of the Malian Basin, but located "outside" (ἐκτός) the former (4.2.16), and,
3) The region of Herákleia, which contained the highway, narrow pass (κλεισούρα), and the strongholds of Herákleia and Myropóles (4.2.16–22).

Unlike the many forts and fortresses present throughout the Thermopylae region, Procopius specifically went out of his way to describe the location of the κλεισούρα (4.2.17) and then went on and to offer four clues about the stronghold Myropóles that guarded it:

(a) Myropóles is situated in the region of Herákleia at one *side* of the pass;
(b) The stronghold was deemed important enough to be the object of renovation by Justinian's military engineers;
(c) Myropóles was not located in the immediate neighborhood of the city of Herákleia; and,
(d) Near Myropóles was a cross wall, which both blockaded the κλεισούρα at its narrowest point and simultaneously allowed a nearby mountain stream to collect and form a pond behind it.

The organization of this passage by geographical subdivision suggests that Procopius' account may have been influenced by his sources: be they personal autopsy, itineraries, or archival materials of some kind. In fact, Procopius repeatedly (and perhaps predictably given the panegy-

*Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947) 180–181, who has suggested that the difference between these two MSS may be that A was Procopius' 'first' draft, while V represented a revised and updated 'second' edition.

5 Something that T.E. Gregory, Procopius on Greece. *Antiquité Tarde* 8 (2000) 105, has commented upon: "It is difficult to correlate the text of the *Buildings* with surviving archaeological remains."

6 Procopius' tendency to break up lengthy or complex descriptions has been also noted in his tripartite account of the city of Antioch, so G. Downey, Procopius on Antioch. A Study of Method in the *'De Aedificiis'. Byzantion* 14 (1939) 367.

ical thrust of the *De aedificiis*) complained that the amount of material on the subject was overwhelming,[7] and where else but the imperial archives could have the assistant of Belisarius found such a seemingly endless supply of architectural data?[8] Furthermore, there is little reason for not believing Procopius' claim, for ever since 443, the Master of Offices at Constantinople was required by law to file an annual report on the condition and troop strengths of all camps and fortresses in the Eastern Empire.[9]

It should be noted that this passage, written in generally clear and straightforward Attic prose, represents a nearly complete rhetorical exercise,[10] the climax of which turned not on the ancient battlefield of Thermopylae, which would have lent itself well to rhetorical exposition. Instead, and rather cleverly, Procopius gradually developed his narrative using his description of the Thermopylae region as a foil and point of reference. From there, he then proceeded on to tell about a mountain

---

7 *De aed*. 1.2.18–19, 1.9.17–18 and 6.7.18–19.

8 Downey, Composition (as footnote 4 above) 174 and A. Cameron, Procopius and the Sixth Century. Berkeley 1985, 86, 219–220. Compare for example the bare catalogue-like lists of newly built and restored fortifications that appear in *De aed.* 4.4, 11, which are organized geographically, but that are practically devoid of narrative. On these lists, see: V. Beševliev, Zur Deutung der Kastellnamen in Prokops Werk 'De Aedificiis'. Amsterdam 1970; and M. Perrin-Henry, La Place des listes toponymiques dans l'organisation du livre IV des Edifices de Procope. *Geographica Byzantina* 3 (1980) 93–106. One might speculate that these lists represent Procopius' unfinished notes still in an outline form and not yet converted into smooth flowing narrative text. So also Gregory, Procopius (as footnote 5 above) 107: "The lists represent survival of material from an early phase of Procopius' research that was never fully integrated."

9 *CJ* 1.31.4: "We have thought that it should be made a part of the duties of your office [Master of Offices] to file an annual report, stating the number of soldiers on every boundary subject to your jurisdiction, as well as the condition of the camps and fortresses situated there. Given at Constantinople, on the second of the Ides of September, before the Consulate of Maximus, Consul for the second time, and Paterius, A.D. 443." S. P. Scott, The Civil Law. Cincinnati 1932, XII 141. It might be coincidental, but the date of this imperial directive is timed to appear when the majority of newly established Theodosian fortifications dispersed throughout the Balkans were due for their first maintenance repairs.

10 The impression that one receives after noting the length of each book is that Procopius began this work with those areas, which he personally knew the best. He then proceeded in almost an outline fashion (i.e., the Balkan lists of toponyms mentioned above) to fill in the other regions as best he could for the time being. Admittedly, this is only a supposition, but it is not insignificant that both Book I (Constantinople) and Book IV (Balkan Peninsula) are the longest and best developed of the work's six books.

pass and it's highway that, in effect, neutralized the Thermopylae defenses if they were ever controlled by the enemy – perhaps a reflection to the treachery committed during the famous battle of 480 B.C. We are then told that only the emperor's infinite wisdom could grasp this critical fact.

Additionally, Procopius proved to be selective in his choice of points of interest and so approached his discussion of the Thermopylae defenses by using the following rhetorical elements:

(a) τόπος, Thermopylae was well-known, with a heroic Hellenic past, narrated by one of Procopius' favorite authors – Herodotus;[11]

(b) χρόνος, Procopius could not resist the temptation of comparing the barbarian hordes of his era to those almost a millennium removed, who again were described by Herodotus;

(c) πρᾶγμα, the Thermopylae region recently had again become a tragic stage for barbarian raiders who employed surprising tactical agility;[12]

---

11 Numerous instances of Herodotean vocabulary and phraseology occur throughout Procopius' *De aedificiis*, so H. Braun, Die Nachahmung Herodots durch Prokop. Nürnberg 1894, and A. and Av. Cameron, Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire. *The Classical Quarterly 14* (1964) 317, 312–322. Some examples which appear in this passage of the *De aed.* and in J. Powell, A Lexicon to Herodotus. [2] Cambridge 1938 include: τε … καὶ … ἀλλα 4.2.1; οὐ … ἄλλα 4.2.3, 4.2.12; ἀλλήλους, -ας, -α 4.2.12, 4.2.17; ἀβροτάτος, -α, -ον 4.2.17; ἡ ἁμαξιτός 4.2.8; ἡ ἄνοδος 4.2.2, 4.2.7, 4.2.9; ἡ ἀτραπός 2.4.8; τὰ βράχεα 4.2.18; ἐν Βραχύς 4.2.17; δεινός, -ή, -όν 4.2.19; ἡ δίοδος 4.2.22; ἐπιμελής 4.2.11; ἐπιτεχνάομαι 4.2.6; καθαρός, -ά, -όν 4.2.18; μάλιστα πάντων 4.2.2, 4.2.14; τὰ μάλιστα 4.2.1; ἐπὶ μακρός, -ά, -όν 4.2.15, 4.2.17; ἡ ὁδός 4.2.8, 4.2.9; παντάπασι(ν) 4.2.6; ὁ περίβολος 4.2.2, 4.2.23; ἡ περιτροπή 4.2.15; ἡ πηγή 4.2.18; πότιμος, -ον 4.2.18; οἱ προδόται 4.2.8; ὁ προμαχεών 4.2.5; ἡ προνοίη 4.2.1; τό ῥεῦμα 4.2.19; τό στεινόν 4.2.8; συνάπτω 4.2.22; ταλαίπωρος, -ον 4.2.10; ἡ τέχνη 4.2.11; ὑγρός, -ά, όν 4.2.11; ὑψηλός, -ά, -όν 4.2.19; τὸ ὕψος 4.2.5; ἐς ὕψος 4.2.3; χαλεπός, -ή, -όν 4.2.11; ἡ χαράδρα 4.2.9, 4.2.19; χείμαρρος, -ον 4.2.19, 4.2.22. – Thucydides and Homer completed Procopius' principal triad of exemplars, followed by Diodorus, Xenophon, and Arrian. Appian and Polybius, also made their mark as did the late historian Priskos, so B. Rubin, Prokopios von Kaisareia, Nr. 21, *RE* 23/1 (1957) 306, 45–53. For Procopius' probable use of classical lexica, see: H. Erbse, Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexica. Berlin 1950, and H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. Munich 1978, I 298. Worth comparing to this passage are Hdt. 7.198 f, 7.213, and Paus. 10.22.8.

12 Specifically in 539/540, so F. Curta, The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700. Cambridge 2001, 78, note 17. Hunnic raiders devastated the eastern Balkans, circumvented the defenses at Thermopylae by means of the Dhéma Pass, and then devastated all of Central Greece. *Bella* 2.4.10 Dewing. This raid must have made a lasting

(d) ἄγαλμα, Procopius used this passage to dramatically illustrate his emperor's military wisdom and his far-sighted preparations in comparison to that of former men. In the process, Procopius would extravagantly credit his emperor with finally solving the defensive puzzle of a frontier that continuously vexed the strategists of old;

(e) ἔκφρασις, Procopius chose to describe the terrain and fortifications of a famous region rich in history and legend;

(f) πανηγυρικός, the *De aedificiis*, as a document of adjulation too the many works of his Emperor Justinian, while not an historical source in a strict sense, can nonetheless contain "a surprising amount of historical information."[13] The challenge before us, therefore, is to divine what is of value, and conversely, what is not.

The following commentary will expose the extent to which Procopius' employed imperial propaganda, praise, and exaggeration.[14] It will be shown that the aforementioned κλεισούρα should be identified with the Dhéma Pass and that the modern investigations of the Thermopylae region's frontier remains will lay bear the value of Procopius' account. Furthermore, the passage was not meant nor was intended to be a definitive description of the entire northern frontier of Achaia and its frontier fortifications.[15] Instead, Procopius' narrative is a classic example of selective story telling that perhaps found its inspiration in the parallelism of the Hunnic raid of 539/540 and the Herodotean

impression upon Constantinople and consequently was a perfect tool for Procopius' literary purposes.

13 C.E.V. Nixon/B.S. Rodgers, In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini. Berkeley 1994, 34–35.

14 The officially recognized impulse for the composition of the *De aedificiis* was an imperial request (*De aed.* 1.3.1). Such a commission demanded panegyric propaganda, based upon the strictly established rhetorical rules and formalities of the sort and magnitude that would improve the prestige of Justinian's reign, just when the wars of conquest and reunification were at their lowest ebb, so Downey, Composition (as footnote 4 above) 181–182 and Rubin, Prokopios (as footnote 11 above) 574, 59–63.

15 Downey, Procopius (as footnote 6 above) 378 concluded his analysis of Procopius' treatment of the city of Antioch as follows: "One can hardly maintain that the condition of the account is to be ascribed to deficient information. Certainly Procopius had not the slightest intention of presenting a completely coherent picture of the site; this would indeed have been quite unnecessary for his purpose." Certainly much the same can be said of this passage.

account of the Persian invasion of 480 B.C. when the Persians circumvented Thermopylae by the same route.[16]

## Commentary

4.2.1: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἤπειρον ὅλην Αἰτωλούς τε καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας παραδραμόντι ὅ τε Κρισαῖος ἐκδέχεται κόλπος καὶ ὅ τε Ἰσθμὸς ἥ τε Κόρινθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα[a] τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία. ἔνθα δὴ τῆς παρ̉ αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα[b] προνοίας[c] ἠξίωνται.

> Κρισαῖος Dindorf. σκρησαῖος V pr. M. κρησσαῖος V corr. κρισσαῖος A. ἐκδέχεται Maltretus. ἐδέχετο V.
> Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] τὰ μάλιστα, [b] ἡ προνοίη, [c] τε … καὶ … ἄλλα.
>
> After the whole of Epiros, Aitolia and Akarnania as one proceeds past, one comes next to the Krisean Gulf, the Isthmus, Corinth and all the other regions of Greece. There these [regions] demanded his [Justinian's] greatest foresight.[17]

Procopius' topographical discussion of the Justinianic fortification program for the Thermopylae frontier begins with its geographical delineation by listing those regions to the west: the provinces of Epiros, Aitolia, and Akarnania and the Krisean Gulf,[18] Isthmus, and provincial capital of Corinth to the south.[19] Key is the phrase "and the other

---

16 G. J. Szemler, The Pass through Trachis – Her. 7,176.2. *Klio* 71 (1989) 211–215.

17 This translation is generally that of Dewing and Downey (Procopius VII. The Buildings, 231–237), with changes based upon the critical text and apparatus of Haury and Wirth (De aedificiis 108–111) and upon the observations gained through personal autopsy, archaeological investigations, and scientific data gathered from the region.

18 To Procopius, Krisean connoted the entire Corinthian Gulf and not today's harbor of Itea, so *Bella* 5.15.17: "For example, the so-called Krisaean Gulf, ending at Lechaeum, where the city of Corinth is, forms the isthmus of that city, about forty stades in breadth." H. B. Dewing, Procopius. III. History of the Wars. London 1919 155. E. Meyer, Krisa. *Der Kleine Pauly* 3 (1979) 348, 9–11. Only J. Koder/F. Hild, Hellas und Thessalia. *TIB*, 1. Vienna 1976, 195 *s. v.* Krisa state that in ancient and byzantine times the term Κρισαῖος κόλπος described the modern Gulf of Itea.

19 This geographical list of Roman provinces reads like a typical sea-going itinerary from Brundisium or Ravenna east to the Greek mainland, coasting south along the western seaboard to the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, and then east into the Corinthian Gulf as far as the Isthmus and on to the seaport of province's capital city of Corinth. Such a presentation suggests personal autopsy and may reflect a portion of the route that Procopius' took in his return from Belisarius'

regions of Greece" (καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία), which include those regions *north* of the Corinthian Gulf, the Isthmus, and Corinth and *east* of Epiros, Aitolia, and Akarnania – in sum Central Greece "demanded Justinian's greatest foresight" (τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας) and the Thermopylae frontier was certainly one of those.[20]

By Procopius' time, the ancient province of Epiros had been subdivided into two – Old and New Epiros,[21] while the ancient territorial designations of Aitolia and Akarnania do not even appear in the contemporary sixth century provincial lists of Hierokles. Presumably, the Early Byzantine province of Achaia included within its jurisdiction both of these old provinces, but in fact only one Aitolian city, Aigion, is attested and by the location of the citation it may even be a manuscript error.[22] As for the northern frontier between sixth century Achaia and Thessaly, there is little to suggest that the second century Ptolemaic latitude that extended from Gorgopótamos Gorge east to Skarpheia did not remain in effect as the province's northern-most border.[23] The closest that Procopius himself comes to describing this boundary is in *Bella* 8.5.19:

> But in the [Malian] gulf between Thessaly and Boiotia there was a sudden influx of the sea at the city called Echinos and at Scarpheia in Boiotia.[24]

Echinios (Hierokles 642.5) and Skarpheia (Hierokles 643.7) are clearly cities within the sixth century jurisdictions of Thessaly and Achaia, respectively. Yet elsewhere, it has been shown that Procopius only vaguely indicates mainland Hellas as the territory south of Thermopy-

---

camp in Italy to Constantinople between the spring of 540 and the second year of the plague at the Capital in the spring of 542 (*Bella* 2.22.9).

20 Central Greece from Archaic through Hellenistic times was made up of a shifting mozaic of tribal territories that included (from roughly north to south): the Malians, Trachinians, Epiknemidian Lokrians, Oitaians, Dorians, Phokians, Boiotians, and the peoples of Attica. It should be noted that these tribal territories traditionally were fiercely independent and extremely regionally-minded. Although by Procopius' time the majority of these territorial entities had ceased to exist, several of their principal cities did continue on until, and in some cases beyond, the sixth century.

21 E. Groag, Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit. Budapest 1946, 23 note 2.

22 Hierokles 648.4, curiously inserted as it is between lists of Peloponnesian toponyms and Aegean islands. Could this entry be a garbled duplication of 646.10 – Achaean Aigion?

23 W.J. Cherf, The Roman Borders between Achaia and Macedonia. *Chiron* 17 (1987) 135–142.

24 H.B. Dewing, Procopius. V. History of the Wars. Cambridge 1928, 323.

lae, including Central Greece and the Peloponnesos.[25] It is noteworthy that Procopius anachronistically uses the term "Krisean Gulf" to indicate the Corinthian Gulf and then cites it as requiring Justinian's utmost attention in the same breath as with such strategic locales as the Isthmus with its Hexamilion, and Corinth the provincial capital. This should be seen as a signal that there was something truly important about the early Byzantine harbor town of Krisa. While the Justinianic renovations to the fortifications at the Isthmus and Corinth are well-documented,[26] the strategic importance of Krisa and its deep water harbor, however, have not received much attention.[27] Krisa was an important late Roman shipping point on the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf.[28]Additionally, Krisa was also the southern terminus of the Isthmus Corridor Route, through which ran a highly engineered and elaborate highway system that linked the Krisean and the Malian Gulfs. The northern terminus of this highway system was the Dhéma Pass

---

25 P. Charanis, Hellas in the Greek Sources of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Centuries, in P. Charanis, Studies of the Demography of the Byzantine Empire. Collected Studies. London 1972, 162–164.

26 On the remains of the Isthmian long wall and fort see: R. Jenkins, Researches at Isthmia. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 32 (1931–1932) 68–89; O. Broneer, Excavations at Isthmia. *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 1–37; id., The Corinthian Isthmus and the Isthmian Sanctuary. *Antiquity* 32 (1958) 80–88; E. Bodnar, The Isthmian Fortifications in Oracular Prophecy. *AJA* 64 (1960) 163–171; P. Clement, Alarich and the Fortifications of Greece. *Ancient Macedonia* 2 (1977) 135–137; R. Hohlfelder, Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian. *GRBS* 18 (1977) 173–179; and T. Gregory, The Hexamilion and the Fortress. V. Isthmia. Princeton 1993. For the Justinianic remains at Corinth see: J. Finley, Jr., Corinth in the Middle Ages. *Speculum* 7 (1932) 477–499; G. Davidson, Archaeological Evidence for a Slavic Invasion of Corinth. *AJA* 40 (1936) 128–129; G. Davidson, The Avar Invasion of Corinth. *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 227–240; and R. Scranton, Corinth. XVI. Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth. Princeton 1957.

27 This hypothesis was first put forward by E.W. Kase, A Study of the Role of Krisa in the Mycenaean Era. Masters thesis, Loyola University of Chicago 1970. This study was based upon road remains dated by the author to the Mycenaean period that ran from Krisa north to the Malian Basin, so E.W. Kase, A Study of the Role of Krisa in the Mycenaean Era. *AJA* 75 (1971) 205–206 and id., Mycenaean Roads in Phocis. *AJA* 77 (1973) 74–77. Kase's initial research then lead to the discovery of the Isthmus Corridor Route, its topographical and archaeological investigation, and publication: E.W. Kase/G.J. Szemler/N. C. Wilkie/P. W. Wallace (eds.), The Great Isthmus Corridor Route. Explorations of the Phokis-Doris Expedition I. Dubuque 1991 (= *GICR*).

28 Koder/Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) 195 *s. v.* Krisa.

located some 13 linear kilometers west of Thermopylae.[29] This highway system, which conveniently connected these gulfs, was clearly of great strategic and tactical importance in that it joined the militarized northern frontier of provincial Achaia with the southern deep-water port of Krisa.[30] The contemporary definition of a military highway (*via militaris)* that one finds in Justinian's *Digest* matches exactly the characteristics of the highway system of the Isthmus Corridor Route.[31] It

---

29 ibid., 95, 97–98; J. Koder, Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebeiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland. *BZ* 71 (1978) 315–331; and E. Kase, The Isthmus Corridor Road System from the Valley of the Spercheios to Kirrha on the Krisaian Gulf, *GICR* 21–45. A. Philippson/E. Kirsten, Die griechischen Landschaften. I. Der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel. 2. Das Östliche Mittelgriechenland und die Insel Euboea. Frankfurt am Main 1951, 320, 375, and 382) mistake the Purnáraki Pass, instead of the Dhéma Pass, as the beginning of this route. K. Belke, Communications: Road and Bridges, in E. Jeffreys/J. Haldon/R. Cormack (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies. Oxford 2008, seems to be unaware of the Isthmus Corridor Route.

30 An example of the strategic and tactical importance of the Isthmus Corridor Route and the role that Krisa played occurred in the spring of 552, *Bella* 8.26.1–2: "But the emperor, learning of the situation at Croton, sent to Greece and ordered the garrison of Thermopylae to sail with all speed to Italy and bring all the assistance in their power to the besieged in Croton. And they acted accordingly, setting sail with great haste; and chancing to find a favouring wind, they put in unexpectedly at the harbour of Croton. And the barbarians, upon seeing the fleet all of a sudden, were plunged immediately into great fear and in wild confusion broke up the siege." Dewing, Procopius. V. History of the Wars (as footnote 24 above) 327. This operation proved successful because the broad highway of the Isthmus Corridor Route insured a swift and unimpeded one-day journey from the Achaian northern frontier to the harbor of Krisa. The Straits of Otranto, between the coasts of Apulia, Italy and Albania were 72 km wide at their narrowest. Given a favorable wind, a ship could cross it in one day, so Cic. *ad Atticum* 4.1.4 and *ad familiares* 16.9.1. W. Riepl, Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Römer. Leipzig 1913, 203, states that the sea route from the Corinthian Gulf to Italy took 4.5 days at most. With a good wind, one could travel from Corinth to Puteoli in 5 days, so Philostratus *Vita Apollonii* 7.10. Cf. the view of this military operation as reconstructed by F. Stählin, Thermopylen. *RE* 5a (1934) 2410, 9–12, who has the Thermopylae garrison embarking from a harbor location in the Malian Gulf. Unfortunately, K. Belke, Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im byzantinischen Reich, in E. Kislinger/J. Koder/A. Külzer (eds.), Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Vienna, 2010, 45–58, was not available to the author as of this writing.

31 *Digest* 43.7.3: "Roads existing in any particular neighborhood, which have been derived from the contribution of land owned by private individuals, and date from time immemorial, are included in the number of public highways. A

is therefore not surprising that Procopius began his description of Greece's northern frontier defenses by setting the stage and preparing the reader for the importance of this road system, its relationship to those defenses, and the importance of both for the security of Central Greece.

A recurrent characteristic of Procopius' rhetorical signature throughout this passage is his tendency to use superlatives, gross exaggerations, and appeals to luck. Their purpose was not only stylistic, but also psychological for emphasis and impact upon his audience.[32]

4.2.2: μάλιστα < δὲ > πάντων[a] θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις ὁπόσοις περιβόλοις[b] ἐτειχίσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων προὐνόησε παντων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀνόδων. [c]

< δὲ > added by Hoeschel. Omitted in V
Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] μάλιστα πάντων, [b] Hdt. 1.181.2: ἐτετείχιστο … ἐν τῷ … περιβόλῳ, [c] Hdt. 8.53.1: δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου.

And most of all one might wonder how many walled cities with which he fortified the Roman Empire. For he took care of them all and above all the ascending inland routes in the Thermopylae [region].

Procopius begins his description of Justinian's refurbishment of the Thermopylae region's fortifications with a sweeping statement of feigned wonder.[33] What is striking is that Procopius admits that this northern frontier of Achaia acted as not only as a check against barbarian incursion beyond the porous Danubian frontier – Rome's first military frontier, but also as an internal frontier – a practical reality

---

difference exists between roads of this kind and military highways [*viae militares*], namely, military highways terminate at the seashore, or in cities, or at public streams, or at some other military highway, but this is not the case with roads through a neighborhood, for some of them terminate at military highways, and others end without any exit." Scott *Civil Law* IX 294.

32 So Rubin, Prokopios (as footnote 11 above) 346, 34–64. For example, the use of superlatives appears in: τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας 4.2.1; μάλιστα 4.2.2; τὰ χαλεπώτατα 4.2.9; δυσκολώτατα 4.2.10; προμηθέστατον, ἐπιμελέστατον, ἐναντιωτάτοις 4.2.11; μακρότατον 4.2.15; μακρότατον, ἀγχοτάτω 4.2.17; and ὀχυρωτάτῳ 4.2.22. Typical Procopian phrases of exaggeration or wonder include: θαυμάσειεν 4.2.2 and 4.2.8; ἐκ παλαιοῦ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 4.2.5; τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις 4.2.9; ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου 4.2.14; ἐκ παλαιοῦ 4.2.21; and ἐκ παλαιοῦ 4.2.22. References either to foresight, luck, or fortune: τά μάλιστα προνοίας 4.2.1; προδοτῶν Ἑλλήνων τυχών 4.2.8; ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ 4.2.9; τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπεία 4.2.12; and παρατύχοι 4.2.22.

33 Here is encountered the first time that Procopius mentions one of his three favorite themes in the *De aed.:* fortifications, water supply, and church building, so Cameron, Procopius (as footnote 8 above) 86.

never before so blatantly admitted in the ancient sources until now.[34] Such a revelation is pregnant with significance, especially in light of the actual, versus claimed, security promised to the Balkan provinces by the crown. An even more ominous fact, however, would be made later implicit in *De aedificiis* 4.2.25 that even the defenses of the Thermopylae frontier themselves were not to be considered trustworthy.[35] What this indicates is that defense-in-depth was a recognized strategy and one that had obvious weaknesses.

In his description of the northern frontier of Achaia Procopius finds it convenient to divide his discussion of Justinian's defensive works into two sections: the regional areas of Thermopylae (*De aed*. 4.2.2–15) and those of Herákleia (*De aed.* 4.2.17–22). He seems to emphasize this division with his insertion of line 4.2.16, which briefly mentions a list of fortified Thessalian cities described as being "outside the region" (ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρα) of Thermopylae. The region of Thermopylae according to Procopius' account (*De aed.* 4.2.2–15), therefore, included architectural features along the coast and in the immediate upland areas from the Asopos River Gorge east to the East Gate at Thermopylae proper and thus included far more territory than just the immediate neighborhood of the famous hot springs after which the region was named.

Procopius, a skilled rhetorician and admirer of Herodotean style, could not pass up the opportunity to include Thermopylae in his narrative. That the region was still militarily viable and events surrounding it fresh in contemporary minds only lent Procopius more license for comment.[36] Consequently, we should expect a good amount of Herodotean vocabulary and literary illusions to appear, and as we shall see, Procopius will not disappoint. For example, in Justinian's fortification of all "the ascending inland routes" he employs the Herodotean term, ἡ ἄνοδος, which connotes a generalized term for any sort of ascending inland route; in another, he employs the Herodotean

34 Evidently, Procopius understood the mountains south of Thermopylae as being the northern frontier barrier of Central Greece. Concerning the breadth of this militarized frontier, Stählin, Thermopylen (as footnote 30 above) 2422, 38–40) is quite specific: "Deshalb schritt Kaiser Iustinian zu einer gründlichen Sicherung des ganzen T[hermopylen]-Gebiets vom Osttor bis Dyovuna."

35 "But he left nothing vulnerable or unguarded, for after vigilantly caring for the safety of his subjects, he felt convinced that even if the barbarians should chance to overrun the country about Thermopylae, they would, as soon as they learned that after surmounting this obstacle they would have gained no advantage." Dewing/Downey, Procopius. VII. Buildings (as footnote 4 above), 239.

36 Specifically, The recently disastrous Hunnic raid of 539/540, *Bella* 2.4.10.

plural form of ὁ περίβολος to indicate towns surrounded by a circuit wall. But at issue is Procopius' exploitation of Thermopylae's mixed reputation: heroic results against frontal attack, but an all too horrific tendency to become flanked and taken from behind by way of an undefended (or compromised) route through the neighborhood's mountainous terrain.[37] So reading between the lines Procopius has skillfully guided the reader into subconsciously asking the obvious: "Why is this always so about the defense of the Thermopylae frontier?" As we shall see, Procopius will use Herodotean terminology (i.e., ἡ ἄνοδος, *et alii*) throughout his narrative of the Thermopylae region to create a gradually building tension between the need to defend mountain paths to the full scale fortification of undefended routes that are practically carriage-roads. The climax to this tension will come when Procopius discusses Justinian's fortification of the Herákleia region, the defense of its critical highway, and the κλεισούρα defended by the nearby stronghold of Myropóles. In short, Procopius' rhetorical agenda for *De aedificiis* 4.2.1–22 is not so much to praise Justinian's blanket building and restoration of frontier fortifications, but rather to commend the emperor for finally solving the Thermopylae frontier's defensive puzzle, by fortifying the primary invasion route that flanked it – the Dhéma Pass.

4.2.3: πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τείχη ἐς ὕψος[a] αὐτῷ ἀνέστη μέγα. ἦν γάρ, εἴ τις προσίοι, εὐπετῶς ἁλωτὰ καὶ οὐ τετειχισμένα τὰ ὄρη, ἃ ταύτῃ[b] ἀνέχει, ἀλλ'[c] ἀποτετριγχωμένα ἐδόκει εἶναι.

ἀποτεθρικ Wahler
Powell, Lexicon s.v. [a] ἐς ὕψος, [b] [χώρῃ], [c] οὐ … ἀλλὰ with elision.

So first he raised up the walls there [in the Thermopylae region] to a great height. For the mountains that rise in this region were easy to capture, if someone might attack them, they being not truly fortified, but seemed to be just the upper course of a wall.

[37] *Bella* 2.4.10: "In another invasion they [the Huns] plundered Illyricum and Thessaly and attempted to storm the wall at Thermopylae; and since the guards on the walls defended them most valiantly, they sought out the ways around and unexpectedly found the path which leads up the mountain which rises there. In this way they destroyed almost all the Greeks except the Peloponnesians, and then withdrew." H.B. Dewing, Procopius I. History of the Wars. London 1914, 289.

Precisely what Procopius meant by walls erected to "a great height" is purposely unclear. His descriptions of other fortifications with extant architectural remains reveal that:

(a) Procopius considered a settlement's defensive wall at about 1.3 meters thick by 6.2 meters high as easily taken (*De aed*. 3.2.10) and he records that it was subsequently strengthened to about 3.7 meters thick by 12.4 meters high (*De aed*. 3.2.11–13);

(b) The pre-Justinianic walls at Dura Europa that measured some 18 meters high were considered as being of "great height" (*Bella* 2.13.17), but were rebuilt on an even grander scale to 27.7 meters (*De aed*. 2.1.16);[38] and,

(c) Modern investigations in the Thermopylae region have uncovered irregular rubble and mortar walls between 2.5 to 3.0 meters thick,[39] about 3.1 meters thick by 6.2 meters in preserved height,[40] approximately 2.0 meters thick,[41] between 1.4 to 3.2 meters thick and about 3.0 meters in height,[42] around 6.0 meters of preserved height,[43] and within the Dhéma Pass: Wall A – 1.10 to 1.5 meters thick by 2 meters high; Wall B – 1.10 to 2 meters thick by 1.6 meters high; Wall C – 1.8 to 2.5 meters thick by 2.7 meters high; and Wall D – 2.1 meters thick by 1.7 meters high.[44]

One might conclude from this architectural data that wall heights within the Thermopylae region, which are generally from 2 to 3 meters thick, could be estimated as being from 8 to 10 meters tall. However, on the basis of the preserved remains along the Oíte-Kallídromos frontier barrier, no assessment is possible of any Justinianic repairs or additions to their upper courses as they are not preserved. Whether these walls

---

38 Croke/Crow, *JRS* 73 (1983) 155. D. Claude, Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert. Munich 1969, 24–25 considers the height of Dura Europa's walls as exceptional and the height of Nikaia's at 9 meters as more the usual.

39 W. Pritchett, New Light on Thermopylai. *AJA* 62 (1958) 210. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

40 W. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part II. Berkeley 1969, 79. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

41 P. A. M., Procopius' *De Aedificiis* and the Topography of Thermopylae, *AJA* 67 (1963) 247. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

42 Koder/Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) 274. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

43 P. A. MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis and the topography of Thermopylae. *AJA* 67 (1963) 252. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

44 W. J. Cherf, Dhema, *GICR* 56–57. Personal autopsy, summers 1976, 1980; springs 1987, 1988.

should be considered "great in height" of course depends upon their application and locality,[45] but in comparison with the walls of Dura Europa and Nikaia they appear to be of an average height. Thus, one might be tempted to conclude that here is an example of Procopius exercising his rhetorical muscle within the framework of an imperial commission.

The subsequent statement, "Seemed to be just the upper course of a wall," might be explained by walls that were in such inaccessible and elevated areas that from the viewer's perspective they appeared as mere wall cornices. Pierre MacKay, who believes that Procopius' account is indeed one of personal autopsy, sees in this instance that Procopius was describing the walls high above the Sástani Ravine located at Muntzmeno.[46] On the other hand, it could just as well be another example of Procopius using these words to merely belittle the work of former emperors in order to highlight Justinian's efforts whether real or otherwise.

4.2.4: οἷς δὴ καὶ διπλᾶς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐντέθειται πάσας. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ κἀν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐ ξείργασται, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν παρέργως οὕτω πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

ταὐτὰ Braun. ταῦτα V

And he put upon all these walls double battlements. And in the same way he brought to completion improvements to the fort, which from ancient times had stood there poorly built by the ancients.

Note the clumsily formed phrase, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ κἀν, with the particle δὲ in third position and the rare poetic use of double crasis: ταὐτὰ for τὰ αὐτά and κἀν for καὶ ἐν. It is possible that this passage was meant to be read and thus had elements in it that were aurally clever and pleasing to the listener.[47]

45 These figures represent averages of the extant wall remains in this region. In addition, there seems to be a perceivable ratio of wall thickness to wall height of approximately 1:4. An important consideration is that these walls were built in mountainous terrain and were for the most part not the easily assailable walls of a settlement situated in an open plain.

46 MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 252.

47 In antiquity, there was a tradition of reading finished, or even working drafts of, literary works. Given Thermopylae's well-known reputation it would have made a fitting and timely oration. G. Downey, Notes on Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, Book I. in G. Mylonas/D. Raymond (eds.), Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson. St. Louis 1953, II 719–725, has already argued that the first book of

Precisely what Procopius meant by "double battlements" (διπλᾶς τὰς ἐπάλξεις) in this passage can only be determined by inference through his previous use of this phrase: (a) in his description of the fortifications at Dura Europa (*De aed.* 2.1.15–16),[48] in which a very sophisticated fortification wall with two battlement levels was constructed one atop the other; and (b), the Justinianic long wall across the Isthmus of the Chersonese (*De aed.* 4.10.13), where the battlements were roofed over with a colonnaded stoa, above which a second level with breastworks was constructed. This description, therefore, suggests that at a minimum some of the barrier walls in the Thermopylae frontier could have been defended from two levels. Unfortunately, nowhere can the preserved remains support such an assertion.

A frontier fort (τό φρούριον) can be defined as a permanent fortified enclosure or rural settlement built specifically to house a garrison (ἡ φυλακτήρια). Such installations typically were situated atop an eminence in a locality of actual or potential danger.[49] As to which frontier fort Procopius is here referring there are several candidates in the Thermopylai region that could satisfy this all too generalized description, but later on *De aed.* 4.2.6 will provide our best clue as to which fort Procopius might have been referring to.

4.2.5: διαρκές τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕψος[a] ἐντέθεικε καὶ διπλοῦς τοὺς προμαχῶνας [b] πεποίηται.

Powell, Lexicon s.v. [a] τὸ ὕφος, [b] Hdt. 1.164.1: προμαχεῶνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος.

For he built it up to quite a sufficient height and made the ramparts double.

Compare with the discussion of 4.2.4 above.

4.2.6: πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ παντάπασιν [a] ὄντι ταμιεῖον ὑετίων ὑδάτων ἐπετεχνήσατο. [b]

ὑετίων Maltretus. ὑετείων V
Powell, Lexicon *s. v.* [a] παντάπασι(ν), [b] ἐπιτεχνάομαι.

---

the *De aedificiis* was written as a literary show piece or panegyric that was presented orally before the emperor and the court and the length of the chapter, about 10,000 words, was appropriate.

48 See Dewing/Downey, Procopius. VII. The Buildings 104–105, for several illustrations of the multi-leveled and towered fortification walls at Syrian Rusafa.

49 A. Lawrence, Greek Aims in Fortification. Oxford 1979, 126, 137, 159.

And in addition to this, as the place was entirely waterless, he devised a reservoir for rainwater.

This frontier fort (τό φρούριον) is most probably to be equated with the fortifications of the Dhamásta Complex with its water fountain and roofed, plaster-lined cistern.[50] MacKay, however, prefers to locate this fortress at the site of Muntzmeno,[51] but a cistern has yet to be found at that site.

4.2.7: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνόδους[a] πολλὰς ἀφυλάκτους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὰ πρότερα οὔσας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐτειχίσατο.

Powell, Lexicon *s. v.* [a] ἡ ἀνόδος.

And furthermore, he conscientiously fortified many ascending inland routes, which previously had been both unguarded and unwalled.

With these words, the tension of Procopius's rhetorical agenda for the treatment of the Thermopylae region begins to heighten. He again alludes to the many undefended "ascending routes" using the appropriate Herodotean terminology (ἡ ἄνοδος), which with the benefit of Justinian's tactical wisdom were fortified, but apparently not all of them – hence the delimiting qualifier "many" (πολλάς). Modern topographical investigations throughout this mountainous region constantly report the new discovery of remains subsequent to the denuding of the area as the result of endemic forest fires, and conversely, the "disappearance" of remains due to the growth of thick and dense vegetation.[52]

4.2.8: θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις εἰκότως τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι δὴ χρόνον ἐνταῦθα κατατρίψας πολύν,[a] μίαν τινὰ στενὴν[b] ἀτραπὸν[c] ἔυρατο, καὶ ταῦτα προδοτῶν[d] Ἑλλήνων τυχών, ὁδῶν[e] τε ἀτειχίστων ἐκείνῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἁμαξιτῶν[f] σχεδόν τι οὐσῶν.

Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] cf., Hdt. 7.213.1: Ἀπορέοντες δὲ βασιλέος ὅτι χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, [b] τὸ στεινόν, [c] ἡ ἀτραπός, [d] cf., Hdt. 8.30.2: ἦλλ' οὐκ

50 MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 247. Personal autopsy, summer 1977. Here Procopius mentions his second favorite discussion topic: water supply, so Cameron, Procopius 86.

51 MacKay, ibid., 246. Personal autopsy, springs 1987, 1988.

52 During the springs of 1987 and 1988, the author found no less than three previously unreported barrier walls that blocked passages through the Thermopylae frontier. During that same period, the published remains of the Dhamásta Complex had seemingly "disappeared" within the region's dense vegetation, even though the very same remains were visited during the summer of 1977!

ἔσεσθαι ἐόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος, [e] ἡ ὁδός, [f] cf., Hdt. 7.176.2: ἐοῦσα ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη.

One might wonder with good reason the Persian King, who spent so much time there finding only a single narrow path, and that too with the luck of Grecian traitors, when there are many unfortified roads there, which are nearly roads one wagon-wide.

This reference to the events of the late summer of 480 B.C. by King Xerxes of Persia (Hdt. 7.213–218) is intriguing. Rhetorically, it provides a perfect opportunity for Procopius to draw a favorable comparison between a perplexed Xerxes, the King of Kings of the Persian Empire, and the enlightened defender of the late Roman Empire, Justinian. On the other hand, Procopius' mention that there was more than one traitor tied to that heroic Panhellenic cause shows that he was a careful reader of Herodotus (Hdt. 7.214).

Procopius' use of subtle and clever shadings in Herodotean vocabulary is in evidence: for example, the first appearance of the term moutain path (ἡ ἀτραπὸς), and then its further delimitation as a "narrow mountain path" (ἡ στενὸς ἀτραπός); the nearly "one wagon-wide roads" (ἡ ἁμάξιτος [ὁδός]); and in *De aedificiis* 4.2.9, Procopius' first mention of the "highway" (ἡ ὁδός). By using these terms, Procopius is following his rhetorical agenda by building up an ever-escalating series of comparisons in order to achieve a climax, which he will unveil in *De aedificiis* 4.2.9.[53]

Furthermore his stylistic parallel, that contrasts Xerxes' discovery of only one narrow mountain path (μίαν στενὴν ἀτραπὸν)[54] with the "many

53 With the use of the term 'highway', Procopius implies a wide, artificially surfaced, roadbed, at least two wagons wide that would allow for opposing traffic. Cf., *Bella* 2.1.7, where the Latin [*via*] *strata* is equated with the Greek "an artificially leveled road" (ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὁδός); *Bella* 5.14.6, where Procopius describes the paved Via Appia (Ἀππία ὁδός) as a "highway" between Rome and Capua wide enough to allow two wagons to pass. Farther on in this same passage (*Bella* 5.14.6–11) he carefully describes its construction and pavement (tightly fitting polygonal paving blocks). The pavement of Byzantine wagon-roads have been recorded at 4 to 5 meters wide, so P. Salama, Les Voies Romaines de l'afrique du nord. Algeria 1951, 68 and R. Forbes, Notes on the History of Ancient Roads and their Construction. Amsterdam 1934, 141. This would easily allow for the passage of two carts about 1.45 m. wide. That this same term "highway" connoted a busy transit or invasion route, see *Bella* 8.25.4.

54 On Procopius' "single narrow path" that could outflank Thermopylai, see his account of the Hunnic raid of 539/540 that detoured around Thermopylai, *Bella* 2.4.10. The marked similarity between these two passages to those of Herodotus (7.213, 216, 217), Appian (*Syrian Wars* 11.4.18), and Pausanias (10.20.1, 10.22.1,

unfortified roads" (ὁδῶν ἀτειχίστων … πολλῶν) that are "roads one-wagon wide" ([ὁδῶν] ἁμαξιτῶν) which bedeviled Justinian's military strategists and architectural engineers, has two purposes. First, Procopius wished to underline Justinian's concern for the defense of the Thermopylae region and his desire to improve on those defenses as no one previously had. And second, Procopius alerts the reader not only to his command of the technical vocabulary (mountain paths, ascending routes, roads one-wagon wide, and wide, artificially surfaced roads), but also to prepare the reader for his later description of the principal highway that ran through the κλεισούρα near Myropóles in the region of Herákleia (*De aed.* 4.2.17–22).

4.2.9: ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα τοὺς πρόποδας ἐπικλύζουσα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀνεστομωμένας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπί πλεῖστον ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι τὰς ἐνθένδε ἀνόδους,[a] καὶ σηράγγων τε καὶ χαραδρῶν[b] ἀδιεξόδων ἐνταῦθα οὐσῶν, ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τειχίσμασιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς περιβαλέσθαι τὰ διῃρημένα τῇ φύσει, τῇ τε πρὸς τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων ὀκνήσει ἀταλαίπωρον ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ κατέλιπον, ἐς τὴν ἐσομένην βαρβάροις τῆς ὁδοῦ[c] ἄγνοιαν ἀποθέμενοι τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας.

ἀταλαίπωρρον V. ἀταλαιπώρως Maltretus
Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] ἡ ἄνοδος, [b] cf., Hdt. 9.102.1: κατά τε χαράδραν, [c] ὁ ὁδός.

For the sea, swamping the low spurs of the mountains, continually made new ascending routes at this point; and since caves and impassable ravines abound there, it seemed to the ancients impossible to fortify with walls the openings, which had been made by nature. And on account of their reluctance to undertake a most difficult task, they carelessly abandoned their safety to chance, basing their hope of salvation on the assumption that the barbarians would be ignorant of the highway.

Procopius' use of the word πρόποδας, from πρόπους, the "projecting foot" of a mountain, supports the thesis that the highway about which the barbarians had to be ignorant must have ran along a ridge situated in an upland setting. Thus Procopius' allusion to such a highway could not refer to the low elevation coastal road that ran south from Lamia through Thermopylae and on into Eastern Lokris.[55] Instead, the

8, 10–11) may infer his use of a literary lexicon. A. Burn, Thermopylai Revisited and some Topographical Notes on Marathon and Plataiai, in K. Kinzl (ed.), Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. Berlin 1977, 100, concluded that this "narrow path" must be an off-hand reference to the Anopaia Path across the Kallídhromos Range.

55 K. Miller, Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana. Stuttgart 1929, route 80 B, 573–578.

highway that Procopius describes here must have ran south above the swampy coastal plain along the elevated contours of the western rim of the Malian Basin to some point that allowed easy passage through the Thermopylae frontier into Central Greece.[56] His then immediate use of ἐπικλύζουσα, "to swamp or overflow," describes precisely the ever-fluctuating terrain characteristics of the Malian Plain. Such a broad geological statement, in this context, has everything to do with Thermopylae "the region" rather than Thermopylae "the pass", which by late Roman times had become, in the broad scheme of things, only a minor terrain feature. Procopius' emphasis of this highway continues his rhetorical agenda of ever-building tension, which was first alluded to in 4.2.2 and 4.2.8, and is later to be connected with the κλεισοῦρα of the Herákleia region in 4.2.17.

The ever-changing topography of the frontier's coastline due to continuous erosion, deposition, subsidence, and tectonic events,[57] and the inability "of the ancients" (τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις) to cope with them, set up the rhetorical parallel that Justinian's engineers were able to

---

56 Such an upland route typically ascends and descends by using gentle gradients and by following the natural topographical contours. Once at elevation, an upland route would run either just below the ridge itself, or across upland flats. Any traffic along such an upland route would remain unobserved from the lower elevations, while the sunny and panoramic view from the ridge route would lessen the dangers of deep winter snow accumulation and of ambush. Furthermore, upland routes can more easily, than lower elevation roadbeds, avoid water courses, bridging problems, erosionary hazards, valuable farm land, malarial marshlands, and large urban areas. The course of the principal roadbed that leads south from Lamia to the Dhéma Pass and the road system of the Isthmus Corridor Route follows just such an upland route along the western foothills of Mt. Oíte, as noted by Burn, Thermopylai Revisited (as footnote 54 above) 98–99 and Kase, *GICR* 21–25.

57 A. Philippson/E. Kirsten, Die griechischen Landschaften. I. Der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel. 1. Thessalien und die Spercheios-Senke. Frankfurt am Main 1950, 235: earthquakes in the southern Malian Basin tend to trend along the Aedipsos-Thermopylai-Hypata fault-line, and they tend to produce devastating tsunami effects. On the tsunami earthquake of 427/426 B.C. and A.D. 551 that devastated the Malian Basin, see: Thuc. 2.87, 89; Diod. 12.59; Strab. 1.3.30 C 60; and Proc. 8.25.16–23. See also: C. Neumann/J. Partsch, Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Altertum. Breslau 1885, 321–322; F. Stählin, Das hellenische Thessalien. Stuttgart 1924, 198; and Philippson/Kirsten, as above, 205. The forces behind the continuous modification of the Malian Gulf's southern coastline has been lucidly described by J.C. Kraft/G. Rapp/G.J. Szemler/C. Tziavos/E.W. Kase, The Pass at Thermopylae, Greece. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987) 181–198, and J.C. Kraft, Geology of the Great Isthmus Corridor, *GICR* 1–16.

solve by walling off many of the ravines and accesses through the Thermopylae frontier. Further, his depreciating assertion that "the ancients" were not capable to complete the fortification of that frontier is the stuff of pure rhetoric designed to belittle those of former times and highlight the pure genius of Justinian's solution for the region.

4.2.10: ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν[a] ἀπολέγοντες ἀεὶ ἄνθρωποι, τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυσκολώτατα δόξαντα εἶναι οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶν οἴονται ῥᾴδια ἔσεσθαι.

Powell, Lexicon s. v.[a] ταλαίπωρος, ον.

For men who avoid hard work, they imagine that what has seemed very difficult to them will not be easy for others.

This is another instance of Procopian rhetorical padding designed to belittle the abilities those of former times and emphasize Justinian's herculean labors in the region. As the physical remains attest and radiocarbon data show, Justinian's engineering corps did not build *de novo* the principal fortifications of the region, specifically: the Dhéma Fortification Complex, the fortified mount of Herákleia, the Fylakí complex, the Dhamásta complex, the Muntzméno complex, the Long Wall of the Middle Gate, and the Long Wall of the East Gate. Instead, the foundations and lower courses of all these structures are pre-sixth century in date and specifically relate to the first quarter of the fifth century during the reign of the Emperor Theodosius II.[58]

---

58 The construction of the Thermopylae frontier barrier's fortifications that extended across its 15 km width most likely occurred between 401/402 (on the basis of *IG* VII 24) and 443 (*CJ* 1.31.4). Consistent rubble and mortar construction styles, brick sizes, brick marks, and mortar composition all suggest the industry of an imperial *Baubattalion.* The $^{14}$carbon data indicate a tight, contemporaneous grouping for all the remains sampled, all of which are pre-sixth century in date. W.J. Cherf, Carbon-14 Chronology for the late-Roman Thermopylai Frontier. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) 261–264. Table A: Radiocarbon Data. (Note: Drying rates for wall cores can take up to 5–10 years to thoroughly set. Therefore, a wall's construction date can appear to be 5–10 years more recent.) Such a chronological assessment requires context and fits well within the climate following Alaric's raid of the Balkans and occupation of Greece from 395–398, the impetus which T.E. Gregory points to for the construction of the Hexamilion at the Corinthian Isthmus, so T.E. Gregory, Kastro and Diateichisma as Responses to Early Byzantine Frontier Collapse. *Byzantion* 62 (1992) 242, 243–244; and Id., Hexamilion and the Fortress, vii, 6, 141, 142–143.

4.2.11: διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἄν τις ἔτι φιλονεικοίη μὴ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, οἳ δὴ ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγένηνται, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα προμηθέστατον γεγονέναι καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελέστατον,[a] ᾧ γε οὐδὲ θάλασσα χαλεπὴ[b] γέγονε, γειτνιῶσά τε τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ περιχεομένη καὶ ἐπικλύζουσα, ἐν κλυδωνίῳ τε καὶ ψάμμῳ ὑγρᾷ[c] τοῖς θεμελίοις στηρίζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις διαφανῶς ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀνθρώπων τε προσχωρεῖν τέχνῃ[d] καὶ βιαζομένοις ὑπείκειν.

Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] ἐπιμελής, [b] χαλεπός, [c] ὑγρός, ά, όν, [d] ἡ τέχνη.

So no man will any longer dispute the assertion that the Emperor Justinian has shown himself most provident and most exceptionally careful as compared with all other men who have ever lived, seeing that even the sea, though its comes close to the mountains and flows around and swamps against them, has not proved an obstacle sufficient to prevent the foundations from being securely laid in the middle of the surging water and on the wet sand, or to forestall the most striking union of the most opposite elements, which are thus forced to yield to man's skill and to bow to his superior power.

If accurate, this passage contains an important observation on the paleoenvironmental conditions of the Malian Basin in the mid-sixth century. On the basis of it, the formation of the beach line along the base of the Thermopylae frontier had not progressed much beyond 50 meters wide.[59]

After this bombastic eulogy of the Emperor Justinian's wisdom and conscientiousness, Procopius then describes how Justinian's engineering corps even defied Nature itself by laying the foundations of a defensive long wall in the gulf's shallows and shifting beach sands of the region. Unfortunately, the remains of that sea wall's curtain and towers, first investigated by Y. Béquinon, are today nowhere to be found, all victims to road widening projects and modern cultivation.[60] What can be seen

---

59 On the basis of the geological core-boring data, see G. J. Szemler / W. J. Cherf / J. Kraft, Thermopylai. Myth and Reality in 480 B.C. Chicago 1996, 9–19. Such an assessment compares favorably with the late fourth century report of Eunapius of Sardis, who described the passage of Alaric in 395 through the Thermopylae Pass as if traversing an open stadium or broad cavalry plain. Eunapius, Vitae Soph. 7.3.3: ὁ [τε] Ἀλλάριχος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρῆλθεν, ὥσπερ διὰ σταδίου καὶ ἱπποκρότου πεδίου τρέχων.

60 A cursory archaeological investigation made on this sea wall was first made by Y. Béquignon during the early 1930 s (Recherches archéologiques dans la vallée du Spercheios. *Revue archéologique* 4 [1934] 16–33). Precisely where in the plain Béquignon dug his trench is not clear, except that "un sondage, exécuté dans la partie du mur qui surplombait la route." I understand that statement to mean that Béquignon excavated on the south side of the then modern coastal road. He then states that he could make out the remains of the sea wall's end tower that

today of the East Gate Long Wall, a meandering upland structure of cement, brick and rubble, in all some 1800 meters or more in length, are contemporary in date with the other frontier remains along the Thermopylae frontier, namely being founded during the administration of the Emperor Theodosius II (408–450).[61]

4.2.12: οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τάς τε λόχμαη καὶ νάπας ἀλλήλαις[a] ἀνάψας, οὐδὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ ὄρει ἐναρμοσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅλην τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι, κατέπαυσε τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηκόων σπουδήν, ἀλλὰ[b] καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐντος ἐτεκτήνατο, ἄξια τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπείας βεβουλευμένος ᾗ βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀκαταγώνιστον γίνεται.

μέντοι V. μέν του A; ἀνάψας V. ἐνάψας A; Περιβαλὼν τὴν ἑλλάδα A. ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους A. βέβαιον A; βέβαιον γὰρ V.
Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] ἀλλήλους, ας, α, [b] οὐ … ἀλλά.

Even after joining the forests and the glens to each other, and the sea to the mountains, this Emperor [Justinian], surrounding the whole of Greece with strongholds, did not stop his zeal for his subjects, but he also constructed many forts inside the wall, planning for all the contingencies, which sway man's fortune, wherein nothing is fixed or unconquerable.

Procopius clearly wished to depict the Thermopylae region as being practically walled from ravine to ravine, mountain to sea, in a continuous manner.[62] An unsophisticated invader, ignorant of siege warfare, when confronted with such an all inclusive defensive system of sea walls, barrier walls, forts, and strongholds would in essence be faced

---

had been destroyed when the modern coastal road was built, also apparently on the southern side of the roadbed.

61 Indeed some renovation and repair may have been necessary in the area following the seaquake and tsunami disaster of 551/552 to the Malian Basin (*Bella* 8.25.16–23), but probably would be more appropriate for those lower elevation frontier structures found either on or near the coastline of the Thermopylae region and in specific to the coastal portions of the East Gate Long Wall. *Bella* 8.25.16–23. This possibility of course hangs upon when the *De aedificiis* was completed, which is a subject very much in doubt. So Cameron Procopius 8–12, and *id.*, Conclusion, *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000) 178: "There remain differing views as to the likely date of the Buildings, either 554/5, 559/60 or 560/61; despite the efforts of scholars, therefore, it has to be said that there is still no consensus."

62 See MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 248 and Pritchett, New Light (as footnote 39 above) 210 note 64, both record a local legend that speaks of a fantastic and continuous length of the wall that ran throughout the Thermopylae region.

by a defensive cul-de-sac with nowhere to go except retreat, or, at least that was the expectation of the defensive theory.

This passage is a prelude to Procopius' later description of all the forts and strongholds (*De aed.* 4.2.23–26) that were located "inside" (ἐντός) in the sense of south of the Thermopylai region.[63]

4.2.13: ὥστε εἰ τοῖς τείχεσι τούτοις τρόπῳ ὁτῳοῦν ἢ χρόνῳ ἁλῶναι ξυμβαίη, ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τὰ φυλακτήρια διασώζοιτο.

ξυμβαίη V. ξυμβαίνει A; διασώζοιτο V. διασώζοιντο A.

So if these walls in any way or at any time happened to be captured, the garrisons might still be maintained in their forts.

So is best encapsulated the dogma of late Roman frontier defense-in-depth; stall and frustrate; if overrun, channel the incursion and survive in order to harry the enemy's rear; ambush or deny access to any logistical support. Key to this passage is Procopius' choice of words, τά φυλακτήρια. The use of this term for "garrison" implies professional soldiers. Compare this with Procopius' use of the more colorful term ἀγροίκοι, "country bumpkins," that he would later use to describe the former defenders in 4.2.15 below.

4.2.14: καὶ μὴν καὶ σιτῶνας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὑδάτων ἔλυτρα πανταχόθι πεποίηται, στρατιώτας τε φρουροὺς ἐς δισχιλίους μάλιστα[a] τῇδε ἱδρύσατο. ὅ οὐδέ τις τῶν πρώην βασιλέων πώποτε ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου πεποίηκεν.

Powell, Lexicon *s. v.* [a] μάλιστα.

And furthermore, he established granaries in safe places and reservoirs of water everywhere, and stationed there approximately two thousand soldiers as guards. A thing that not one of the former emperors had done in all time.

The only evidence that exists for the establishment of an imperial granary in the Malian area that could lend support to the garrison stationed along the Thermopylae frontier is an inscription that dates from the second half of the reign of the Emperor Arcadius (383–408).[64]

---

63 Surely the extensive late Hellenistic through late Roman site of Kouvéla and its acropolis of Kástro tês Oriás would be so included, so W. Cherf, The History of the Isthmus Corridor during the Roman Period: The First through the Mid-Sixth Centuries A.D., *GICR* 137, 142 and Table 11–1.

64 *IG* VII 24 = *Syll*$^3$ 908. Dated to the period 1 September 401/31 August 402 and constructed under the supervision of the Achaian proconsul Claudius Varius (*PLRE* II *s.v.* 1). The granary's stores originated as taxes levied in kind. The granary was managed by an ὁρρεοπραιποσιτία or *horreorum praepositus*, who

In it is described the establishment of an imperial granary at nearby Scarpheia and another one farther south near the province's capital city of Corinth, both to be supplied by the enumerated cities of Euboia, Central Greece, and the Peloponnesus. This establishment of an imperial granary at the northern frontier of Achaia represented the opening gambit of the early fifth century imperial strategic plan of defense-in-depth that would first construct and then maintain a self-sustaining military frontier within the Empire itself.

The remains of water cisterns and reservoirs have been found and are associated with the Dhamásta Complex, the city of Herákleia, and the extensive ruins atop Kástro tês Horías where the author has seen two fine examples.[65]

Probably as a direct result of the disasterous Hunnic raid of 539/540 that descended upon Greece (*Bella* 2.4.10), we are told in Procopius' *Anecdota* that the imperial *logothete*, Alexander "Psalidios",[66] was dispatched to strengthen and reorganize the defensive line along the Thermopylae frontier. Those reforms included: (a) that the former sedentary and hereditary frontier forces (ἀγροίκων τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς; cf., 4.2.15 below) were replaced with 2000 regular troops (στρα-τιῶται);[67] and (b), that the financial burden for the maintenance of these forces, the construction and restoration of the frontier's fortifications, were to be shouldered by the cities of Greece and not by the imperial treasury.[68]

---

was usually appointed from the provincial governor's staff (*CTh* 12.6.5 [A.D. 365]). Staples stockpiled at an imperial granary would include wheat, barley, wine, and olive oil. Crafted staples would include leather goods, textiles, and pots.

65 Personal autopsy, summer 1977. To assign a construction date to these cisterns and reservoirs would be nothing short of sheer guess work. Radiocarbon dating of any extant lime mortars and plasters and the examination of associated ceramic evidence are required before such an assessment could be hazarded.

66 Alexander's nickname that could be translated roughly as "the Scissors" or "the Snips", and thus by contextual association "the Chiseler" or "the Cheat", is derived from the verb ψαλίζω, "to clip with scissors," the diminutive form, ψαλίδιον, which was a clipping or paring tool typically used to trim the edges of ancient coinage. Cf. *Bella* 7.1.28–30. On the career of Alexander himself, see Stählin, Thermopylen (as footnote 30 above) 2422,44 and Alexander 5, *PLRE* IIIA 43–44.

67 *Anec.* 26.31–33. Such replacement troops presumably were better trained, more reliable, and better coordinated in their movements than the hereditary and sedentary border troops.

68 So *Anec.* 26.33: "So he stationed troops there to the number of two thousand and ordained that their pay should not be provided from the imperial treasury,

4.2.15: ἀφύλακτα γὰρ τὸ παράπαν τὰ τείχη ταῦτα ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὶ ἦν, ἀγροίκων τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς τῶν πολεμίων καταθεόντων μεθαρμοσάμενοι τὴν δίαιταν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τε αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες τὰ πολέμια, ἐκ περιτροπῆς[a] ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν, ἁλώσιμοί τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου ῥᾷστα ξὺν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγίνοντο, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ μακρότατον[b] ἀπέκειτο ἐπιοῦσι βαρβάροις.

Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] ἡ περιτροπῇ, [b] ἐπὶ μακρός, α, ον.

For these walls were totally unguarded from early times even to my day. And when the enemy came down, some local peasants would immediately change their way of life, becoming temporary soldiers for the time, would keep guard there in turn; and because of their inexperience they, together with Greece itself, proved an easy mark for the enemy, and on account of this stinginess the whole length of the country lay open to the oncoming barbarians.

Procopius derisively describes the replaced frontier troops (ἀγροίκων τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς) of the Thermopylae frontier as not being soldiers, but mere country-bumpkins (ἀγροίκοι), who poorly defended their neighborhoods in times of peril. This is the reckless banter of commissioned rhetoric at its best.[69] Both ancient and hence modern opinion on the general reputation of frontier troops have not been charitable.[70] For example, a citation from the *Codex Theodosianus*

---

but instead he transferred to the treasury the entire civic funds and the funds for the spectacles of all the cities of Greece, and the pretext that these soldiers were to be maintained therefrom, and consequently in all Greece, and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any other needful thing be done." H. B. Dewing, Procopius. VI. The Anecdota or Secret History. London 1935, 315. The immediate unpopularity of Alexander and these reforms among the Greeks is colorfully narrated in the *Anec*. 26.29–34.

69 Yet, Procopius describes the performance of these frontier troops during the Hunnic raid of 539/540 in *Bella* 2.4.10 quite differently. Admittedly, the literary tone of the *Bella* is decidedly more "objective" than the required "rhetoric" of the *De aedificiis*, where the frontier troops (described as φρουρῶν), "defended most valiantly" (καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων) the walls. This would not do with Procopius' agenda for the *De aedificiis.* Then compare also how Procopius describes these very same individuals in his hyper-critical *Anecdota* (26.31.2) as farmers (γεωρβοῦντες), which implies a landowner: i. e., a skilled trade and established occupation. Clearly, somewhere between the rural country-bumpkins of the *De aedificiis*, valiant frontier guardsmen of the *Bella*, and noble farmers of the *Anecdota* the truth must lie.

70 A. R. Neumann, Limitanei, *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968) 876–888. Frontier troops were often given land in return for their military service, so A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284–602. Norman 1964, I 608, 617, 653, 685; and G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine Empire. Oxford 1968, 43. In time, the hereditary transfer of these parcels of land became dependent upon military

dated to the year 398 is downright pejorative,[71] while the *Codex Justinianus* (4.65.35.1) "implies that as early as 530, Justinian did not consider them to be true soldiers".[72] The fact of the matter is far more complex, for any judgement on the fitness of frontier troops must also confront the issues of their duty post, leadership, morale, and local ecological conditions.[73] Only when this more complete picture is taken into account, can a reliability statement be made.[74]

duty, which resulted in half-trained militias who were neither farmers nor soldiers, so R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire. Cambridge 1963, 13, 21, 22. E. Stein, Histoire du bas-empire. De la disparition de l'empire d'occident a la morte du Justinien (476–565). Paris 1959, II 86; S. Andrzejewski, Military Organization and Society. London 1954, 34: "Normal economic activities cannot be reconciled with continuous military training except in the case of primitive hunters." Compare these at best luke-warm assessments of the military fitness of the *limitanei* with that of: B. Isaac, The Meaning of the Terms *Limes* and *Limitanei. JRS* 78 (1988) 143; id., The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East, 2nd ed. Oxford 1992, 208–209; W. Treadgold, Byzantium and its Army: 284–1081. Stanford 1995, 93, 161; M. Whitby, Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (*ca.* 565–615), in A. Cameron (ed.), The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Vol. III, States, Resources and Armies. Princeton 1995) 113–114; E.L. Wheeler, The Laxity of Syrian Legions, in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), The Roman Near East II. Portsmouth 1996, 229–276; A.D. Lee, War in Late Antiquity. A Social History. Oxford 2001, 10–11, 87. These scholars have argued that the *limitanei* deployed in the Near East were not second-rate soldiers tied to the soil, but rather multi-functional troops who were just as effective as the mobile armies.

71 *CTh* 7.14.1: "It is Our will that the same regulations shall be observed in the case of border fortress soldiers as Our statute commands in the case of mule drivers, and if any persons should dare, in Spain or in any place whatsoever, to solicit or to harbor border fortress troops, they shall be held liable in the same way." C. Pharr, The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions. Princeton 1952, 173. Mule drivers were considered to be of the lowest class, as apparently, were the frontier troops.

72 So Treadgold, Byzantium and its Army (as footnote 70 above) 60, and A. Kaldellis, Procopius of Caesarea. Philadelphia 2004, 225.

73 Ecological conditions along the Thermopylae frontier in late Roman times provided a rich environment of essential resources that had a profitable, nutritional, and recreational value. While plentiful highland grazing opportunities may have proved adequate, good agricultural land was in short supply. Another very real challenge to the Thermopylae garrison was the region's endemic diseases, most notably several potential strains of malaria, the historically single, greatest killer of humans, along with ophthalmia, sand fly fevers, and dermal diseases. Other faunal health hazards included: lice, fleas, straw mites, bed bugs, black flies, black spiders, and black, brown and white scorpions. Finally, snakebite, specifically of the viper family, can outright kill. So

4.2.16: Οὕτω μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἐρύματα ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ πόλεων δὲ ἁπασῶν, αἵπερ αὐτῶν ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐξικανοῦσιν οὖσαι, ξὺν ἐπιςελείᾳ πολλῇ τείχη ᾠκοδομήσατο ἰσχυρά, ἔν τε Σάκκῳ καὶ Ὑπάτῃ καὶ Κορακίοις καὶ Οὔννῳ καὶ Βαλέαις καὶ τῳ καλουμένῳ Λεονταρίῳ.

Θερμοπύλαις V. τῇ ἑλλάδι A.

So did the Emperor Justinian secure the defenses in the Thermopylai [region]. And of all the cities outside of the region, which are sufficiently numerous, he carefully built many strong walls, both at Sakkus, Hypata, Koracii, Ounnion, Baleae, and at Leontarium, as it is called.

With this statement, Procopius concludes his topographical and architectural description of the Thermopylai region proper. Clearly, on the basis of the above discussion and Procopius' mention of so many fortifications either built or restored, his description is that of a region, rather than that of the immediate neighborhood of the Thermopylai hot springs. Furthermore, at no time does he mention in this detailed discussion either the coastal road through the Thermopylai Pass, the location of the city of Herákleia, or its fortifications. For as will be shown below, these last two features were located outside and to the west of the Thermopylai region.[75] Thus, with the words "outside of the region" (ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ) Procopius commences his second geographical division of the Malian Basin.

This second division defines those cities "outside" (ἐκτός) of the Thermopylai region which are located in the southern-most extremes of late Roman Thessaly. Hierokles, a contemporary of Procopius, lists in his work the *Synekdemos* the following Thessalian cities of the Malian Basin: Echinos, Lamia, and Hypata.[76] Procopius mentions Thessalian Echinos only twice.[77] As to the other six cities of this passage, only the

W. J. Cherf, Geography and Topography: Valuable Sources for the History of a Late Roman Frontier. *The Ancient World* 26/1 (1995) 70–76.

74 Implicit in this statement are the variety of challenges faced by frontier troops in different locales and the positive or negative effects upon their effectiveness. The assessments of Isaac, Whitby, Wheeler, and Lee noted above may be valid along the Near Eastern frontier. It would be rash, however, in this author's mind to paint that generalization across all frontiers.

75 A position already enunciated by MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 249: "... Heraclea is treated by Procopius as already outside the region of Thermopylae proper."

76 642.5–7. See Koder/Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) *s. v.* Echinos 152, Zetunion 283, and Neai Patrai 223, respectively.

77 *De aed.* 4.3.5 and *Bella* 8.25.19, both times spelled Ἐχιναίος.

location of Hypata has been positively fixed; the rest remain unidentified.

What then might this list of toponyms represent? A fair guess would be that Procopius lifted them from a geographical list, or better, a highway itinerary as he has been suspected of doing elsewhere throughout this unfinished work.[78] If this is indeed the case, then these sites must be located along or near a highway that ran along the eastern foothills of Mt. Oíte to the northwest of the Thermopylai region. Since Hypata is the only known site, then the refurbished fortifications of Korakios,[79] Unnon,[80] Baleai,[81] and Leontarion[82] could well have

78 Because of the northwestern location of Hypata and presumably of Sakkos as well, a list of fortifications situated in generally a north to south direction along the eastern foothills of Mt. Oíte is not beyond credulity. Consider that: (a) settlements do not exist in isolation; (b) overland communications usually take the form of well-traveled roads; (c) Justinian's engineering corps tended to fortify locations either near or alongside important arteries of communication in order to better defend the region from barbarian marauders; and (d) the majority of the fortified toponyms mentioned by Procopius lay along important military roads. The thesis that Procopius' lists of fortifications were derived from road itineraries, see Beševliev, Kastellnamen (as footnote 8 above) 69, who concluded that many of Procopius' lists reflect Byzantine fortifications along highways. See also, V. Beševliev, Bermerkungen über die antiken Heerstraßen im Ostteil der Balkanhalbinsel. *Klio* 5 (1969) 483–495.

79 An unidentified ancient fortification. By virtue of its mention immediately after Hypata, its remains probably are to be sought to the east somewhere in the upland neighborhood of the modern villages of Kostaléxes and Phrantzés.

80 An unknown fortification. A parallel may be derived from a Danubian settlement with the name Οὕννων (φρούριον) *De aed.* 4.6.33. Beševliev, Kastellnamen (as footnote 8 above) 121 translates it as "the fort of the Huns" and equates the site's name with the settlement of Huns there following the collapse of their empire in 453. In our case, Unnon may have represented the location of the Hunnic campsite during the raid of 539/540 (*Bella* 2.4.10). If so, a plentiful water source would have been necessary and perhaps the modern village of Gorgopótamos was its location. The highway along the western foothills of Mt. Oíte from Lamia to the Dhéma Pass descended through Gorgopótamos in order to cross the river there via a single arched stone bridge with a road surface 3.2 m. wide, so Kase, *GICR* 22. Personal autopsy, summers 1975, 1976; springs 1987, 1988. Koder, Hild *Hellas und Thessalia* 280, locate this unidentified fortified settlement somewhere to the north on the basis of its location "outside" (ἐκτός) of Thermopylai.

81 An unknown fortification. Probably located to the south of Unnon along or near the upland road that ran along the western foothills of Mt. Oíte toward the Dhéma Pass. A site known locally as Monasteri consisting of a complex of building foundations has been located about 3 km south of Phrantzés and about

dotted the highway between it and the Dhéma Pass. Sakkos, if indeed Procopius has preserved the order of a road itinerary, may lie somewhere to the northeast of Hypata, perhaps on or near the bank of the Spercheios River.[83] A further indication that Procopius' description was proceeding geographically from a generally north-south direction,[84] the very next area mentioned is the region of Herákleia (4.2.17).

The only sixth century toponyms that Procopius mentioned in the Malian Basin near or along this highway from Central Thessaly were Lamia and Hypata.[85] The Hadrianic milestone connected with this highway records the distance of 31 Roman miles (*ca.* 46.5 km. or 25 miles) presumably between the Thessalian cities of Hypata and Pharsalos via the Phroúka Pass.[86] The location of the milestone found north of Hypata and south of the Spercheios River near the modern

---

1.5 km southeast of Gorgopótamos has been dated by late Roman and Byzantine pottery, so P. WALLACE/W. CHERF, Description of Sites, *GICR* 46–47, 137.

82 An unknown fortification. Leontarion's name may derive from the adjective λεόντιος, -α, -ον, "of a lion," thus, "the lion's fort." That it is a local name for Procopius, he used the formula, καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ, in reference to it. Its location probably is south of Baleai along the upland road to the Dhéma Pass. KODER/HILD, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) 201 located this fortified settlement outside of the Thermopylai fortification system "perhaps" in the area of the Spercheios Valley.

83 An unidentified ancient fortification. The name may be Thracian, so BEŠEVLIEV, Kastellnamen (as footnote 8 above) 131 for Σακίσσος, *De aed.* 4.11. Just as easily, the Homeric Greek word, τὰ σάκος, for 'shield', could just as well apply, and would be apt for a fortification. Coincidentally, a modern Greek village called Ξάσκα is located northeast almost equidistant between modern Hypáte and Leiandokládion in the alluvial plain along the right bank of the Spercheios River. Consequently, late Roman Sakkos could have been located on or at the southern bridge head of the Spercheios River along the highway that Procopius says descended from Illyricum into Greece (*De aed*. 4.2.17). The presence of this Roman highway is attested from a Hadrianic milestone dated to 125 (*CIL* III suppl. 7359).

84 On Procopius' narrative on Greece and his tendency to proceed from north to south, see T.E. GREGORY, Procopius on Greece (as footnote 5 above) 105.

85 Hypata was along the north-south crossroad of the coastal route from Lamia to Thermopylai, so F. STÄHLIN, Ἡ Ὕπατα. *RE* 9/1 (1914) 236, 52–58; and PHILIPPSON/E. KIRSTEN, Die griechischen Landschaften. I 1 (as footnote 57 above) 243.

86 *CIL* III suppl. 7359 reads: IMP CAES DIV TRA | IANI PARTHICI F DIVI | NERVA NEPOS TRAIA | NUS HADRIANUS AUG | PONTIF MAX TRIB POT | VIIII COS III | XXXI | A. The inscription's editor, Kiepert, interpreted the mileage of line 7, "XXXI," as being from Pharsalos to Hypata.

village of Mexitaxes suggests the nearby location of a once ancient bridgehead across that river.

4.2.17: ἐν δὲ τῇ[a] Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηται τάδε. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα ἰόντι, ὄρη δύο[b] ἐπὶ μακρότατον[c] ἀλλήλοιν[d] ὡς ἀγχοτάτω [e] ξυνίασι, στενωπὸν ἐν βραχεῖ[f] ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν (κλειούρας νενομίκασι τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν).

τῇ V. Om. A. ἀλλήλοιν V. ἀλλήλοις A. ἀγχτάτω A.
Powell, Lexicon s.v. [a] [χώρᾳ], [b] cf., Hdt. 7.213.1: τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, [c] ἐπὶ μακρός, α, ον, [d] ἀλλήλους, ας, α, [e] ἀγροτάτος, α, ον, [f] ἐν βραχύς.

And in [the region of] Herákleia he did as follows. As one goes from Illyricum to Greece, two mountains stand very close to each other for a long distance, in short, producing a narrow pass in the middle of the region, the kind that they usually call a *kleisoura.*

We have now reached the climax of Procopius' rhetorical agenda for this passage and begin to unveil the Emperor Justinian's solution to the Thermopylae frontier's defensive puzzle, which Procopius claims no one previously has been able to grasp; namely, that to defend the frontier at the Thermopylae Pass alone will always fail if one does not defend the κλεισούρα of the Herákleia region as well.[87] Put in other words, the solution to the defense of this frontier is the admittance that the κλεισούρα of the Herákleia region (i.e., the Dhéma Pass, its highway, and the Isthmus Corridor) is critical and that the well being of Thermopylae region is totally dependent upon the proper defense of that κλεισούρα.[88] This departure in strategic and tactical thinking that focused *away* from the heroic Thermopylae Pass to that of the Dhéma Pass would revolutionize the frontier defense of Central Greece.[89]

---

87 Procopius grudgingly admits as a digression in *Bella* 2.29.25 that the Greek term κλεισούρα was borrowed from the Latin *clausura* or *clusura*, which indicated "a narrow, shut-in road," as one would expect to find in the narrows of a mountain pass. In *De aed.* 3.3.2, he further adds that these locations often were furnished with milestones, which indicates that the road surfaces were public roads (*viae publicae*) both state-built and maintained. See also *De aed.* 3.7.5.

88 Κλεισοῦραι in later times were known to have been manned by κλεισουροφυλάκες or "mountain pass guards" (Theophanes a.m. 6159), whose commander in turn were styled as a κλεισουριάρχος (Theophanes a.m. 6187).

89 As first pointed out by W.J. Cerf, Thermopylai. Myth and Reality in 480 BC, in D. Papenfuß/V.M. Strocka (eds.), Gab es das griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Mainz 2001, 353–361. Similarly, this strategic and tactical relationship was not missed

The presence in MS V of the τῇ (χώρᾳ understood) between δὲ and Ἡρακλείᾳ of the initial line is the preferred reading as 4.2.17 introduces the region of Herákleia, not that of the city of Herákleia.[90] This choice of MS reading, in addition to the other indications attesting to the tripart regional division of this passage, is then further supported by the subsequent words "the middle of the region" (τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν).

Important for this passage is Procopius' emphasis of movement from north to south – from Illyricum to Greece,[91] presumably in a veiled reference to the principal highway that connected the province of Achaia with the northern regions of the praefecture of Illyricum.[92] The obvious candidate for this verbal picture is the well-known coastal highway that descends from Thessaloniki – the very seat of the prefecture, passes through Tempe, Central Thessaly, and across the Othrys Range via the Phoúrka Pass to enter the Malian Basin above the city of Lamia.[93] From Lamia this road ran south along the eastern

during the German advance through Central Greece during World War II, so G.J. Szemler/W.J. Cherf, 'Nochmals' Thermopylai, 480 BC–AD 1941. Parallels: Topographical and Tactical, in R. Mellor/L.Tritle (eds.), Text & Tradition. Studies in Greek History & Historiography in Honor of Mortimer Chambers. Claremont 1999, 327–366.

90 For a parallel to this construction, see 4.2.3 above: ἃ ταύτῃ [χώρᾳ] ἀνέχει.

91 The northern boundary of the sixth century province of Greece ran along the foot of the Thermopylae frontier. All lands south of this range including the Peloponnesus were considered Greece, so P. Charanis, Observations on the History of Greece During the Early Middle Ages. *Balkan Studies* 11 (1970) 1–34; and D.A. Zakythinos, Byzantinische Geschichte 324–1071. Vienna 1979, 4. Alternately, G. Ostrogorsky, Postanak Tema Helada I Peloponez. *Ižve stoja Žbornika Radova* 21 (1952) 67–69 holds that in the sixth century the administrative term Greece applied to Central Greece only, its northern frontier being the Oíte-Kallídhromos Range. In the eleventh century, the northern frontier for the Helladic Theme was located at Thermopylae (καταντᾷ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν), so Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De thematibus 90.

92 Proc. *Anec.* 18.20: "And Illyricum and Thrace in its entirety, comprising the whole expanse of country from the Ionian Gulf to the outskirts of Byzantium, including Greece and the Thracian Chersonese (Dewing, Procopius. VI. The Anecdota, as footnote 68 above, 217)." Dewing/Downey, Procopius. VII. Buildings (as footnote 4 above) 249 note 1: "It would seem as if Illyricum extended in his [Procopius'] time as far east as the Danube, as far north as the River Save, and as far west as the Julian Alps."

93 Miller, Itineraria Romana (as footnote 55 above) route 80 b, 573–578; and C. Edson, Strepsa (Thucydides 1.61.4). *Classical Philology* 50 (1955) 173, 177.

foothills of Mt. Oíte and then through the Thermopylae frontier at the Dhéma Pass.[94]

The remains along and above the left bank of the northern exit of the Asopos River Gorge have been identified as those of ancient Trachis by Béquignon,[95] and Spartan Herákleia by others.[96] Extensive wall remains and cisterns have been reported.[97] It is worth noting, however, that Procopius makes no attempt either at locating this city or describing its fortifications, much less assigning them to the Thermopylae region.[98] As to why Procopius did not describe Herákleia city in this passage even after later slipping that he had (see below 4.2.21), the reason may be due to one or more of the following: (a) that sixth century Herákleia was so well-known that a description of it was deemed superfluous; (b) that because of the unfinished state of the *De aedificiis*, the description of Herákleia city was omitted or overlooked by the author; or (c), that Procopius' understanding of precisely where the city stood was flawed, that he did not have accurate information about the city, and therefore passed over its description in favor of his rhetorical agenda: the description of the highway, κλεισούρα, and fortifications of Myropóles within the region of Herákleia itself.

Procopius' next reference to the two mountains (ὄρη δύο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀλλήλοιν), which formed between them the narrow pass

---

94 The tracing of the course and recording of this highway's remains and the many newly identified sites discovered along it was the subject of the Loyola University Phokis-Doris Expedition in Central Greece from 1974 through 1982. For this paved highway, in some places with preserved widths of 3.5 meters, see: E. Kase, The Isthmus Corridor Road System from the Valley of the Spercheios to Kirrha on the Krisaian Gulf, *GICR* 21–45, Figs. 3.2 to 3.6, and Plates 3.1 to 3.11.

95 Y. Béquignon, La vallée du Spercheios des origins au IV[e] siècle. Paris 1937, 234–243, 254–256.

96 F. Stählin, Das hellenische Thessalien. Stuttgart 1924, 207–209; id., Herakleia Nr. 4. *RE* 8 (1912) 424, 41–43; Philippson/E. Kirsten, Die griechischen Landschaften. I 1 (as footnote 57 above) 250; and Szemler/Cherf/Kraft, Thermopylai (as footnote 59 above) 34, 101–104.

97 Reconstructed fortification walls of a rubble and mortar style suggestive of an early Byzantine date are extant along the south, northeastern, and western sides of the citadel in addition to a spring and two large cisterns, Personal autopsy, summer 1975. So Béquignon, La vallée (as footnote 93 above) 243–244, 257–258; Stählin, Thermopylen (as footnote 30 above) 2207; and L. Daly, Echinos and Justinian's Fortifications in Greece. *AJA* 46 (1942) 507.

98 MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 249 states that Herákleia "is treated by Procopius as already outside the region of Thermopylae proper."

or κλεισούρα, is a very apt description of the Dhéma Pass. In fact the modern village situated immediately below at the northern entrance to this pass is called Káto Dhió Vouná or "below the two heights."[99] In fact the only topographical feature throughout the entire Thermopylae frontier that could possibly match Procopius' description of this κλεισούρα is the Dhéma Pass.[100]

The regions of Thermopylae and Herákleia seem to represent two neighboring frontier districts arrayed along the northern border of early Byzantine Greece. Given the checkered history and almost legendary and predictable fickleness of the inhabitants of the southern Malian Basin, one could easily imagine a unified military command comprised of two frontier jurisdictions along the northern border of Achaia as a necessity. As described above, the early Byzantine fortification system along the Thermopylae frontier was topographically clumped into roughly two sections: the fortifications east of the Asópos River Gorge which included Thermopylae and the Dhéma Military Complex located some seven kilometers west of that same gorge. The challenge of such a unified command would be the coordination of these two districts so that they acted in concert and not against one another – hence the potential cause of the Hunnic breakthrough in 539/540. This, therefore, was the true thrust behind Alexander's installation of the garrison of 2000 soldiers after 540 and subsequent to the Hunnic raid on Central Greece. It represented both a tactical reorganization and an augmentation to the local frontier troops, who had been on station since the early fifth century.[101]

---

99 See *GICR* 23, plate 1–7 for a panoramic view of the northern entrance to the Dhéma Pass from the height of Kou Kou opposite. The houses of the village of Káto Dhió Vouná can be seen directly below the black number "1" in the plate.

100 One can assume that since the Dhéma Pass was a κλεισούρα, then it carried the most important road through the Thermopylae frontier and the physical evidence of its defenses supports such an assertion, so: W. J. Cherf, The Dhema Pass and its early Byzantine fortifications. Dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago 1984, *passim*; Wallace/Cherf, *GICR* 56–59. Only that which is dear is worth the effort of elaborate defense.

101 One must assume that the troops were stationed along the Thermopylae frontier since the early fifth century, since walls cannot defend themselves. Assuming that one generation is twenty years in length, some five to six generations had passed since the original billet in the early fifth century. It is in this light that Alexander's installation of the 2000 professional soldiers must be understood: soldiers who most likely did not entirely physically displace the former frontier forces. This suspicion is supported by the sudden tactical deployment of the Thermopylae garrison in 552 to Croton (*Bella* 8.26.1–2). It is hard to believe that this decision was made only to totally denude the Thermopylae frontier.

4.2.18: πηγὴ[a] δὲ μέσον κάτεισιν, ἐν μὲν ὥρᾳ θερινῇ πότιμον[b] ἀποβλύζουσα καὶ καθαρὸν[c] ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἐς ῥύακά τε ἀποκεκριμένη βραχύν.[d]

καθαρὸν V. γαληνὸν A.
Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] ἡ πηγή, [b] πότιμος, ον, [c] καθαρός, ά, όν, [d] τὰ βράχεα.

And a stream comes down between them [the two mountains], in the summer time fresh and clear water flows down from the mountains forming a swallow mountain torrent.

The stream described as flowing into the κλεισούρα can only be the modern Xirías or ancient Melas of Herodotus' time.[102] This seasonal mountain torrent originates high up the eastern slopes of the Oítean range near the modern village of Áno Dhío Vouná, descends, and then diagonally intersects the Dhéma Pass (northeast to southwest), and flows on through the Vizoutí Gorge adjacent to the pass and then beyond to the Malian Plain.[103]

4.2.19: ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὕοι, χειμάρρους[a] ἐνταῦθα ἐπικυρτοῦται ὑψηλός[b] τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ δεινῶς[c] ἄγριος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐκείνῃ σκοπέλων ἀπὸ τῶν χαραδρῶν[d] συνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα.[e]

ὕοι V. ὕῃ A. χειμάρρους V; χείμαρος A.
Powell, Lexicon s. v. [a] χείμαρρος, ον, [b] ὑψηλός, ά, όν, [c] δεινός, ή, όν, [d] ἡ χαράδρα, [e] τὸ ῥεῦμα.

But whenever it rains, a powerful torrent rushes down there, which gathers in volume from the mountain streams, which flow down from the neighboring peaks.

During one visit to the Malian Basin in March of 1987, an unusual snowfall occurred where over one meter of heavy, wet snow fell along the 100 meter elevations within a ten hour period. Up mountain, two plus meters of snowfall were reported at the village of Elevtherokhórion located at 750 meters of elevation. The resulting near-catastrophic snowmelt that then followed truly had to be seen to be believed. For several days the modern concrete ford constructed across the Xirías mountain streambed as it crosses the Dhéma Pass enroute to the Vizoutí Gorge became a raging white-water torrent, several feet deep,

102 See Szemler/Cherf/Kraft, Thermopylai (as footnote above) 9, 25, 93.

103 J. Farrell, Note on the Position of Rhoduntia. *Classical Review* 24 (1910) 117; F. Stählin, Melas Nr. 14, *RE* 15/1 (1931) 439; id., Thermopylen (as footnote 30 above) 2403,1–6; and Philippson/E. Kirsten, Die griechischen Landschaften. I 1 (as footnote 57 above) 239.

icy cold, and relentless. During this period, any attempt whatsoever to cross that ford with a car or truck would have been utter madness. A similar torrent was observed during May of 1981 following a normal winter's snowfall.

4.2.20: ἐνθένδε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰσιτητὰ ἐπί τε Θερμοπύλας οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐγίνετο καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ Ἑλλάδα.

> Here it was possible for the barbarians with no difficulty to enter both the Thermopylae region and Central Greece.

With this statement Procopius in effect defines his κλεισούρα and its highway as:

(a) A route that passes from the Malian Basin through the Thermopylae frontier into Central Greece, and,
(b) As the primary way to circumvent the Thermopylae region's fortifications. The point is simply that both the Thermopylae region and Central Greece would be seriously compromised if the κλεισούρα fell into the hands of barbarians, and the devastating events of 539/540 only confirm this (*Bella* 2.4.10).

4.2.21: τοῦ δὲ στενωποῦ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δύο ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχυρώματα ἦν, πὴ μὴν Ἡράκλεια πόλις, ἧσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως πὴ δὲ ὁ Μυροπώλης καλούμενος οὐκ ὀλίγῃ διεστηκὼς χώρᾳ.

πὴ … πὴ Dindorf; πῆ … πῆ codd.

> But there was on each side of the mountain pass two ancient strongholds. On the one side the city of Herákleia, that I have just mentioned, and Myropóles, so-called, standing apart [from Herákleia] in the land at not a small distance.

Within the literary framework of rhetorical writing, the panegyric strove for effectiveness of purpose and style where many details must be sacrificed or compressed for the sake of literary form. It could well be that the account of the city and fortifications at Herákleia became such a victim as they play no direct role whatsoever in Procopius' rhetorical agenda for the passage. To some degree this explains too Procopius' considerable confusion when he attempts to describe the topographical relationship of Myropóles and Herákleia regarding the κλεισούρα. His text says that these two strongholds were situated "on each side" (ἐφ' ἑκάτερα) of the κλεισούρα, yet incongruously at a great distance apart (οὐκ ὀλίγῃ διεστηκὼς χώρᾳ). Now it is known that Procopius occasion-

ally misused some Greek prepositions, for example, παρά for πρό, etc.[104] Since a κλεισούρα by definition is a narrow mountain pass, two fortifications cannot be on each side of it separated by not a small distance *unless* Procopius meant by ἐφ' ἑκάτερα not "on each side," but rather "at either end." Since the text implies a narrow passage which logically implies "end" (τέλος) rather than "side" (ἑκάτερα) as presently stated,[105] one could argue that the word τέλος should be supplied as the understood object of the preposition ἐπί. Once supplied, the passage makes considerably more topographical sense, for two strongholds can be "at either end" of a narrow mountain pass or κλεισούρα and still remain distantly separated.

Even if this was indeed the case, Procopius still remains confused as to the location of Herákleia city and its fortifications, which he merely mentions.[106] Did, for example, Procopius believe that the site of the Koúvela/Kástro tés Oriâs: an imposing, sprawling, heavily fortified, and as yet unidentified urban complex located immediately at the southern exit of the Dhéma Pass was Herákleia? If so, then his description of the κλεισούρα and the relationship of Myropóles and Herákleia located at either end make sense. Regardless of the above suggestions, Procopius' confusion of the relationship of Herákleia city to the κλεισούρα cannot be denied, all the more so since this area was the point of his entire discussion of the fortifications along the Oíte-Kallídromos frontier barrier.

Unlike the many other forts, fortresses, and strongholds mentioned in this account Procopius described well the location of Myropóles and its κλεισούρα. The location of the remains of the Dhéma frontier remains, and in particular that of Dhéma Crosswall D, satisfies Procopius' text far better than any previous suggestions.[107] In short,

---

104 So J. Scheftlin, De praepositionum usu Procopiano. Diss. Erlangen 1893.

105 Procopius used the expression ἐφ' ἑκάτερα also in *Bella* 2.29.25: "For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes "clisurae" when they put their own word into a Greek form.)" Dewing, Procopius. I. History of the Wars (as footnote 37 above) 535.

106 As further evidence of the incomplete editing of this passage and the unfinished nature of the *De aedificiis* in general, the presence of the phrase ᾗσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως suggests the possibility that Procopius might have once had intended to include a description of the fortifications of Herákleia city.

107 W. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece. London 1835, II 28 note 1, placed Myropóles behind Herákleia and overlooking the Asopos Gorge near the modern village of Délphinon; MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 250 identified Myropóles with either Klisoporto, a rocky height that

the territory of the ancient toponym of Myropóles included what we recognize today as the village of Káto Dhió Vouná, the surrounding agricultural fields of the Kotronákia and Arakovítsa upland plains, and the Dhéma Pass and its fortifications.

Finally, the etymology of Myropóles (μυροπώλης) suggests a dealer in unguents, scented oils, or perfumes: in short, a perfume market.[108] This is significant given the almost legendary hellebore plant, itself a type of orchid, which was famous in the Oítaian area for its "curative" properties.[109] What the name also suggests, and not surprisingly, is that situated at the northern entrance to the Dhéma Pass and astride its highway was an emporium of trade and commerce.

4.2.22: ταὐτα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐν ἐρειπίοις[a] ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνῳκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς καὶ διατειχίσματι τὸν στενωπὸν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλών, τούτῳ τε συνάψας[b] ὄρος ἑκάτερον τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις τὴν δίοδον[c] ἀνεχαίτισε, τῷ δὲ χειμάρρῳ[d] ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λιμνάζοντι τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, εἶτα ἐφύπερθεν αὐτοῦ φερομένῳ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ἰέναι.

> ὀχυρωτάτω V; ἐχυρωτάτω A.
> Powell, Lexicon s.v. [a] an adjectival expression of τὰ ἐρείπια, [b] συνάπτω, [c] ἡ δίοδος, [d] χείμαρρος, ον.

> Since both of these ancient strongholds had long lay in ruin, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt them and cut-off and fortified the mountain pass with a very strong cross wall, which he joined to each of the two mountains, thereby blocking the pass from the barbarians, and the torrent now forms a pond inside the wall, trickling over it, and then flowing on wherever it chanced.

This statement, as with so many of Procopius' claims, concerning Justinian's wholesale renovation of fortifications requires serious reconsideration. The archaeological evidence from the Dhéma frontier remains indicates at least two late Roman horizons: a pre-fifth century

---

overlooks the Dhéma Pass from the east or with the fortifications of Kástro tès Hôrias to the south. Koder/Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) 274 *s. v.* Thermopylae, identified Myropóles with the fortifications of the Fylakí Complex located to the east of Herákleia among the fortification system of the Thermopylai region.

108 The *Suda* (ed. Adler) 3.428 no. 1452 mentions a certain Μυροπώλιον.

109 In antiquity, the purgative drug, hellebore, was known to have been grown on the eastern slopes of Mt. Oíte. The guilds and tradesmen involved in the production, manufacture, and trade of herbs, spices, perfumes, drugs and unguents were called μυρησώποι. A city, quarter, or location for this activity was called a μυροπώλης.

fortlet[110] followed by an early fifth century revision and expansion. The ceramic evidence similarly points to continuous habitation of the site from the late fourth through mid-sixth centuries.[111]

Procopius describes the fortifications associated with the κλεισούρα which we have identified with the Dhéma Pass. Apparently Procopius considered among the rebuilt strongholds (ὀχυρώματα … ἀνῳκοδομήσατο) at Dhéma, those of the city of Herákleia, and perhaps even the walls of Kástro tès Horiâs.[112]

Procopius' description of a cross wall (διατειχίσματα) accords well with the topographical situation of Dhéma Crosswall D, for this structure was found at the only location in the Dhéma Pass where parallel and opposing sheer rock cliffs and outcroppings offered secure purchase for wall terminations. Moreover, this wall's location is immediately adjacent to the Xirías mountain stream,[113] which during its spring spate,[114] easily could have formed a pond behind it.[115] Thus, Dhéma Crosswall D best identifies the κλεισούρα near Myropóles with the Dhéma Pass.

4.2.23: Καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσας, ἅίπερ ἐντός εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους[a] ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπαντας.

ἀνανεωσάμενος A; ἀνανεωσαμένος V.

---

110 On the late fourth century garrison at Thermopylae, see W.J. Cherf, The Thermopylae Garrison of *Vita Claudii* 16. Classical Philology 88 (1993) 230–236.

111 See J. Rosser, Evidence for a Justinianic Garrison behind Thermopylae at the Dhema Pass, in J. Herrin/M. Mullett/C. Otten-Froux (eds.), Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw. London 2001, 33–41 for maps of the Dhéma Pass and its frontier remains, plates of artifacts, and a fine discussion of the archaeological small finds. The author is grateful to Professor Rosser for providing a copy of his article.

112 So G. Kolias, Σιδέροκαστρο. *EEBS* 19 (1933) 81.

113 See discussion of 4.2.18 above and MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 250 for the identification of this mountain stream with the modern Xirias of the Dhéma Pass. Cf. Koder/Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (as footnote 18 above) 274, who place the location of this cross wall within the narrows of the Asopos Gorge.

114 My observations of this stream in early May of 1981 and during the spring of 1987 confirms this mountain stream's capacity. Yet during the hot summer months it recedes to a trickle. One might speculate that this cross wall was constructed during the late summer when the stream could have been either easily diverted or spanned.

115 For other examples of Justinianic stream damming or diversion, see *De aed*. 2.3.16–20 (with sluice gates) and 2.8.16–18.

Powell, Lexicon s.v. [a] ὁ περίβολος.

He [Justinian] then secured all the cities of Greece, which are inside [south of] the walls in the Thermopylai [region], restoring all their circuit walls.

Procopius, immediately after having finished the description of the κλεισούρα near Myropóles within the region of Herákleia, now returns to what he mentioned earlier as to those cities inside (ἐντός) the wall at Thermopylai (4.2.12): all of Central Greece (Phokis, Boiotia, Attika), the Isthmus and Corinth. Then begins his description of Central Greece and regions farther to the south. By so doing, he implies that Thermopylai and Herákleia indeed were recognized regions, which this author believes made up a defensive military frontier perhaps governed after 540 by a unified command structure as a result of Alexander's installation of the garrison of 2000.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the identification of the Dhéma Pass with Procopius' κλεισούρα is an extremely attractive possibility. The elaborate military architecture, extensive highway remains within the pass, and the location of Dhéma Crosswall D,[116] which once blocked the Xirías mountain stream, all strongly suggest the identification of these remains with the stronghold of Myropóles. In addition, the abundant late Roman pottery and debris excavated from with the pass and late Roman pottery scatter found throughout the modern village of Káto Dhió Vouná, sited immediately adjacent to the pass' entrance and its fortifications, make it as likely a candidate for the commercial settlement of Myropóles as any other.

As for the above commentary, while Procopius' account does offer our fullest topographical description of the late antique defenses of the Thermopylae frontier, it must be emphasized that it was composed as a set piece of literary rhetoric, which therefore meant that it was not intended to be either an exhaustive or definitive statement on the military condition or preparedness of the northern frontier of Achaia. Rather, this passage was a selectively written work designed solely to praise Justinian for his construction and renovation of the defenses along the Thermopylae frontier and in particular his solution to the

116 Cherf, The Dhema Pass (as footnote 98 above) Map III, Plate 10–13; Wallace/Cherf, *GICR* 57 and Fig. 421.

frontier's defensive puzzle. Furthermore, the analysis of this passage has served as a barometer on the general value of Procopius' *De aedificiis*, for his account has been directly compared with the area's known topographical features and archaeological remains. One can only conclude, at least regarding the contents of this particular passage, that more archaeological questions were left unanswered than were resolved. In short, as an archaeological source, the *De aedificiis* is a disappointing and vexing resource filled with equivocations.[117] Only when armed with first-hand topographical and/or archaeological field experience can useful nuggets be gleaned from it. Finally, and in light of the clearly rhetorical purpose of the work, and Procopius' confusions regarding the city of Herákleia, one may doubt that Procopius ever did visit the neighborhood of the Thermopylae frontier,[118] even though during his career he certainly had ample opportunity to do so,[119]

117 Gregory, Procopius on Greece (as footnote 5 above) 105: "Procopius' discussion of Greece in the De Aedificiis is short: what he says is often confused or downright wrong."

118 Rubin, Prokopios (as footnote 11 above) 584, 19–20 merely states: "Autopsie wahrscheinlich." MacKay, Procopius' De Aedificiis (as footnote 43 above) 241, 252, believes that Procopius' command of the topography of the Thermopylae frontier may have been the result of a visit to the area sometime during his career. In addition, MacKay sees "the evident development in Procopius' understanding of the topography of the [Thermopylai] pass" from a passage in the earlier work the *Bella* and the *De aedificiis.* What caught MacKay's eye was Procopius' earlier statement in *Bella* 2.4.10 of the 'Hunnic' invasion of Central Greece. In that passage, the path (ἡ ἀτραπός) that flanked the defenders was found unexpectedly (παρὰ δόξαν) , while in the above passage the opening words (θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις) suggest wonder that anyone immediately could not have blundered upon his flanking route. Although MacKay's suggestion is attractive, one must first recall the radical difference in literary genres between the *Bella*, a serious and at times critical narrative piece, and the *De aedificiis*, an ἐκφρασίς, rhetorical exercise, and work of probable imperial commission. Furthermore, MacKay's suggestion of a linkage between *Bella* 2.4.10 and *De aed.* 4.2.8 is further weakened by the yet another instance where Procopius seems just to be mimicking Herodotean phraseology. Cf. Hdt. 7.213: ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων ὄισεσθαι ἔφασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας with that of *Bella* 2.4.10: τὰς περὶδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴ ἀτραπὸν εὗρον ἣ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὄπος ὅ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει.

119 During Procopius' long and adventurous career, he was clearly no stranger to the shipping lanes nor highways of the imperium. We first find him in the spring of 527 at the city of Daras, Syria as the newly appointed ξύμβουλος or *consiliarus* of that city's commandant and *dux Mesopotamiae* Belisarius. During Belisarius' African expedition, Procopius now as his πάρεδος or *assessor* (*Bella* 3.14.3), visited Sicily as Belisarius' intelligence agent and in the process met a childhood friend at Syracuse (*Bella* 3.14.7). He briefly visited the islands of Gozzo and

Procopius's confusion and inconsistencies found within this passage suggest that he may not have. His account, therefore, must have been based upon secondary sources, whether imperial archival material, itineraries, military reports and the like, and were not the result of his personal autopsy.

## Abstract

This article compares topographical and archaeological remains of the Thermopylae frontier with the ancient testimonia of the sixth century historian Procopius of Caesareia (*De aedificiis* 4.2.1.–22). It was revealed that: many of the frontier fortifications described were initially built before the sixth century; the fortified κλεισούρα mentioned should be equated with the Dhéma Pass; and the commercial settlement of Myropóles is best identified with the modern village of Káto Dhió Vouná. Written in Attic prose, this passage represents a rhetorical exercise, the climax of which turned not on the ancient battlefield of Thermopylae, but rather on a mountain pass and it's highway that neutralized the Thermopylae defenses if they were ever controlled by the enemy. We were told that only the Emperor Justinian's wisdom could grasp this critical fact. Additionally, Procopius employed many rhetorical devices in this narrative: τόπος, χρόνος, πρᾶγμα, ἄγαλμα, ἔκφρασις, πανηγυρικός and employed imperial propaganda, praise, and exaggeration as well. In short, the passage is a classic example of selective story telling that may have found its inspiration in the Hunnic raid of 539/540 and the Herodotean account of the Persian invasion of 480 BC. While Procopius' account remains our best topographical description of the late antique Thermopylae frontier, one can only say that more archaeological questions were left unanswered than were resolved. In short, as an archaeological source, the *De aedificiis* is a disappointing and vexing

Malta (*Bella* 3.14.16) enroute during the invasion of Vandal North Africa and landed with Belisarius' army at Caput Vada, Libya (*Bella* 3.14.17). In 536 Procopius was in Carthage during the soldiers' revolt in the East, from where he then returned to Syracuse (*Bella* 4.14.39–41). Later, he skirted the coastline opposite Terracina, Italy (*Bella* 5.11.3). Procopius states that he had traveled many times the waters between the island of Corfu and the Strait of Messina (*Bella* 8.22.19). He visited the Italian city of Beneventum. He witnessed the first siege of Rome in 536 and the Italian famine of 538 (*Bella* 6.20.22); sojourned in Naples in 537 and Picenum in 538/539 (*Bella* 6.17.10) and Auximum in 539 (*Bella* 6.23.23). He saw the entry of the Roman army into Ravenna in the spring of 540 (*Bella* 6.29.32). In the spring of 542 he reported on the plague that had reached Constantinople (*Bella* 2.22.9). Thereafter, he may have returned to Italy during the period 546/547 (*Bella* 7.16–24). Although he yearned to visit the legendary island of Thule, he was unable to do so (*Bella* 6.15.8). We also must consider Procopius' many detailed descriptions of constructed road surfaces (i.e., *Bella* 2.1.7, 5.14.6–11, *De aed*. 4.8.4–9.) as further possible evidence of his peripatetic career.

resource filled with equivocations. Finally, one may doubt that Procopius ever did visit the Thermopylae frontier, even though during his career he certainly had ample opportunity to do so. His account, therefore, must have been based upon secondary sources, whether imperial archival material, itineraries, or military staff reports and were not the result of personal autopsy.

# THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS VI AND *DE CERIMONIIS* I, 96

JEFFREY MICHAEL FEATHERSTONE / PARIS

Elsewhere we have remarked the intimate knowledge of the Palace and imperial ceremonial in all three of the separate texts comprised in the compilation commonly known as Theophanes Continuatus and the implications that this and other details of the final text, Book VI in the Bonn edition, may have for identifying the redactor of the compilation.[1]

Very close to another source, the so-called 'Version B' of the Logothete Chronicle, Book VI is written in a style – that of the chronicle – which differs completely from the two preceding texts in Theophanes Continuatus (Books I–IV,*Vita Basilii)*. Close though it is to the Logothete Chronicle, however, Book VI is not simply a copy. Various hypotheses have been put forward by scholars concerning the various layers of its composition and authorship.[2] The question is complicated by the inconsistency of political sympathies. For example, the first part comprising the reigns of Leo VI to Romanus I Lecapenus follows the anti-Macedonian bias of both 'versions' of the Logothete Chronicle, whereas in the next part, on the sole rule of Constantine VII, this latter is praised and Romanus is the object of criticism. The final redactor of Theophanes Continuatus has combined the various parts,

1 See J. M. FEATHERSTONE, Theophanes Continuatus: a history for the palace, in P. Odorico (ed.), La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. *Dossiers Byzantins*, 11, in press. NB both 'Book V' (the Vita Basilii) and 'Book VI' are unnumbered in Vat. gr. 167 and are separate from the first text (Books I–IV) and from each other.

2 The best treatment of Book VI remains A. P. KAŽDAN, Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii x v., I. *VV* 19 (1961) 76–96: 89–96. For the relation to the Logothete Chronicle, see A. MARKOPOULOS, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr 163 pour la période entre 945–963. *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979) 85–119: 83–90; J. M. FEATHERSTONE, The Logothete Chronicle in Vat gr 163. *OCP* 64 (1998) 419–434. 433; O. KRESTEN, Nochmals zu den Söhnen des Kaisers Konstantinos VII, in K. Belke et al. (eds.), Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag. Wien 2007, 327–352: 330–341; Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon, ed. S. WAHLGREN. *CFHB*, 44. Berlin 2006, 45*. A. P. KAŽDAN, A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000). Athens 2006, 152–153, favours the possibility of Theodore Daphnopates as the author of the last part of Book VI (= Theoph. Cont., 436 sqq.); but cf. I. ŠEVČENKO, Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in J. Shepard / S. Franklin (eds.), Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Aldershot 1992, 167–195: 169 and note 6.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.006

one after the other, with no apparent attempt to eliminate such inconsistencies. We shall return to this question.

Now, it is striking that the account of Constantine's sole-rule in both Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus and Version 'B' of the Logothete Chronicle there is more information concerning the Palace and ceremonial than elsewhere in either text. However, Book VI gives many more details. A particularly good example is the final episode, concerning Constantine's death and funeral, of which it may be useful to cite both texts in full:

*Vat. gr.* 167 [V], ff. $163^{v}$–$164^{v}$; Sigla: Boor = unpublished papers of C. de Boor, University of Munich; edd = editions of Combéfis [Paris] and Bekker [Bonn] (=Theoph. Cont., 466,11–468,14)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τελευταῖα πνέων ὡρᾶτο ὁ πορφυρογέννητος Κωνσταντῖνος, Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, παραδοὺς καὶ ὁρκώσας Ἰωσὴφ πατρίκιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον τοῦ διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐντρεχείᾳ καὶ πυκνώσει· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, πυκνὸς καὶ ὀρθὸς καὶ πιστὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικήματα ἀετοῦ ταχύτερος, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπροσωπόληπτον καὶ εὐσεβὲς καὶ δίκαιον τοιοῦτον ἕτερον μὴ γνωρίζεσθαι. Ἡ δὲ αὐγούστα Ἑλένη σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ παρακοιμωμένῳ Βασιλείῳ καὶ τοῖς κοιτωνίταις, ὡς ἑώρων τὸν ἄνακτα Κωνσταντῖνον ψυχορραγοῦντα καὶ συγκοπτόμενον, περιχυθέντες τῇ κλίνῃ κλαυθμοῖς καὶ ὀδυρμοῖς ἀμέτροις περιρραίνοντες ἀπωλοφύροντο καὶ ἀπωδύροντο τοιοῦτον δεσπότην, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ὠφέλησαν ἢ κωφοῖς καὶ κενοῖς δάκρυσι καταπλύνοντες τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα. Καὶ δὴ τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέρων περικυκλούντων καὶ ταῖς πολλαῖς οἰμωγαῖς κοπτομένων, καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέλη πάντη ὢν ὁ γλυκὺς καὶ πλουτοδότης βασιλεύς, χοροστασίαι ἁγίων καὶ δικαίων μαρτύρων καὶ ἱεραρχῶν παρίσταντο, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα χερσὶν ἀγγελικαῖς παρέθεντο. Καὶ τάχιον τοῦτον ἀποσμήξαντες προέθηκαν ἐν τοῖς δεκαεννέα κουβίτοις. Καὶ ψαλμοῖς τοῦτον τελέσαντες παρευθὺ ἐξήγαγον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Χαλκῆν ἀποθέντες, τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ ἡ πᾶσα σύγκλητος κατησπάζοντο· καὶ ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, ἀνακράξας «Ἔξελθε, βασιλεύς· καλεῖ σε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων», καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ

1 ὁρᾶτο V | 6 εὐσεβὲς Boor: εὐσεβὴς V edd δίκαιος edd ὡς τοιοῦτον Bekk | 7 Ἡ δὲ om. edd σὺν καὶ edd | 9 ψυχοραγοῦντα V | 12 δάκρυσιν V καταπλατύνοντες V | 15 δικαίων μοναχῶν τε καὶ edd | 17 κουβήτοις V: ἀκουβίτοις edd | 19 ἀσπασμὸς V | 21 βασιλεῦς V: βασιλεῦ edd | 22 καὶ: τοῦ edd

ὄχλου βοὴν καὶ κωκυτὸν καὶ ὀδυρμὸν βαλλόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τρίτῳ τοῦτο φωνήσαντος, παρευθὺ ἄραντες τὸν ἄνακτα ἐξήγαγον ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων ἐπὶ τὴν λεωφόρον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἔφερον, τῆς συγκλήτου πάσης προπεμπούσης, καὶ ᾄσμασι προπομπίοις τὴν ἔξοδον μεγαλύνοντες.

Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν εἰς τὸν συνελθόντα λαὸν καὶ ὄχλον τῆς πολιτείας, τῶν μὲν ἀφ' ὕψους τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκεῖνο σκῆνος κατοπτευόντων, τῶν δὲ πλησίον παραθεωρούντων, καὶ ἄλλων μὲν ἐξ οἰκοδομῶν καὶ οἰκημάτων μετεώρων καὶ ὑψηλῶν προκυπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῆς κλίνης ἐπιρριπτόντων, τῶν δὲ κρυφίως μυρομένων καὶ στεναγμοῖς ἐγκαρδίοις κλονουμένων, καὶ ἄλλων ὀδυρμοῖς καταξαινομένων, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ὀξύτερον ἐπικωκυόντων, καὶ συνθλιβόμενοι καὶ ἀπολοφυρόμενοι τῷ κοινῷ δυστυχήματι, τινῶν καὶ δάκρυα κρουνηδὸν προχεόντων καὶ τὴν χρυσοκόλλητον κλίνην καταρδευόντων καὶ καταρραινόντων. Ὡς δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων προσήγγισαν καὶ ἔσω τὸ βασιλικὸν δορυφορούμενον ἐφαίνετο σῶμα, ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ παρακοιμώμενος Βασίλειος τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα ταῖς οἰκείαις <χερσίν>, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς νεκροῖς ποιεῖν, λαζαρώσας, καὶ τοῦ τάφου ἤτοι τοῦ λάρνακος εὐτρεπισθέντος καὶ σηκωθέντος, κατέθετο μετὰ Λέοντος βασιλέως τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Τὴν δὲ πατρικὴν ἑνότητα καὶ ἀγάπην οὐδὲ μετὰ θάνατον καὶ ταφὴν ὁ φίλτατος υἱὸς ἀπέστρεψεν.

Logothete Chronicle, Version B (= Markopoulos 1979, 96, 33–38 [from *Vat. gr.* 163])

Καὶ … Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα ἀνέδειξεν, ὁρκώσας Ἰωσὴφ πατρίκιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον τοῦ διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐντρεχείᾳ καὶ φρονήσει. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατετέθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, Βασιλείου πατρικίου καὶ παρακοιμωμένου, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, τοῦτο ἐνταφιάσαντος.

Here then, in both texts, the dying Constantine entrusts his son to the care of the praipositos Joseph Bringas, who would later replace Basil Lecapenus as parakoimomenos. But Book VI goes much further in praise of Bringas's piety and politcal ability,[3] and then it adds something else: a death-bed scene, attended by the empress, the imperial children

23 κωκωκυτὸν V ὀδυρμῶν V ἐπὶ τρίτῳ: τοῦ τρίτου edd τούτῳ V | 28 δεῖ: δὴ V | 29 ἐκεῖνον V | 32 μυρωμένων V | 35 τινῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ edd | 36 κλίνην Bekk Boor: ἐκείνην V: ἐκείνην κλίνην Boor dubitanter in app. τῷ ναῷ edd | 39 χερσίν add Boor in app. | 40 συκοθέντος Bekk: συκοθέντες V

[3] Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker. Bonn 1838, 466, 11–15; Markopoulos, Le témoignage (as footnote 2 above) 96, 33–35.

and Basil Lecapenus, who was – until Constantine's death – still parakoimomenos.[4] Together with the chamberlains they all lament and mourn beyond measure (ὀδυρμοῖς ἀμέτροις περιρραίνοντες), bathing Constantine's body in mute and vain tears (κωφοῖς καὶ κενοῖς δάκρυσι καταπλύνοντες). The bier is next taken, as prescribed for imperial funerals in the *De Cerimoniis*, to the triklinos of the 19 Couches; and thereupon follows a vivid description of the procession from the Chalke to the church of the Holy Apostles, including even the exclamation, intoned as in the *De Cerimoniis* by the master of ceremonies: 'Come out O emperor, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords summons you.' When the procession arrives at the Holy Apostles, the parakoimomenos Basil wraps the body in a shroud and Constantine is laid in the tomb together with his father Leo, which again concurs with the list of tombs in the *De Cerimoniis*.[5] The additional attention given to Basil Lecapenus in Book VI is obvious, though one cannot be sure whether the remark about 'mute and vain tears' (κωφὰ καὶ κενὰ δάκρυα) at Constantine's deathbed is intended as proof of Basil's and the others' great affection or is not in fact meant – or at least was meant in the source from which this account was taken – in a negative way, in contrast to the straightforward praise of Joseph Bringas's political effectiveness.

The end of Book VI is missing; the manuscript breaks off toward the end of the reign of Romanus II, though this reign must have been complete in the original. This takes us to the time of Nicephorus Phokas, who is greatly praised in the chapter on Romanus II for his bravery in the reconquest of Crete; and elsewhere in Book VI Phokas is referred to as 'the victorious emperor' (βασιλεὺς ὁ νικητής).[6] As already noted, the problem of the identity of the authors of the various parts and the final compiler of Book VI is complicated by the alternating

4 Theophanes Continuatus, 466,19–467,8.

5 Lying in state in the 19 Couches and funeral procession: Theophanes Continuatus 467,8–468,7, cf. Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des Cérémonies, ed. A. Vogt. II, Paris 1939, 84, 2–24 (I, 59 [60]). NB the form κουβήτοις does not appear to be an error of *Vat. gr.* 167, but occurs in another passage in MSS of the Logothete Chronicle (Logothete ed. Wahlgren, 234,48 et app.), suggesting that the additional details in Book VI could have been taken from a different, inextant 'version' of the Logothete Chronicle, or a common source. Basil wraps the body: Theophanes Continuatus 468, 9–11, cf. Constantin VII ed. Vogt II 84,25–85,2 (I, 59 [60]), where the praipositos takes the crown off and a plain purple band is put on. Constantine is laid together with Leo: Theophanes Continuatus 468, 11–12, cf. Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de ceremoniis aulae byzantinae, ed. J. J. Reiske, II. Bonn 1830, 643, 6–8 (II,42).

6 Theophanes Continuatus 378, 16–17.

praise given to figures who had become enemies, in particular Romanus I and Constantine VII and the rival parakoimomenoi Joseph Bringas and Basil Lecapenus. All that seems certain is the dating: Theophanes Continuatus as it has come down to us in the Vatican manuscript was put together in the reign of Nicephorus Phokas, thus at the same time to which most scholars date Version B of the Logothete Chronicle.

Of course, we shall have to wait for Staffan Wahlgren's critical edition of this Version B before any final conclusions can be drawn concerning its relation to Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus, perhaps through yet another, inextent 'version' of the Logothete, or a common source. But we have noted the additional detail in Book VI in the passages narrating the attendance of Basil Lecapenus together with the imperial family at Constantine VII's death-bed and funeral procession. The description here of the ceremonies, evoking the protocol given in the *De Cerimoniis*, is unprecedented in Book VI. And since the *De Cerimoniis* also appears to have been copied into the two extant manuscripts – the *Lipsiensis* and the palimpsest – during the reign of Nicephorus Phokas, one might ask whether its compilation and that of Theophanes Continuatus could not have been commissioned by one and the same person who had access to the Nachlaß of Constantine VII and who in both cases added additional material to bring the work down to the current day. The great attention given to the Palace and ceremonial in Book VI and the mention of Basil Lecapenus in passages reminiscent of the *De Cerimoniis* could point to him. He is known to have commissioned texts, in particular Τακτικά.[7]

Basil's connexion with the *De Cerimoniis* is easy to demonstrate. The penultimate chapter of the first Book, I 96, on the acclamation of Nicephorus Phokas follows eleven chapters excerpted from the sixth-century Peter the Patrician on the acclamations of various emperors from Leo I until Justinian. The ceremonies for Phokas were modelled on those for Leo I in 457 which began with acclamations outside the city, instead of in the Palace, as had been the custom since Leo II – an innovation presumably desired by the military–minded Phokas. The text of Peter the Patrician was apparently sought out and used in the concoction of the ceremonies for Phokas – probably by none other than Basil Lecapenus – with acclamations copied word for word from those

[7] About the two manuscripts of the *De Cerimoniis*, see most recently J. M. Featherstone / J. Gruškova / O. Kresten, Studien zu den Palimpsestenfragmenten des sogenannten 'Zeremonienbuchs.' I. Prolegomena. *BZ* 98 (2005) 423–430. For Basil and Τακτικά, see C.M. Mazzucchi, Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (Cod. *Ambros.* B 119 SUP.), *Aevum* 52 (1978) 267–316: 279 sq.

for Leo I.[8] It is in keeping with the antiquarian nature of the *De Cerimoniis* that excerpts from Peter's work were appended to the first Book of Constantine's original *De Cerimoniis*, with the chapter on Phokas following that on Justinian – for good effect –, to be followed in turn by a final chapter on the promotion of a *proedros* of the Senate, a title created by Phokas for Basil Lecapenus in reward for his loyalty.[9] Thus, Book I of the *De Cerimoniis* ends with Basil Lecapenus, as it were, in the stage-light.

So much is obvious. But after closer inspection of the preceding chapter on Phocas (I,96), which gives the precise date of the death of Romanus II and his dispositions for the regency and guardianship of his sons, we see that the model here is not Peter the Patrician, where there are no dates at all, but a chronicle-like work such as Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus. Compare, for example, the beginning of *De Cerimoniis* I,96 with the beginning of the chapter on Romanus II in Book VI:

*Lipsiensis* I 17 [L], f. 168v (= Constantini Porphyrogeniti … ed. Reiske, I 96 [105], 433,13–434,13)

ρε΄. Ἀναγόρευσις Νικηφόρου βασιλέως τοῦ γεγονότος δομεστίκου τῶν Σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτου.

Τελευτήσαντος Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ νέου, υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἰς μῆνα Μάρτιον ιε′, ἰνδ. ϛ′, ἔτους ͵ϛυοα′, τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν νηστειῶν, κατέλιπεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν Βασιλείῳ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τοὺς νηπίους υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν γαμετὴν καὶ αὐγούσταν Θεοφανῶ βασιλεύειν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, κατέλειπεν δὲ καὶ τὸν παρακοιμώμενον Ἰωσὴφ οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ πράγματα. ἐκράτησεν δὲ ἡ τῶν ῥηθέντων προσώπων ἐξουσία ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτην μηνὸς Μαρτίου ἰνδ. ϛ′ μέχρι

[8] For the re-use of acclamations for Leo I from Peter the Patrician, see J. M. Featherstone, The Leipzig Manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis. BZ* 95 (2002) 457–479: 472. One might be tempted to ask whether the antiquarian re-modelling outside the Golden Gate as a triumphal arch, dated to this same period by C. Mango, The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *DOP* 54 (2000) 175–188: 181–186, is not somehow connected; in which case, Basil Lecapenus could also have been involved.

[9] Acclamation of Leo: Constantini Porphyrogeniti … ed. Reiske (as footnote 5 above), I. Bonn 1829, 91, 410,5–417,12; acclamation of Phokas: ibid., 433,11–440,11; promotion of proedros: 440,13–443,22.

1 ρέ marg. maiusc. L: ϙϛ′ Reiske | 2 ἀνδριωτάτου L | 6 κατέλειπεν L Reiske | 8 κατέλειπεν L Reiske | 9 ῥιθέντων L

Αὐγούστου πεντεκαιδεκάτης, ἰνδ. τῆς αὐτῆς. Ἰουλίου δὲ μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ, ἰνδ. ὁμοίως, ἀνηγορεύθη ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρεσιν ὁ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρος παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στρατοπέδου βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. Ἐν Καισαρίᾳ γὰρ τοίνυν τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἐπαρχίας ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ, μαγίστρου αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, συναχθέντες πάντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὰ τάγματα, ἀνηγόρευσαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. Τοῦ δὲ μὴ βουλομένου, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἐπισπεύδοντος καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τοῦτο προτρεπομένου, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον σπεύσαντες βίᾳ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς τέντης ὑψώσαντες ἀνηγόρευσαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

*Vat. gr.* 167 [V], f. 164$^{v}$; Sigla: Boor = unpublished papers of C. de Boor, University of Munich; edd = editions of Combéfis [Paris] and Bekker [Bonn] (=Theoph. Cont., 468,23–470,1)

… ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ [viz. Constantine VII] μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ, ἰνδ. γʹ, ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ <…>, καταλείψας αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑλένην αὐγοῦσταν τὴν μητέρα Ῥωμανοῦ.

Βασιλεία Ῥωμανοῦ, υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου

Ῥωμανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατελείφθη αὐτοκράτωρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Κωνσταντίνου ἐτῶν ὢν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνός, τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου Βασιλείου ἐνιαυσιαίου ὄντος, <σὺν> καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἑλένῃ καὶ Θεοφανῷ τῇ συνεύνῳ αὐτοῦ, μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ϛʹ ἰνδ. γʹ, ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ϛυ<…> · καὶ παρευθὺς τοὺς κοιτωνίτας καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατρικάτα καὶ πρωτοσπαθαράτα τιμήσας καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώμασιν ὑπερβιβάσας <καὶ> δώροις καταπλουτίσας τῶν βασιλικῶν δόμων τοῦ παλατίου κατήγαγεν. Ἐξελέξατο δὲ καὶ προέκρινε παραδυναστεύοντας καὶ πρώτους τοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου Ἰωσὴφ πατρίκιον πραιπόσιτον καὶ δρουγγάριον τῶν πλωΐμων, ὅντινα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ παρακοιμώμενον προανεβίβασεν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ φροντίδα τοῦ ὑπηκόου ἀνατέθεικεν.

---

13 στρατοπαίδου L | 14 τοίνυν: τῇ νῦν Reiske | 2 ἔτει Boor: ἔτους V edd  τετρακοσιοστῷ + ξθʹmanu posteriori scripta + spatium ad 3 litteras V | 3 τὸν Ῥωμανὸν edd  τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ om. edd | 7 ὢν Boor e PsSym: ὢς V | 8 σὺν add. Boor: ἅμα add. edd | 10 post ͵ϛυ spatium ad 3 litteras V | 12 καὶ add. edd  καταπλουτήσας V | 14 πατρίκιον edd: πατρίον V

Certainly, this is no proof of anything, but it is an indication that whoever composed chapter I 96 of the *De Cerimoniis* was conscious of the form of historical writing as practised in Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus and applied it here. This would have done perfectly as the opening of a chapter on the reign of Nicephorus Phokas in Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus, a chapter which was apparently not written because Phokas was still alive. But the redactor has fitted Phokas in here, in the *De Cerimoniis*, in the context of acclamation, in order to record – and celebrate – his reign. Such interchange is in keeping with the scissors-and-paste methods observable in the final redaction of both Theophanes Continuatus and the *De Cerimoniis*. The chapters on Phokas and Basil Lecapenus were added, together with the excerpts from Peter the Patrician, at the end of Book I of the *De Cerimoniis* in both the Leipzig manuscript and the palimpsest; but the last two chapters in Book II in the *Lipsiensis*, that is, the *Life* of Alexander and the *Physiologus*, whose presence here is given ideological significance by some scholars, are absent in the palimpsest and are replaced by an otherwise unknown chapter on the *roga* distributed to officials by the emperor on Palm Sunday.[10] This chapter fits well with the preceding ones on gratuities for various officials, and it could well have been in the original dossier in Book II. The *Life* of Alexander and the *Physiologus* might have been included in the *Lipsiensis* for a special purpose; but in any case they have nothing to do with what went before, and it is clear from the writing in the Pinax that they were added subsequently.[11] Such casualness could also explain the inconsistency displayed by the final redactor of Theophanes Continuatus. There, in Book VI, even in the final part on the reign of Romanus II, the praises of Joseph Bringas were allowed to stand, even though Bringas had vehemently opposed the 'victorious emperor' Nicephorus Phocas, to say nothing of his rivalry with Basil Lecapenus to whom Phocas, upon his succession, restored the office of parakoimomenos.

In conclusion, close associate of Constantine VII and denizen of the Palace who he was, with access to Constantine's Nachlaß, Basil Lecapenus could well have been the redactor of both Theophanes Continuatus and the *De Cerimoniis*. But, of course, the question remains open.

---

10 Pinax to Book II (=Constantini Porphyrogeniti … ed. Reiske, as footnote 5 above, 515), *Lipsiensis* I 17, f. 175; *Vatopedinus* 2003, f. 75.

11 For the dossier on gratuities (συνήθειαι) and writing in Pinax in Book II, see Featherstone, The Leipzig Manuscript (as in footnote 8 above) 478.

## Abstract

Though parts of the text traditionally called Theophanes Continuatus go back to the time of Constantine VII, it is in fact a compilation of various texts put together by a later redactor in the reign of Nicephorus Phokas. Likewise, the original parts of text known as the *De Cerimoniis* were produced in the reign of Constantine, but the text has come down to us in a later redaction, apparently also from the time of Phokas. In the case of the *De Cerimoniis*, the final redactor has been identified as Basil the parakoimomenos, the bastard son of Romanus I Lecapenus. Similar interests and coincidences of composition in the two texts, particularly in Book VI of Theophanes Continuatus and chapter I, 96 of the *De Cerimoniis*, suggest that the compiling of Theophanes Continuatus was also the work of Basil.

# THE TERM *KANDAULOS/KANDYLOS* IN THE *LEXICON* OF PHOTIUS AND THE *COMMENTARII AD HOMERI ILIADEM* OF EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA

MACIEJ KOKOSZKO AND KATARZYNA GIBEL-BUSZEWSKA / ŁÓDŹ

The literary activities of Photius and Eustathius of Thessalonica have enriched our knowledge with an abundance of valuable information, continually used by modern historians all over the world. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (858–867 and 877–886), was born around the year 810. He belonged to a family which was affluent enough to provide their offspring with excellent education and, as a result, instill in the young man a strong interest in literature and generally in classical culture.[1] Still in his early years, the future patriarch managed to start his career auspiciously and later on continued to play an important role in the political and ecclesiastic developments of the second half of the 9th century.[2] It is not in the interest scope of the present study to dwell on all the major developments on which Photius left his mark. However, he is such an outstanding figure in the history of his times that one should at least point out to the most important of his merits. His election (but also doctrines[3] and activities[4]) triggered turmoil in the relations between Byzantium and the Papacy.[5] His position, initially strong thanks to

Paper prepared in relation to the NN 108 269 333 grant.

1 W. Treadgold, Photios and the reading public for classical philology in Byzantium, in M. Mullett/R. Scott (eds.), Byzantium and the classical tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979. Birmingham 1981, 123–126; J. Schamp, Photius' personal share in our knowledge of Greek literary history. *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 2 (1983) 187–196.

2 H. Ahrweiler, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarchat. *BZ* 58 (1965) 348–363; F. Dvornik, Photius' career in teaching and diplomacy. *Byzantinoslavica* 34 (1973) 211–218.

3 R. Haugh, Photius and the Carolingians. The Trinitarian controversy. Belmont, Mass. 1975, *passim.*

4 L. Simeonova, Diplomacy of the letter and the cross. Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy. 860s–880s. Amsterdam 1998, *passim*; M. Hurbanić, What did the Patriarch Photius believe in regards to missionary activity?, in M. Kaimakamova/M. Salamon/M. Smorąg Różycka (eds.), Byzantium, new peoples, new powers. The Byzantino-Slav contact zone, from the ninth to the fifteenth century. Cracow 2007, 71–76.

5 F. Dvornik, Photian schism. History and the legend. Cambridge 1970, *passim.* A useful overview of the problem: T. M. Kolbaba, Byzantine perceptions of Latin religious "errors". Themes and changes from 850 to 1350, in A. E. Laiou/R. P.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.007

Michael III and Caesar Bardas' support, was weakened when the throne was claimed by Basil I, who sought to improve the relations with the West at the expense of the patriarch. As a result, deposed, condemned and banished, Photius was forced to suffer a fairly long period of humiliation. Ultimately, he was reinstated and rehabilitated to become officially reconciled with the Western Church at the council of 879–880. His final fall came in the wake of Basil I's death and resulted mainly from the patriarch's poor relations with the emperor's successor. The hierarch was dismissed and exiled to meet his death at an unidentified moment of time after the year 893.[6]

The patriarch's literary activities are well known not only to all students of Byzantium but also to general public. Photius' lexicon, which is of key interest to our study, is thought to belong to his early writings.[7] No complete manuscript of the work was known until the surprising discovery in Zavorda as late as in the year 1959.[8] The lexicon was compiled to incorporate a number of sources[9] and apparently supposed to become a work of reference helping men of letters to unravel the obscurity of ancient authors' wording.[10] It shows Photius' interest in lexicography, which is further proved by his contributions to the contents of *Etymologicum Genuinum.*[11] The most prominent work

---

Mottahedeh (eds.), The crusaders from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world. Washington 2001, 117–144, esp. 119–121.

6 An overview of the developments: H. Chadwick, East and West. The making of a rift in the Church. From apostolic times until the Council of Florence. Oxford 2005, 125–192.

7 N. G. Wilson, The scholars of Byzantium. London/Cambridge, Mass. 1996, 90–91; H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. München 1978, 1, 40.

8 L. Politis, Die Handschriftensammlung des Klosters Zavorda und die neugefundene Photioshandschrift. *Philologus* 105 (1961) 136–144; Ch. Theodoridis, Die Auffindung des codex Zavordensis 95 und die ersten Versuche eines neues Ausgabe des Lexikons des Photios, in: Photii patriarchae lexicon (hereafter: Photius, Lexicon), ed. Ch. Theodoridis. Berlin/New York 1982, 1, XXVII–XXIX.

9 Harpokration, Diogenianus, Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Boethos, Timaios, Phrynichus and other sources. Cf. Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 2, 40; Ch. Theodoridis, Die Quellen des Photios, in: Photius, Lexicon. 1, LXXII–LXXVI.

10 Idem, Das Verhältnis des Lexikons des Photios zum ῥητορικόν des Etym. Genuinum, in: Photius, Lexicon, 1, XXXV–LX; idem, Das Lexikon des Patriarchen Photios und das Rhetorikon des Etymologicum Genuinum. *JÖB* 42 (1992) 95–141; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 90–93.

11 R. Reitzenstein, Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie in Alexandria und Byzanz. Leipzig 1897, 53–60; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 92 f.

in the patriarch's heritage, however, is constituted by his *Bibliotheca*, which is a record of the scholar's private reading. It is invaluable for various reasons but first and foremost for its preservation of entries discussing no longer extant works of numerous writers.[12] Also worthy of note are Photius' *Amphilohia*,[13] sermons[14] and letters,[15] which all add to his picture of an outstanding Byzantine intellectual devoted to both classical and Christian heritage.[16]

Eustathius of Thessalonica, in turn, was born around the year 1115 and died in circa 1195. A native of Constantinople and educated therein, for a long time was on the staff on the patriarch's academy, where he displayed his teaching talents and scholarly virtues. His stay in the capital was also the time that he produced the bulk of his literary works. Neither did he stop his writing when in the year 1176, he was raised to the archbishopric of Thessalonica, in which he survived the famous siege and the cruel capture of the city in 1185. He lived there to the end of his life.[17]

---

12 T. Hägg, Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke. Uppsala 1975, *passim*; W. T. Treadgold, On the nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius. Washington 1980, *passim*; A. Kazhdan, A history of Byzantine Literature (850–1000). ed. Ch. Angelidi. Athens 2006, 10–25.

13 Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 114–119.

14 Kazhdan, A history (as footnote 12 above) 25–36.

15 D. Stratoudaki White, Patriarch Photios of Constantinople. His life, scholarly contributions, and correspondence together with a translation of fifty-two of his letters. Brookline, Mass. 1981, *passim*; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 111–114.

16 General information on Photius and his literary heritage: A. Kazhdan, Photios, *ODB* 3, 1669 f. The latest overview of Photius' contribution: J. O. Rosenqvist, Die Byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels, übersetzt von J.O. Rosenqvist/D.R. Reinsch. Berlin 2007, 66–67. Cf. also Polish byzantinists' contributions: O. Jurewicz, Historia literatury bizantyńskiej. Zarys. Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk/Łódź 1984, 152–156, 163–166; idem, Focjusz, in O. Jurewicz (ed.), Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej. Warszawa 2002, 178–179.

17 On Eustathios' life, career, including literary activities compare comprehensive studies of S. Kiriakidis, Introduzione, in: Eustazio di Tessalonica, La expugnazione di Tesslonica. Testo critico, introduzione, annotazioni di S. Kyriakidis, proemio di B. Lavagnini, versione italiana di V. Rotolo. Palermo 1961, XXXIV–LXIII; A.P. Kazhdan/S. Franklin, Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Cambridge 1984, 115–195 (life: 115–140); P. Magdalino, Eustathios and Thessalonica, in C. N. Constantinides/N. M. Panagiotakes/E. Jeffreys/A. D. Angelou (eds.) Φιλέλλην. Studies in honour of Robert Browning. Venice 1996, 225–238; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 196–204. A useful summary on Eustathios: A. Kazhdan, Eustathios of Thessolonike,

Eustathius' life was fairly long and exceptionally industrious. Set aside his political and ecclesiastic role at the end of the rule of the Comneni,[18] he is known to have been very active in the area of learning and teaching.[19] His depiction of the capture of Thessalonica[20] remains one of the best known historical sources for any student of Byzantine history. His commentaries on Homer, although sometimes criticized for "the fault of verbosity",[21] are usually considered to be works of the utmost erudition, which as Paul Magdalino puts it "have won him a place among authors cited in Lidell and Scott".[22] If we take into consideration the fact that he also left other works full of (more or less) sophisticated philological learning (on Dionysius Periegetes,[23] Pindar,[24]

---

*ODB* 2, 754; Rosenqvist (as footnote 17 above) 125–127. The subject has been also treated by Polish byzantinists. Cf. H. Cichocka, Eustacjusz z Tesaloniki, in: Encyklopedia (as footnote 16 above). 169; Jurewicz, Historia (as footnote 16 above) 245 f., 259.

18 M. Angold, Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni (1081–1261). Cambridge 1995, 179–198.

19 For instance cf. R. Browning, The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the twelfth century. *Byz* 32 (1962) 167–202, esp. 186–193; Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 1, 427; 2, 64; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 196.

20 Cf. Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 1, 427–429. The latest translation into English follows the text edited by Kyriakidis (Eustazio di Tessalonica, as footnote 18 above, *passim*): Eustathios of Thessalonica, The capture of Thessaloniki. A translation with an introduction and commentary by J. R. Melville-Jones. Canberra 1988, *passim.*

21 Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 198.

22 P. Magdalino (as footnote 17 above) 225. Cf. Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 2, 64–66; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 198 f; Rosenqvist (as footnote 16 above) 126.

23 A. Diller, The manuscripts of Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes, in A. Diller, The textual tradition of Starbo's Geography. With appendix "The manuscripts of Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes". Amsterdam 1975, 181–207; Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 66; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 203 f. Cf. also the two detailed sources studies: A. Sakellaridou-Soteroude, Ο Ηρόδοτος στις Παρεκβολές του Ευσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης στον Διονύσιο τον Περιηγητή. *Ἑλληνικά* 43 (1993) 13–28; eadem, Ο Στράβωνας στις Παρεκβολές του Ευσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης στον Διονύσιο τον Περιηγητή. *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσφικής Σχολής, Περίοδος Β', Τεύχος Τμήματος Φιλολογίας [Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης]* 4 (1994) 175–193.

24 Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 2, 66; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 197, 203; A. Kambylis, Eustathios über Pindars Epinikiendichtung. Ein Kapitel der klassischen Philologie in Byzanz. Hamburg/Göttingen 1991, *passim*; S. Lampakes, Ὁ Ευσταθίος Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ὁ πρόλογος τῶν σχολίων του στὸν Πίνδαρο. *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βοιωτικῶν Μελετῶν* 2 (1995) 1173–1178.

Aristophanes[25] and Oppian[26]), declamations,[27] voluminous correspondence etc, no wonder that the outcomes of his literary activities have been and still are analyzed in detail.

The antiquarian interests of both the above mentioned, together with their keen sense of observation of the contemporary realities, resulted in the fact that the two amassed in his works a cornucopia of valuable data which can be profited from by virtually any historian dealing equally with ancient and Byzantine history, including those who focus their research on Greek gastronomy. Consequently, a considerable number of modern authors refer in their works to the body of evidence left by the two Byzantine scholars.[28]

It is worth underscoring that the history of food is an area of historical research which is becoming more and more popular with academics and the phenomenon encompasses not only the growing interest in ancient gastronomy,[29] but also in the history of food in

---

25 W.J.W. Koster, De Eustathio, Tzetza, Moschopulo, Planude Aristophanis commentatoribus. *Mnemosyne*, s. 4/7 (1954) 136–156; idem, Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine. *RÉG* 76 (1963) 381–396; Wilson (as footnote 7 above) 202 f.

26 A. R. Dyck, Did Eustathius compose a commentary on Oppian's Halieutica? *Classical Philology* 77 (1982) 153 f.

27 Cf. Hunger (as footnote 7 above) 1, 114 f., 136, 148. Some evaluation of his oratory skills: E. Jeffreys, Rhetoric in Byzantium, in I. Warthington (ed.), A companion to Greek rhetoric. Malden, Mass./Oxford/Chichester, West Sussex 2010, 174; A.F. Stone, Eustathios and the wedding banquet for Alexios Porphyrogennetos, in W. Mayer/S. Trzcionka (eds.), Feast, fast or famine. Food and drink in Byzantium. Brisbane 2005, 33; idem, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and the performance of rhetoric: the case for "theatron". *Byzantina* 26 (2006), 7–17, esp. 10. For the latter's further contributions: idem, The library of Eustathios of Thessaloniki. Literary sources for Eustathian panegyric. *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999) 351–367; idem, Eustathian panegyric as a historical source. *JÖB* 51 (2001) 225–258.

28 Eustathius of Thessalonica, however, appears to be much more popular with modern scholars dealing with food history. Cf. examples: J. A. Kelhoffer, The diet of John the Baptist. "Locust and wild honey" in Synoptic and Patristic interpretation. Tübingen 2005, 73; M. Grünbart, Store in a cool and dry place. Perishable goods and their preservation in Byzantium, in L. Brubaker, K. Linardou (eds.), Eat, drink and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and wine in Byzantium. In honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer. Aldershot, Hampshire 2007, 42 f.; J. Koder, Stew and salted meat – opulent normality in the diet of every day?, in: Eat, drink … (as before) 59 f.

29 It is enough to point out to a few examples from the last few years: J. P. Alcock, Food in the ancient world. Westport, Conn./London 2006, *passim* – cf. M. Kokoszko, review in *Przegląd Historyczny* 100 (2009) 646 f.; S. Grainger,

Byzantium. As far as the latter period is concerned, we regard it as especially meaningful that the subject of food and eating habits was included in the renowned publications of an encyclopaedic nature such as *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*,[30] Alan Davidson's *The Oxford companion to food*[31] and *Der Lexikon des Mittelsalters.*[32] It is also important that the research area in question has been recently recapitulated to become part of *The Oxford handbook of Byzantine Studies*,[33] where a whole chapter was devoted to the diet in Byzantium and eating habits of those times. We hold the opinion that the above-mentioned books prove a growing awareness of the importance of the subject, confirm a tendency which is apparent in publications of the past XXth century (and present in those which have appeared in the XXIst),[34] (in a way) ennoble the history of food and, last but not least,

---

Cooking "Apicius". Roman recipes for modern kitchens. Totnes/Blackawton, Devon 2006, *passim*; M. Grant, Roman cookery. Ancient recipes for modern kitchens. London 2002, *passim*; J. Wilkins, The boastful chef. The discourse of food in ancient Greek comedy. Oxford 2000. It should be noted that there also appeared a very informative new edition of Apicius: Apicius. A critical edition with an introduction and an English translation of the Latin recipe text Apicius, eds. C. Grocock / S. Grainger. Blackawton/Totnes, Devon 2006, *passim* – cf. M. Kokoszko, review in *Przegląd Historyczny* 100 (2009) 647–649. Another useful edition is the one of Anthimus: Anthimus, De observatione ciborum. On the observance of foods, ed. M. Grant. Blackawton/Totnes, Devon 2007, *passim.*

30 A. Karpozilos/A. Kazhdan, Diet, *ODB* 1, 621 f.,

31 A. Dalby, Byzantium, in A. Davidson (ed.),The Oxford companion to food. Oxford 1996, 118 f.

32 München/Zürich 1977–1999, 1–10. An example by Kislinger, cf. note 34 below.

33 A. Bryer, Food, wine and feasting, in E. Jeffreys / J. Haldon / R. Cormack (eds.), The Oxford handbook of Byzantine Studies. Oxford 2008, 669–676.

34 A manifestation of the new approach are several interesting papers published over the last five years. Cf. A. Dalby, Flavours of Byzantium. Blackawton/ Totnes, Devon 2003, *passim*; idem, Tastes of Byzantium. The cuisine of a legendary empire. London/New York 2010, *passim*; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (ed.), Food and cooking in Byzantium. Proceedings of the symposium "On food in Byzantium". Thessaloniki Museum of Byzantine Culture, 4 November 2001. Athens 2005, *passim;* Feast … (as footnote 27 above), *passim*; Eat, drink … (as footnote 28 above), *passim* – cf. M. Kokoszko, review in *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych* 8/2 (2009) 223–245. They complement fundamental, in this field, works by Koukoules (Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι καὶ ποτά. *EEBS 1*7 (1941) 3–112; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, 5. Athens 1952, 9–135), Koder's invaluable output (Gemüse in Byzanz. Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geoponika. Wien 1993, *passim*; idem, Fresh vegetables for the capital, in G. Dagron/C. Mango [eds.], Constantinople and its hinterland. Cambridge 1995, 49–56; cf. his latest research: Stew [as footnote 28 above] *passim*; idem, Η καθημερινή διατροφή στο Βυζάντιο με βάση τις πηγές, in:

skilfully disseminate scholarly research results (not only of benefit to adepts of Byzantium but also to laymen interested in encyclopaedic knowledge).

However, despite the constant development of the studies in food history, the scientific research field still remains virtually boundless and the heritage of Byzantium remains underestimated. This sad conclusion concerns also the extent to which Byzantine sources have been used to elucidate the development of the Mediterranean gastronomy from antiquity up to the Middle Ages.[35] The situation of inadequate research and omissions of certain important pieces of information[36] has so far concerned also the famous ancient delicacy called *kandaulos/kandylos*, and the present article attempts to fill in this gap in our knowledge.

The name of the dish mentioned by both the patriarch and the bishop of Thessalonica is present in Greek literature in the form of two basic varieties. *Kandylos* (κάνδυλος), i. e. the term used by Photius,[37] appears

---

Food and cooking [as footnote 29 above] 17–30 etc.), Thomas Weber's work (Essen und Trinken in Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts, nach den Berichten Liutprands von Cremona, in J. Koder/Th. Weber [eds.], Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken. Wien 1980, 71–99), Ewald Kislinger's (Φοῦσκα und γλῆχον. *JÖB* 34 [1984] 49–53; idem, Fischfang und -handel im byzantinischen Reich, *LMA* 4 (1989) 500 f.; idem, Les chrétiens d'Orient: règles et réalités alimentaires dans le monde byzantin, in J.-L. Flandrin/M. Montanari [eds.], Historie de l'alimentation. Paris 1996, 325–344 etc.) and the results of epistolographic research of Apostolos Karpozilos (Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XII c. *BZ* 77 [1984] 20–37; idem, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII–XV c. *BZ* 88 [1995] 68–84), to mention but the few.

35 Some remarks on the indispesibility of Byzantine evidence: M. Kokoszko/K. Buszewska, Pamięć o luksusie antyku w dziełach pisarzy bizantyńskich. Tradycja kuchni greckiej, in B. Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska/D. Próchniak/A. Głowa (eds.). Sympozja kazimierskie poświęcone kulturze świata późnego antyku i wczesnego chrześcijaństwa, 7. Pamięć i upamiętnienie w epoce późnego antyku. Lublin 2010, 233–240.

36 Only two examples concerning the discussed delicacy. Dalby (Food in the ancient world from A to Z. London/New York 2003, 188), though referring to Photius' lexicon, entirely eliminates Eustathius of Thessalonica's testimony from his entry on *kandaulos.* Moreover, in his publications on the history of food in Byzantium uses the archbishop' letters only through Karpozilos (as footnote 34 above). Phyllis Pray Bober (Art, culture and cuisine. Ancient and medieval gastronomy. Chicago/London 1999, 109), in turn, does not even bother to include either the patriarch's or the bishop's testimonies in her discussion on the dish. Neither does she profit from their works discussing other subjects.

37 Photius, Lexicon, κ, κάνδυλος.

also in the works of Aristophanes,[38] Euangellus,[39] Hesychius,[40] Cercidas,[41] Menander,[42] Plutarch,[43] Pollux[44] and in the *Suda.*[45] On the other hand, the variant which Eustathius of Thessalonica[46] was familiar with, i.e. *kandaulos* (κάνδαυλος), has been preserved in *opera* of Alexis,[47] Philemon,[48] Hegesippus of Tarent[49] and Nicostratus.[50] Athenaeus of Naucratis records both the above-mentioned versions, which is, of course, a direct result of the very nature of his work.[51] The third option, i.e. *kondylos* (κόνδυλος), has been recorded only once and appears in the scholia to Aristophanes' *Peace.*[52]

The Photius' lexicon entry is very short, concentrating on the ingredients of *kandaulos/kandylos* as well as giving the name of the author who mentioned the delicacy in his work:

> κάνδυλος· σκευασία ὀψοποιοικὴ μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ κρέως καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τυροῦ. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης

38 Aristophanes, *Pax*, 123, in: Aristophane, ed. V. Coulon/M. van Daele. 2, Paris 1924. Cf. Scholia in Aristophanis pacem vetera et recentiora Triclinii 123 d, 1 f., in: Scholia in Aristophanem 2.2. Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam, ed. D. Holwerda. Gronignen 1982 (hereafter: Scholia in pacem).

39 Athenaei Naucratitae dipnosophistarum libri XV, ed. G. Kaibel. Leipzig/Berlin 1887–90: XIV 644 d–e (52, 11–23 Kaibel).

40 Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon, ed. K. Latte, II. Copenhagen 1953, 407.

41 Cercidas, Fragment 18, in: Collectanea Alexandrina. ed. J.U. Powell. Oxford 1925, col. 2, 15.

42 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 517 a (12, 44–46 Kaibel); Menander, Fragment 397, 10 f., in: Menandri reliquiae selectae. Fragmenta longiora apud alios auctores servata, ed. F.H. Sandbach. Oxford 1972.

43 Plutachi quaestiones convivales 664 a, 5, in: Plutarchi moralia, ed. C. Hubert. Lipsiae 1938, 4 (hereafter: Plutarch, Quaestiones convivales).

44 Iulii Pollucis onomasticon, ed. I. Bekker, Berolini 1846 6, 69.

45 Suidae lexicon κ, Κάνδυλος, 303, 1 f., ed. A. Adler. Lipsiae 1928–1935, 1–4 (hereafter: Suda, Lexicon).

46 Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, ed. M. van der Valk. Leiden 1987, 4, 180, v. 16–23 (hereafter: Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Ilidem).

47 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 d–f (12, 14–34 Kaibel).

48 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 f (12, 35–40 Kaibel); Philemon, Fragment 60, 3, in: Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta, ed. T. Kock (hereafter: Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta, Lipsiae 1884, 2).

49 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 d (12, 11–14, Kaibel).

50 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 517 a (12, 41–43 Kaibel); Nicostratus, Fragment 17, 1–3, in: Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta.

51 Athenaeus of Naucratis quotes the authors who name the discussed dish.

52 Scholia in pacem 123d 1 f.; cf. note 38 above.

> *kandylos:* a dish made from milk, animal fat and honey and, as others claim, from meat, bread and cheese. This is exactly the dish Aristophanes was familiar with. (translation M. K. / K. G.)[53]

The fragment of Eustathius' work referring to the analysed topic is more extensive and apart from a recipe for the dish, it also includes a few remarks regarding its origins:

> Νῦν δὲ μνηστέον ἱστορίας δηλούσης ὅτι τε ἡδυπάθειαν οἱ Μῄονες, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν οἱ Λυδοί, ἐφίλουν, ὅθεν, φασί, καὶ Ἀνακρέων τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ «Λυδοπαθῆ« ἔφη, καὶ ὅτι βρῶμα παρ' αὐτοῖς εὕρητο κάνδαυλος, παρώνυμον ἴσως τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς τυράννῳ Κανδαύλῃ, καθὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἐξ ἑτέρων κυρίων ὀνομάτων ἐφίλουν καλεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ οἱ Νικόλαοι. φέρεται οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίου, ὅτι κνηστῷ, οὐ τυρῷ, ἀλλὰ ἄρτῳ καὶ Φρυγίῳ τυρῷ, ἀνήθῳ τε καὶ ζωμῷ πίονι ἑφθοῦ κρέως συνόντος, Λυδικὸν ἐγίνετο ἔδεσμα κάνδαυλος καλούμενος. περὶ οὗ φησιν Ἄλεξις, ὡς «κάνδαυλον ἐὰν παραθῶσι, προσκατεδῇ τοὺς δακτύλους.
> Now it is worth mentioning the tradition saying that the Meonians, i.e. Lydians, loved luxury; that is why Anacreon referred to the people who loved comfort as "the ones with a liking analogous to that of the Lydians." It is also said that it was they who invented *kandaulos* and this term goes back to the name of their ruler Candaules, as this tribe used to coin their terminology from proper names. This was the case with the so-called *Nikolaoi*; Athenaeus in his work remarks that *kandaulos* was a Lydian dish consisting of grated (not cheese, but) bread, Phrygian cheese, dill (or fennel) and meat in fatty broth. Alexis claimed that "when you are treated to *kanadaulos* (you eat it so vigorously that you never even notice) your fingers are nibbled to the bone". (translation M. K. / K. G.)[54]

The fragment of *Commentari ad Homeri Iliademi* written by Eustathius of Thessalonica clearly indicates that in the Greeks' awareness and, as we interpret it, as late as in Byzantine times, it was quite obvious that *kandaulos/kandylos* had been borrowed by the Hellenes from the Lydians, and the name of this dish was traditionally associated with the

53 Photius, Lexicon, κ, κάνδυλος.
54 Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem 4, 180, v. 16–23.

Lydian ruler Candaules,[55] the predecessor of Gyges.[56] It is worth adding here that the history of the two rulers, which is only referred to by Eustathius of Thessalonica in the fragment, is very dramatic and is told in detail by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, whose narrative concentrates on the revenge taken by the last Heraclid's., i.e. Gyges', spouse who felt her feelings were hurt by her husband.[57] It is also worth remembering that the information provided by Eustathius of Thessalonica is the most comprehensive and the pieces of data included in this work have never been questioned by any other author.[58]

Even though neither Photius nor the bishop of Thessalonica explain how *kandaulos/kandylos* appeared in Greek cuisine, it may be suggested that it was the Ionians who acted as intermediaries in this process. This hypothesis is supported by natural closeness of the latter to the Lydians. It is equally worth taking into account that Greek tradition attributed to the Ionians features analogous to the ones which were supposed to characterize Candaules' subjects, i.e. inclination to luxury. This suggestion appears to be confirmed by a fragment of a Menander's comedy in which an affluent Ionian, getting ready to eat this dish, is depicted. Though there is no mention of the costliness of the dish ingredients, the *kandaulos/kandylos* referred to by the playwright must have been an exquisite one because it had an extraordinary property – notably, it enhanced one's love powers, which surely made it look more attractive to those who were affluent enough to afford it and who generally did not share the moderation (at least) postulated by the European Greeks.[59] What is more, the very Ionian about to consume the delicacy is depicted as a rich person.

Pinpointing the hypothetical date of the creation of *kandaulos/ kandylos* was made possible thanks to the completion of excavation works in Sardis, the capital of ancient Lydia, or, more precisely, as a result of the publication of Crawford Greenewalt's analysis of what was

55 ibid., 180, v. 19 f.

56 Candaules, mentioned above, is also known as Sadyattes I. He ruled over Lydia before 680 BC, cf. P.N. Ure, The origins of tyranny. Cambridge 1922, 137 f.

57 Herodotus, Histories I, 7, 3–12, 9.

58 Cf. the testimony of Athenaeus of Naucratis, which is later used by the bishop of Thessalonica himself (Λυδικὸν ἐγίνετο ἔδεσμα κάνδαυλος): Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem 4, 180, v. 22 f.; Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 c (12, 9 f. Kaibel).

59 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists IV 132 e–f (9, 19–30 Kaibel); XII 517 a (12, 44–46 Kaibel); Menander, Fragment 397, 10 f.

discovered therein,[60] i.e. 25 deposits (consisting of a pot, a small jug, a mug, a shallow dish and a knife). What is especially significant in the context is that the pots contained bone leftovers which, as it was determined, belonged to puppies less than three months old.

In his book Greenewalt claims that those finds must be interpreted in accordance with select written sources having a connection with the above-mentioned Candaules.[61] Having analysed the data, the scholar argues that the ruler was nicknamed after one of the Lydian gods, notably, the ruler of the underworld, whose name was Candaules (or Candaulas). Subsequently, Greenewalt quotes the tradition recorded by Hipponax[62] and John Tzetzes[63] to remind that the name of the divinity is in fact a telling term and means "he who smothers dogs/puppies". Finally, Greenewalt concludes by suggesting that the deposits show leftovers after ritual feasts during which the dogs' meat was prepared for consumption.

Greenwalt's hypothesis was later developed in a David Harvey's[64] article. The author draws our attention to the fact that some reference to dogs is also found in the legendary life of Cyrus the Great, the conqueror of Lydia, which is also to be found in the work of Herodotus of Halicarnassus.[65] Harvey highlights the fact that Mitradates' wife's name, i.e. the name of young Cyrus' foster mother, was, in the Median/Persian language, Spako (Σπακώ), which the author of *Histories*

---

60 C. H. Greenewalt, Ritual dinners in early historic Sardis. Berkeley 1976, *passim.*

61 Greenewalt (as before) 52–54.

62 *kynanches* (κυνάγχης): Hipponax, Fragment 3 a, 1, in: Iambi et elegi Graeci, ed. M.L. West. Oxford 1971, 1.

63 *skylopniktes* (σκυλοπνίκτης): Ioannis Tzetzae historiarum variarum chiliades VI, 482. ed. T. Kiessling, Hildesheim 1963. Works of Tzetzes were partially analysed for their possible use in a history of gastronomy by Demosthenous (The scholar and the partridge: attitudes relating to nutritional goods in the twelfth century from the letters of the scholar John Tzetzes, in: Feast [as footnote 27 above] 25–31).

64 Lydian specialties, Croesus' golden baking-woman, and dogs' dinners, in J. Wilkins/D. Harvey/M. Dobson (eds.), Food in antiquity. Exeter 1995, 273–285.

65 The author writes that Cyrus was foretold to Astyages, the Median ruler and Cyrus' grandfather, in a prophetic dream to be the conqueror of the Medes. In order to avoid the fate, Astyages ordered to kill the baby. The sentence was not executed since Harpagus, the man charged with the mission, felt stings of remorse. As a result, the child was taken in by Mitradates, a herdsman, and his wife Spako, who raised him to the moment when he was recognised by Astyages and was granted a safe return to Astyages' court: Herodotus, Histories I, 107, 1–116, 21.

translates by means of the Greek term Kyno (Κυνώ) – "the bitch".[66] Harvey claims that, due to the fact that the finds interpreted by Greenewalt come from the middle of the 6th century B.C., one might risk a conclusion that the sacrificing of young dogs served as a means of averting the danger (imminent in the early 540 s B.C.) of the Persian invasion on Lydia, personified by Cyrus, the young and energetic ruler of the Medians and the Persians.[67]

We do not possess any precise data regarding the period when *kandaulos/kandylos* found its permanent place in European Greece. Since in accordance with our knowledge, the oldest Greek author mentioning this dish was Aristophanes, one may suppose that his 5th century audience tasted this delicacy or at least was aware of its existence. If we are right, one can also conjecture that *kandaulos/ kandylos* had been accepted by the Hellenes even before this date. Moreover, one may also come to the conclusion that this dish had not become widely popular by Hellenistic times, since it was the period when many culinary novelties were being introduced to Greek gastronomy and since it was exactly the time when the artistic activity of the majority of the ancient authors mentioning the delicacy was in its heyday.[68]

66 Herodotus, Histories I, 110, 4–7.

67 Harvey (as footnote 64 above) 283 f. Harvey believes that the date of the conquer of Sardis should be moved to around 544 BC. Issue discussed in J. Cargill, The Nabonidus Chronicle and the fall of Lydia. *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977) 97–116, H. T. Wade-Gery, Essays in Greek history. Oxford 1958, 166, footnote 3.

68 Regarding the specific character of work of Athenaeus of Naucratis cf. B. Baldwin, Athenaeus and his work. *Acta Classica* 19 (1976) 21–42; M. Kokoszko, Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–VII w.). Łódź 2005, 8–10; A. Lukinovich, The play of reflections between literary form and the sympotic theme in the "Deipnosophistae" of Athenaeus, in O. Murray (ed.), Sympotica. A symposium on the symposium. Oxford 1994, 263–271. The Hellenistic period was full of culinary novelties, which sometimes created a sort of (either permanent or ephemeral) trends in the culinary art: J. Wilkins/S. Hill, The sources and sauces of Athenaeus, in: Food in antiquity (as footnote 65 above) 437, note 4. Some of famous at that time delicacies were discussed in M. Kokoszko, Historia kuchni antycznej i bizantyńskiej. Sos karyke (καρύκη). Komentarz do Chronografii Michała Psellosa. *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych* 5/2 (2006) 167–178, esp. 170 f. (period of spreading among the Greeks); M. Kokoszko/K. Gibel, Focjusz a kuchnia grecka czyli kilka słów o abyrtake (ἀβυρτάκη). *Vox Patrum* 28/52 (2008) 495–504. Some of them found their place as a permanent element of culture, not only dietetic, but also symbolic: K. Gibel, Symbolika jedzenia w wybranych pismach Jana Chryzostoma na przykładzie derywatów od karyke (καρύκη), in M.

We know only a sketchy recipe for *kandaulos/kandylos.* This lack of precision is typical of the times when cooks were mostly slaves and gastronomic literature was created by scholarly dilettantes. On the other hand, we are also aware that there existed more than one version of the dish discussed as, according to Athenaeus of Naucratis (quoting Hegesippus of Tarent[69]), there were three separate variations of this delicacy.[70] Unfortunately, the author of *Deipnosophists* himself mentions[71] only one recipe whose differentiating feature was the addition of meat to *kandaulos/kandylos.* One should at the same time remember that this recipe can be detected later in Byzantine tradition and is quoted in the lexicon compiled by Hesychius, Photius' work, the *Suda* and *Commenatrii* compiled by Eustathius of Thessalonica. The second variation was well-documented as early as in the 2nd century A.D. by Pollux and is subsequently mentioned in the lexicons written by Hesychius, the quoted entry by Photius and in the *Suda.* The preserved data indicates that the second recipe referred to a sweet version of the dish. Regrettably, we do not know anything about the character of the third variety.

We shall start our research into the recipe for *kandaulos/kandylos* from the variation which included meat as one of the ingredients. Photius describes this type as a dish prepared διὰ κρέως καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τυροῦ. It is unfortunate that the patriarch gives no detail about the kind of meat used for this dish by the Greeks. There is little indication that it would come from puppies, although the Greeks did not turn their noses up at this kind of meat.[72] It is even recommended by author of *De*

Kokoszko/M. J. Leszka (eds.), Byzantina Europea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi. Łódź 2007, 121–131; M. Kokoszko, Some technical terms from Greek cuisine in classical and Byzantine literature. *Eos* 95 (2009) 35–50.

69 Hegesippus of Tarent is dated to that period: A. Dalby, Siren feasts. a history of food and gastronomy in Greece. London 1996, 111; idem, Food (as footnote 36 above) 174. Harvey (as footnote 64 above) 277 does not date him at all.

70 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 c (12, 10 Kaibel).

71 After the above-mentioned Hegesippus of Tarent.

72 Regarding the issue of dogs used as food, cf. J. Roy, The consumption of dogmeat in classical Greece, in: C. Mee / J. Renard (eds.), Cooking up the past. Food and culinary practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean. Oxford 2007, 342–353, esp. 350; F. J. Simoons, Eat not this flesh. Food avoidances from prehistory to the present. Madison/London 1994, 200–252, esp. 223–227, 232–236 (Greek world), 246 (regarding the issue of interpretation of the findings from Sardis); J. Wilkins / S. Hill, Food in the ancient world, Malden, Mass./ Oxford 2006, 144.

*morbis popularibus*[73] as well as mentioned by Galen in *De alimentorum facultatibus.*[74] Since, however, there is no mention in Greek culinary and medical literature that dog meat was a delicacy,[75] let us formulate a hypothesis claiming that, by the time the dish established itself in the Greek culinary art, dogs had been replaced, for instance, by other small mammals. The conjecture finds corroboration in the data provided by Hesychius, who in his lexicon stated that hare meat was used as an ingredient of the dish discussed (διὰ λαγώων).[76]

Hegesippus' recipe (later repeated almost verbatim by Eustathius of Thessalonica) states that the meat was cooked or stewed before being added to the dish. The statement is corroborated by the fact that the recipe for k*andaulos/kandylos* included stock or gravy, *dzomos* (ζωμός), i. e. a condiment which must have been a result of cooking the meat. We can also conjecture that the meat was not lean since the *dzomos* is referred to as "fatty", pion (πίων).[77] Photius also claims that animal fat ([μετὰ] στέατος) was used in *kandaulos/kandylos*, but he mentions it only in the hypothetical recipe for the sweet variety. Therefore, we are unable to determine whether the analogous procedure of adding *stear* equally applied to the meat version of this dish.

All the authors inform that an adequate amount of Phrygian cheese was also added to *kandaulos/kandylos.* The Phrygian cheese was a

---

73 De morbis popularibus (Epidemiae) VII, 1, 62, 1–12, in: Œuvres completes d'Hippocrate, ed. E. Littre. Paris 1846, 5. Cf. Roy (as footnote 72 above) 347 f.

74 Galeni de alimentorum facultatibus libri 664, 16–665, 5, in: Claudii Galeni opera omnia, ed. D. C. G. Kühn. Lipsiae 1823, 6 (hereafter: Galen, De alimentorum facultatibus).

75 Cf. Roy's ([as footnote 72 above] 348–350) conclusions.

76 Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (as footnote 40 above), II 407. On meat varieties and their role in the Byzantine diet: J.-C. Cheynet, La valeur marchande des produits alimentaires dans l'Empire byzantin, in: Food and cooking (as footnote 29 above) 35 f., 40 f.; Dalby, Flavours (as footnote 34 above) 69–71; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 69–71; Koder, Stew (as footnote 28 above), *passim*, esp. 59–61, 72; idem, Η καθημερινή διατροφή (as footnote 34 above), 21 f.; M. Kokoszko, Kuchnia i dietetyka późnego antyku oraz Bizancjum. Kilka uwag na temat spożycia, sporządzania, przyrządzania, wartości dietetycznych i zastosowań medycznych konserw rybnych w antycznej i bizantyńskiej literaturze greckiej. *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Historica* 80 (2005) 7–25; M. Kokoszko/Ł. Erlich, Rola mięsa w diecie późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum na podstawie wybranych źródeł literackich. Część I. Zwierzęta hodowlane w sztuce kulinarnej oraz teorii dietetycznej. *Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 12 (2011) 18–33; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 22–40; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 47–66.

77 It is also probable that olive oil might have been added to the stock.

special variety produced from a mixture of donkey and horse mares' milk and the product was renowned enough to be fleetingly mentioned by Aristotle himself in his *Historia Animalium.*[78] Some modern authors have speculated that the end-product of Greek cheese-makers had an intensive aroma and savoury taste and, therefore, it has been suggested that it was similar to the famous English Stilton.[79] However, we have no evidence whatsoever that this analogy is correct. One may also speculate that the cheese was added in chunks as this is the best procedure to melt it down and mix homogenously with other liquid ingredients of *kandaulos/kandylos.* John Wilkins and Shaun Hill,[80] the famous connoisseurs of Greek gastronomy and specialists in the field, seem to be in favour of this idea. One must suppose that the liquefied cheese ensured the silky texture of the gravy and, if salted,[81] it would also provide this dish with its final flavour.

The preserved recipes clearly show that bread was a vital ingredient of this dish.[82] The fact of using this condiment ([ἐξ] κνηστοῦ ἄρτου) is

---

78 Aristote, *Historia animalium* 552 a 27–29. Dalby, Food (as footnote 36 above) 80; V. Essex Cheke, The story of cheese-making in Britain. London 1959, 70; P.F. Fox/P. L.H. McSweeney, Cheese. An overview, in P. F. Fox/P.L.H. McSweeney/T.M. Cogan/T.P. Guinee (eds.), Cheese. Chemistry, physics and microbiology. 1. General aspects. Amsterdam etc. 2004, 1–18; R. Scott/R. K. Robinson/R. A. Wilbey, Cheesemaking practice. New York 1998, 2.

79 J. Doran, Table traits, with something on them. Edinburgh/Dublin 1859, 33. Stilton is a famous kind of white or blue cheese, produced from non-skimmed milk in Melton Mowbray and the surrounding areas (Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire). Regarding such cheese, cf. A. Davidson, Stilton, in: Oxford companion (as footnote 31 above) 754 f.; T. Hickman, The history of Stilton cheese. Stroud 1996, *passim.*

80 Compare a contemporary recipe, based on tradition: Wilkins/Hill, Food (as footnote 72 above) 278.

81 Dalby, Food (as footnote 36 above) 80 f. On the role of cheese in the Byzantine diet idem, Flavours (as footnote 34 above) 72–74; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 72–74; Koder, Η καθημερινή διατροφή (as footnote 34 above) 20 f.; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 6–11; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 31–34 etc. On salt, G.C. Maniatis, Organization and modus operandi of the Byzantine salt monopoly. *BZ* 102 (2009) 662–696.

82 Bread was definitely one of the Byzantine staples. On bread and its kinds in the Byzantine diet –Cheynet, La valeur (as footnote 76 above) 36–39; Dalby, Flavours (as footnote 34 above) 77–81; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 77–81; Y. Hirschfeld, The importance of bread in the diet of monks in the Judean Desert. *Byz* 66 (1996) 143–155; Koder, Stew (as footnote 28 above) 65–67, 72; idem, Η καθημερινή διατροφή (as footnote 34 above) 19 f.; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 7; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 12–31 etc.

confirmed by Hegesippus' tradition,[83] and it was Eustathius of Thessalonica himself who very pointedly highlighted this ingredient (ὅτι κνηστῷ, οὐ τυρῷ, ἀλλὰ ἄρτῳ) as well.[84] The very wording of his narrative suggests that the product was ground or grated. However, it is worth bearing in mind that there existed a particular kind of bread called *knestos* (κνηστός), which was mentioned by Artemidorus of Ephesus.[85] Still, the data we possess is too limited to definitely confirm that the Artemidorus' *knestos artos* was exactly the variety to have been exclusively utilised in the dish discussed.

It is really difficult to define the role played by this ingredient in the dish. Two basic facts may be assumed. Firstly, we may interpret its role as a simple thickening agent. The premise for such an interpretation is adding to the *kandaulos/kandylos* sweet version, as it was described by Pollux, an ingredient called *amylum* (ἄμυλον),[86] i. e. starch,[87] which is a substance thickening a dish but not altering its final taste or texture.[88] In accordance with this hypothesis, bread and *amylum* would have been ingredients of an analogous property, i. e. thickeners. On making such an assumption, one may come to a further conclusion that the dish, after the grated bread having been added to it, simmered until its uniform consistency was achieved or was baked in a *kribanon* (κρίβανον), an *ipnos* (ἰπνός) or in a dish covered with hot charcoal (*thermospodium/ cinis calidus*).[89] Here we must mention one more thing – if that was the

83 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists XII 516 d (12, 13 Kaibel).

84 Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem 4, 180, v. 21.

85 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophists III 111 d (76, 25–26 Kaibel). Also cf. Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (as footnote 40 above) II, 493.

86 Galen was interested in the properties of *amylum* (De alimentorum facultatibus 500, 4–16).

87 Dalby, Food (as footnote 36 above) 349.

88 Ch. Grocock/S. Grainger, A glossary to Apicius, in: Apicius (as footnote 29 above) 330 f.; D. L. Thurmand, A handbook of food processing in classical Rome. For her bounty no in winter. Leiden/Boston 2006, 166, 171.

89 Pots made of porous clay burnt frequently, thus spoiling the taste of dishes. What is more, when heated on a standard hearth, the pots received heat only from below, which resulted in frequent burning of dense ingredients located at the bottom of the pot. Roasting in an oven would result in a more even heating of the dish. Such idea is proposed by Hesychius, who defines *kandaulos/kandylos* by using a term *pemma edodimon* (πέμμα ἐδώδιμον): Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (as footnote 40 above); Grocock/Grainger, as footnote 89 above, 362. Roasting methods compared in A. Cubberley, Bread-baking in Ancient Italy. Clibanus and sub testu in the Roman world: Hereinafter thoughts, in: Food in Antiquity (as footnote 64 above) 55–68; R. I. Curtis, Ancient food technology. Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001, 368 f.; J. Frayn, Home Baking in Roman Italy.

case, the bread used for *kandaulos/kandylos* must have been kneaded from finely ground flour[90] whose characteristic (including flavour) was fairly neutral. On the other hand, it is equally possible that *amylum* was added only to the sweet variety of *kandaulos/kandylos*, and its meaty type included considerably tangible bread particles, which, while releasing starch, only additionally thickened the entire consistency.[91] Surely, taking into account the second case, a sort of bread made of coarsely ground grain would have been a much better option for an ancient or Byzantine cook.[92]

The preserved recipes show that the main spice added to *kandaulos/kandylos* was *anethon* (ἄνηθον). However, we possess no specifications regarding its amount and form. For instance, we do not know which parts of this plant were used – seeds or green parts (stalks and leaves) or both. Still, either of those would have caused different gustatory effects. Strictly speaking, we cannot even determine whether the recipe included dill (*Anethum graveolens)*[93] or fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*).[94]

---

*Antiquity* 52 (1978) 28–33; J. Liversidge, Roman kitchens and cooking utensils, in B. Flower/E. Rosenbaum (eds.), The Roman cookery book. A critical translation of "The art of cooking" by Apicius for use in the study and the kitchen. London/Toronto/Wellington/Sydney 1958, 29–38. On the characteristics of Byzantine pottery cf. J. Vroom, Late antique pottery, settlement and trade in the East Mediterranean. A preliminary comparison of ceramics from Limyra (Lycia) and Beotia, in W. Bowden/L. Lavan/C. Machado (eds.), Recent research on the late antique countryside. Leiden 2004, 281–331, esp. 297–303, 316–319 (coarse wares); eadem, Medieval ceramics and the archaeology of consumption in eastern Anatolia, in T. Vorderstrasse/J. Roodenberg (eds.), Archaeology of the countryside in medieval Anatolia. Leiden 2009, 235–258. On Byzantine pottery and its kitchen use: M. L. Rautman, The daily life in the Byzantine Empire. Westport, Conn. 2006, 188–192.

90 It must have been wheat flour, which contains a high dose of gluten.

91 Barley bread might also have been an option in this case.

92 K.D. White, Cereals, Bread and Milling in the Roman World, in: Food in Antiquity (as footnote 64 above) 38–43, esp. 41 f. Recently, an interesting and informative study discussing the processing of grain products was presented by Dionysios Stathakopoulos: Between the field and the palate: how agricultural products were processed into food, in: Eat, drink … (as footnote 27 above) 27–38.

93 On the herb A. Dalby, Dangerous tastes. The story of spices. London 2002, 110, 128; Koder, Gemüse (as footnote 34 above) 41 f.; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 17; Rautman (as footnote 89 above) 76; M. Toussaint-Samat, Histoire de la nourriture naturelle et morale. Paris 1997, 647.

94 On the herb Dalby, Dangerous (as footnote 93 above) 52, 58, 105, 111, 128; idem, Flavours (as footnote 34 above) 78, 158; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι

Both these plants originated in Central Asia, and, having spread in Asia Minor and Europe,[95] were popular and often used as substitutes for the purpose of the Greek culinary art. Both, however, could have had a slightly different effect upon the final flavour of the dish. The first variety would have added freshness to the aroma of the delicacy and made its taste slightly sweet and at the same time spicy, while the other would have provided the dish with a liquorice-like aroma and ensured a higher intensity of gustatory experience. It is worth mentioning here that Wilkins and Hill suggest using anise (*Pimpinella anisum*) in the dish, since it would have additionally enhanced the latter effect.[96]

The sweet variety of *kandaulos/kandylos* is described in the literature with similar precision, and the most comprehensive source of knowledge regarding this variant of the dish is Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon*. The lexicographer states that this delicacy was made from cheese ([ἐκ] τυροῦ), milk ([ἐκ] γάλακτος),[97] starch (ἐξ ἀμύλου) and honey ([ἐκ] μέλιτος).[98] One may surmise that also Phrygian cheese[99] was used, as no author mentions any other variety. The cheese was surely melted in hot milk while the starch served as an additional thickening agent. Finally, honey made the dish taste sweet. It is worth stressing that almost all of

---

(as footnote 34 above) 17; Rautman (as footnote 89 above) 76, 96, 104; Toussaint-Samat (as in note 93 above) 648.

95 Dalby, Food (as footnote 36 above) 116 f.

96 Wilkins/Hill, Food in the ancient (as footnote 72 above) 278. On herbs (and spices) in the Byzantine diet: Dalby, Flavours (as footnote 34 above), 38–52; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 38–52; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 15–20, esp. 16 f.; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 40–46, esp. 42–44 etc.

97 Fresh milk was a food product not easy to obtain. It would go off easily without refrigeration and thereby it did not lend itself to long-distance transport. Consequently, it was usually stored in the form of (first and foremost) cheese (and also butter): Rautman (as footnote 89 above) 46, 184 f.; Dalby, Flavours (as footnote 34 above) 72; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 72, maintains that Byzantine dieticians introduced a new and more favorable dietetic evaluation of the product. Also on milk: Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 35 above) 95; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 35 above) 5, 121 f.

98 Honey was one of the most popular sweeteners of both Antiquity and Byzantium. It is also known to have been used in a number of beverages. On its role in Antiquity E. Crane, The archeology of beekeeping. London 1983; eadem, The world history of beekeeping and honey hunting, London 1999. On its role in Byzantium Dalby, Flavours (as footnote 34 above), 213; idem, Tastes (as footnote 34 above) 213; Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν τρόφαι (as footnote 34 above) 86 f.; idem, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 112 f.; Rautman (as footnote 89 above) 49, 52, 103 f.

99 It is probable, however, that it could have been any other kind of cheese.

the above-mentioned ingredients could also be later found in various configurations in Byzantine sources. Hesychius preserved a recipe enlisting honey, cheese and milk;[100] Photius recorded milk and honey and also added animal fat, *stear*;[101] the *Suda*, however, mentions only honey and milk.[102]

We do not know the final shape of the dish, or dishes. The ingredients suggest that the meat variety was semi-liquid and similar to modern stew or fricassee. Hesychius stated that *kandaulos/kandylos* was a kind of pastry (pie) and in order to precisely depict this concept, he used the term *pemma* (πέμμα).[103] This data is complemented by the scholia to *Peace*, whose author called the dish a kind of pastry, i. e. *eidos plakountos* (εἶδος … πλακοῦντος).[104] Aristophanes suggests that *kandaulos/kandylos* was served with bread.[105] This can be explained by the fact that this dish had never been a staple part of the diet but a slightly exotic *opson* (ὄψον), i. e. an addition to the basic foodstuffs. However, it is difficult to state whether the habit of serving this dish with bread concerned all the varieties of the delicacy discussed.[106] We may conjecture that the final appearance of the sweet variety was similar to modern blancmange or thick custard. It is also possible that, after cooling down, starch and fat[107] made the second variety of *kandaulos/kandylos* hard enough to slice it or cut into portions.

Common reports of ancient[108] and Byzantine[109] authors clearly show that *kandaulos/kandylos* was a sophisticated and exquisite dish. This

---

100 διὰ… γάλακτος καὶ τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος…: Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (as footnote 40 above).

101 μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος: Photius, Lexicon, κ, κάνδυλος. Animal fat was widely used in the production of sausages, see Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος (as footnote 34 above) 5, 59; Rautman (as footnote 89 above) 96, 185.

102 …διὰ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος…: Suda, Lexicon, κ, Κάνδυλος, 303, 1.

103 Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon (as footnote 40 above). The explanation of the lexicographer is too brief for unequivocal conclusions. In our opinion, the term itself may point to the fact that all the ingredients of the dish were subjected to high temperature (for example, in a kind of an oven or in a *kribanon* – compare note 89 above).

104 Scholia in pacem 123d2. Such interpretation is provided also by Dalby, Food (as footnote 37 above) 188.

105 Aristophanes, Pax 123.

106 Such doubt concerns also the sweet variety.

107 Especially fat mentioned by Photius. Cf. Dalby, Food (as footnote 36 above) 349.

108 Cf. contexts which mention *kandaulo*s.

109 Cf. the opinion of Eustathius of Thessalonica.

classification was not determined by high prices of its ingredients[110] but, as one may suppose, by its Eastern origin and overall Greek culinary tradition. In any case, this delicacy is always mentioned in the context of lavish feasts or preparations for such.[111] The moralists surely noticed the risks coming from its consumption. Even Menander, as we have demonstrated above, included it in the list of aphrodisiacs, and Plutarch located it, next to *abyrtake* (ἀβυρτάκη) and *karyke* (καρύκη), in the catalogue of dishes, being a contradiction to the Greek gastronomic and national tradition.[112] This opinion was so deeply-rooted in the Greek awareness that even Eustathius of Thessalonica, as it has been alluded to, still regarded *kandaulos/kandylos* as a symbol of luxury and gluttony invariably associated with culinary imports from the East.[113]

As far as the Byzantine period is concerned, information regarding the consumption of *kandaulos/kandylos* is disappointingly scarce. There is no direct data available which testifies to its important role in the diet. Therefore, we have to make do with circumstantial evidence provided in the lexicographers' entries and literary comments. In our opinion, they prove at least the everlasting interest in this delicacy. The dish itself would not have been mentioned if the term *kandaulos/kandylos* had only been a dead word and the taste or aroma of this delicacy had long been forgotten. There were still courts, including the imperial one,[114] which promoted the consumption of luxurious foodstuffs that were

---

110 Undoubtedly, the most luxurious ingredient was meat. Reasons for the fact in Antiquity and Byzantium: F. Frost, Sausage and meat preservation in antiquity. *GRBS* 40 (1999) 241–252. On the Byzantines' preference for the food Koder, Stew (as footnote 29 above) *passim*, esp. 72.

111 For example, Euangellus (cf. the above-mentioned fragment) and Philemon (cf. the above-mentioned fragment).

112 Plutarch, Quaestiones convivales 644 b, 5–11. Cf. Wilkins, The boastful chef (as footnote 29 above) 265–267.

113 It is worth adding that the symbolic meaning of eating still remains a rewarding area of scientific study, the proof of which are recently published works of Katarzyna Gibel (as footnote 68 above, *passim*), A. Eastmond/L. James, Eat, drink … and pay the price, in: Eat, drink … (as footnote 28 above) 175–189), and M. B. Cunningham, Divine banquet: the Theotokos as a source of spiritual nourishmet, ibid. 235–244.

114 Some circumstantial evidence leads to the Macedonian court, especially to the kitchen of emperor Constantine VIII, who was not only a gourmet but also an amateur cook, at least according to Psellus. Cf. Michael Psellos, Chronography II, 7, 4 (Renauld). The exact issue was mentioned in Kokoszko, Historia (as footnote 68 above), 167 f., 177 f.

regarded as the indicators of the social status and power.[115] Even if it had not been the case, but for the Byzantium knowledge about *kandaulos/kandylos*, the history of the Greek cuisine would be much poorer now.

## Abstract

The present article analyzes Photius' *Lexicon* and Eustathius of Thessalonica's *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* in order to trace the history and reconstruct the recipe of a dish called k*andaulos/kandylos.* It was a Greek delicacy, which appears to have been developed in Lydia before the middle of the VI th c. B.C. It is known to have been named after king Candaules, who ruled the Lydian territory in the VII th c. B.C. The dish was (via the Ionians) borrowed by the Helens and established itself in Greece sometime in the V th c. B.C. It became popular in the Hellenistic period

The testimony provided by Photius and Eustathius of Thessalonica contributes to our better knowledge of two varieties of *kandaulos/kandylos.* The first was savoury and consisted of cooked meat, stock, Phrygian cheese, breadcrumbs and dill (or fennel). The other included milk, animal fat, cheese and honey. The dish is reported to have been costly, prestigious and indicated the social status of those who would eat it.

Though there is much evidence suggesting its popularity in antiquity, we lack any solid proof that *kandaulos/kandylos* was eaten in Byzantine times. On the other hand, Byzantine authors preserved the most detailed literary data on the delicacy.

115 Recently, an informative analysis of emperor's feast as a representation of imperial authority has been published by S. Malmberg, Dazzling dining: banquets as an expression of imperial legitimacy, in: Eat, drink … (as footnote 28 above) 75–89).

# A RHETORICAL DECLAMATION OF SOPHONIAS THE MONK AND PARAPHRAST

DENIS M. SEARBY AND AMBJÖRN SJÖRS / UPPSALA

*Codex Marcianus Graecus* 266 contains a μελέτη written in the character of Paul before the Areopagus and attributed to the learned monk Sophonias. This previously unpublished text is valuable both as an example of Palaiologan rhetoric and as additional testimony to the elusive Sophonias, who, in our opinion, is the same as the Sophonias to whom paraphrases of Aristotelian works are ascribed. The declamation is particularly noteworthy for its Platonic allusions. We divide our article into the following parts: a brief description of the manuscript and of the text; a presentation of the evidence for Sophonias; a few concluding observations; some remarks on the edition, then the edition itself along with an English translation which we hope will be of use to other scholars.[1]

## The Manuscript Context

The codex is described in Mioni's catalogue, vol. 1 pp. 383–386.[2] Written on paper of "mediocre" quality, it is dated to the 14th century. Apparently two different hands wrote the first (ff. 1–164v) and second (ff. 165–203v) parts, respectively. The first part contains the following texts: (1) Michael Psellos, *De omnifaria doctrina,* ff. 6–46; (2) John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis De anima commentaria*, ff. 62–89v; (3) Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*, ff. 94–99v; 4) Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*, ff. 142–147v; (5) *Excerpta philosophica et*

[1] This article is the joint work of the two authors, based on Mr. Sjörs' senior thesis in Greek at Uppsala under Dr. Searby's supervision. The responsibility for the introduction and translation primarily belongs to Searby; for the Greek text, primarily to Sjörs; but both have contributed to the article as a whole. The authors are grateful for the viewpoints of colleagues in both Uppsala and Stockholm, especially Eric Cullhed, Dimitrios Iordanoglou, Mikael Johansson, David Westberg, Alessandra Bucossi and (not least) Börje Bydén as well as to Filippomaria Pontani in Venice. We wish to express a debt of gratitude to the helpful criticisms of the two anonymous peer reviewers for *BZ*, especially to the German reader who suggested specific improvements to the Greek text and translation.

[2] E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti vol. 1, Venice 1981.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.008

*theologica*,[3] ff. 149–154v; (6) Sophonias, *Declamatio quam Paulus Athenis habuit ad populum*, ff. 156–161r (161v is empty); (7) an anonymous chronicle *ab Adamo usque ad Constantinopolim conditam*, f. 162r (162v is empty). The second part contains: (8) Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopulos, *Synopsis S. Scripturae*, ff. 163–164v; (9) Michael Psellos, *Compendium legum versibus iambis et politicis,* ff. 165–192v; (10) *Synopsis rhetoricae versibus politicis*, ff. 194–203v; (11) *Praeceptiones medicae tres* by Konstantinos Holobolos who wrote on the same page (f. 211v): Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον κτῆμα τυγχάνει Κωνσταντίνου ἰατροῦ Ὁλοβόλου. Cardinal Bessarion, who subsequently owned the codex, described the contents of the first part as *Pselli et aliorum in philosophiam ac de legibus* (Mioni p. 384). Since our text belongs to the first part which, apart from the very brief (7), only contains philosophical or theological works, Sophonias' μελέτη seems to have been understood by the collector and/or copyist primarily as a philosophical text.[4]

The text is written in a restrained cursive style by a single, diligent hand. Definite articles, as well as nominal endings in their oblique form, are almost exclusively abbreviated through suspension. *Nomina sacra* are used as a norm. *Iota subscriptum* is absent. Breathings and accents are indicated throughout accurately. Use of double accents is limited and inconsistent.[5] The scribe makes liberal use of punctuation: upper, medial and lower points; commas; question-marks ("semicolons"). The conventions of Byzantine punctuation as well as modern editorial praxis in its regard remain topics of discussion among scholars.[6] In our edition

---

3 Excerpts from Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, Theodoretus, Irenaeus, Polycrates and Philo.

4 Rhetorical and literary forms were often "employed for philosophical purposes by Byzantine writers", for which see the entry by K. IERODIAKONOU and B. BYDÉN on "Byzantine Philosophy" first published Sept. 8, 2008, in the on-line *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (http://plato.stanford.edu) 1.2 where an instructive summary of the literary forms of Byzantine philosophy is given.

5 See examples in the following lines: f. 158v5 (ἂν), f. 160r20 (μὲν), f. 160v20 (ἂν). On the enigmatic use of these accents, see K. OIKONOMAKOS, ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΤΟ ΔΙΤΟΝΕΙΝ? *Byzantion* 75 (2005) 295–309.

6 For recent discussions, see D. R. REINSCH, Stixis und Hören, in B. Atsalos/N. Tsironi (eds.), Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Drama, 21–27 Septembre 2003), tom. 1. Athens 2008, 259–269; and C. LAGA, "La ponctuation (dont on ne doit pas se soucier)", in B. Janssens/B. Roosen/P. van Deun (eds.), Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty–Fifth Birthday. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2004, 359–375.

(as we explain below) we have made a moderate effort to retain the punctuation of the manuscript but changed it when we judged it to be misleading to modern readers. However, one should bear in mind that "misleading" punctuation may reflect original pauses in oral delivery, if in fact this declamation was at one point delivered before an audience.[7]

## The Declamation

The heading in the manuscript denotes our text as a μελέτη, that is, a rhetorical declamation. As far as we are aware, this is the only free-standing elaboration in Greek of Saint Paul's famous discourse in Athens. Declamations of this kind, aiming at a classical style but departing from customary classical figures, based rather on passages in the New Testament or other specifically Christian subjects, are surprisingly few and late. The earliest appears to be Nikephoros Basilakes in the 12th century who offers numerous examples of biblically based *ethopoeiae* in his *Progymnasmata*,[8] but none of these is quite comparable to Sophonias' composition, especially not in length.[9] Michael Italikos, also writing in the 12th century, composed an *ekphrasis* on the resurrection of Christ and a prologue to the story of Susanna. In what we assume to be Sophonias' own time, we find a use of Christian material for rhetorical composition in the *progymnasmata* composed by Konstantinos Akropolites.[10] All these "textbook" examples are considerably shorter than our declamation.

7 D. R. Reinsch (as in note 6 above) traces the oral performance of a speech of Eustathios through the punctuation. In note 29 below we specify some points at which we removed pauses (commas) indicated in the ms. These commas seem to indicate more emphasis than any kind of break so that the words so marked belong to what follows rather than to what precedes them – confusing to us but perhaps helpful in oral delivery, though we have not yet understood the scribe's (or, if original, the author's) method.

8 See *ethopoeiae* nos. 30–56 in A. Pignani, Niceforo Basilace. Progimnasmi e monodie. *Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana*, 10. Naples 1983.

9 The longest of Basilakes' *ethopoeiae* (no. 42) is that on Mary (Theotokos) receiving the body of her dead son Jesus before burial. It is approximately 3120 characters long (without spaces), whereas our text is approximately 26,500.

10 On Basilakes, Italikos and Akropolites, cf. C. N. Constantinides, Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca. 1310). *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus*, 11. Nicosia 1982, 100 f. who gives more references. On Basilakes, see also R. F. Hock/E. N. O'Neil, The Chria in Ancient Rhetoric, vol. 2. Leiden 2002, 280–307; they also give

The setting of the speech is provided by *Acts* ch. 17. Sophonias interprets v. 19 ("they brought him to the Areopagus") as meaning that Paul was brought to the court of the Areopagus, rather than merely to the rock itself.[11] Basic building blocks of the piece include the two main speeches of Paul in *Acts* (17:15–34 and 21:39–22:21), Plato's *Apology of Socrates* as well as various Pauline epistles (Romans, I Corinthians, Galatians, Hebrews, etc) and certain other biblical writings (minor use of the gospels, *Apocalypse* and the *OT*). Numerous passages of the Fathers (especially Gregory Nazianzen and, appropriately, ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite) as well as of both Christian and non-Christian secular writers (e.g. ps.-Aristotle, Proklos) are recognizable sources. The philosophical vocabulary is notably neo-Platonic in [15] and [37]. Though only Plato is cited by name in introducing a quotation from the *Statesman* [45], the author does make it clear in a couple of other instances that he is quoting anonymously from ps.-Aristotle in [37] and Plato's *Parmenides* in [34]. By the nature of the speech, Sophonias cannot cite by name authors later than Paul, but he does manage to have his Paul quote himself at one point [47]. Most of the points touched on in Paul's discourse in *Acts* 17 recur in the declamation, although not the most famous one: Sophonias oddly makes no mention of *Agnostos Theos*.

The speech can be divided into four parts: the προοίμιον in [1–9], based in large measure on the beginning of Plato's *Apology of Socrates*; the διήγησις in [9–24], giving Paul's personal history and the essentials of the gospel message (Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection), introducing even technical terminology in [15] that sets the tone for the coming philosophical arguments;[12] the πίστις in [25–75] where the main arguments for accepting Paul's position are found, ending on a note of mystical theology in [70–75];[13] finally, the ἐπίλογος in [76–82], urging the listeners to distinguish between the Creator and creation and alluding to the eucharist in contrast to perishable mortal bread. The

translations of other sample speeches based on other Christian material (such as maxims from the Fathers).

11 There is some basis for this in Paul's speech as recorded by Luke, since Paul does address the public as would have Demosthenes: Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

12 For the terminology in παρὰ τὸ ἑστὼς … κινούμενον, cf. Damascius, *De princ.* vol. 3, 50 f. (eds. Westerink, Combès).

13 The providences in [73] (αἱ πρόνοιαι τῶν ὑπερτέρων) are a reference to ps.-Dion. Areopag. *De div. nom.* 152, speaking of the higher beings taking care of (having forethoughts for) the lower. For the argument in [72] ff., cf. Psellos *Theol.* 59.50–55.

oration ends as it began by referring to the greatness of Athens which would become even greater when supernaturalized through acceptance of the divine word.

## Sophonias

The only known Sophonias who was also an active writer is the author of the paraphrase of Aristotle's *De anima* and presumably of similar works.[14] Manuscripts of *In de anima* attribute it to the learned Sophonias (τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Σοφονίου), without the "monk". Apart from the Aristotelian paraphrases, there is also a brief letter from a "monk Sophonias" (τοῦ μοναχοῦ Σοφονία) to Joseph the philosopher; this letter must have been written between 1307 and 1325, the period when Joseph lived in Constantinople.[15] Furthermore, there are important references to a Sophonias from this period in various other sources. We have, first of all, Pachymeres' statement that Sophonias the ἱερομόναχος was sent by Andronikos II Palaeologos to Italy to negotiate the marriage of his son Michael IX to Catherine de Courtenay (Pachy-

[14] For a concise summary of the evidence on Sophonias see D. Searby, entry "Sophonias", *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500.* New York/Heidelberg 2011, 1208–11. A more detailed version of the same entry is to be published in vol. 6 of *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (*DPhA*), ed. R. Goulet. The only paraphrase explicitly attibuted to Sophonias is *In libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis* (ed. M. Hayduck, *CAG* 23.1, Berlin 1883). The other Aristotelian treatises probably penned by him are: *Themistii (Sophoniae) in Parva Naturalia commentarium* (ed. P. Wendland, *CAG* 5.6, Berlin 1903); *In Aristotelis Categorias Paraphrasis* (ed. M. Hayduck, *CAG* 23.2, Berlin 1884); [*Themistii*] *quae fertur in Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum I Paraphrasis* (ed. M. Wallies, *CAG* 23.3, Berlin 1884); *In Aristotelis Sophisticos elenchos Paraphrasis* (ed. M. Hayduck, *CAG* 23.4, Berlin 1884). On Sophonias' paraphrase of *De anima* in particular, see H. J. Blumenthal, Sophonias' Commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*, in L. Benakis (ed.), Néoplatonisme et philosophie médiévale. Tournhout 1997, 307–317. See also B. Bydén, Λογοτεχνικές καινοτομίες στα πρώιμα παλαιολόγεια υπομνήματα στο Περὶ ψυχῆς του Αριστοτέλη. *Υπόμνημα στη φιλοσοφία* 4 (2006) 221–251. Bydén, whose focus is not only on Sophonias but also on other commentators from the same period (Metochites, Pachymeres), examines whether Sophonias lived up to his goal of making Aristotle's meaning clearer than his predecessors. Ultimately, he thinks, Sophonias' combined goals of paraphrase and commentary are in conflict with each other.

[15] For an edition and analysis see S. G. Mercati, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 1 (1925) 168–174 (= *Collectanea Byzantini* I, Bari 1970, 343–347).

meres, IX, 5, ed. A. Failler p. 227,22 f.).[16] This embassy, corroborated in historical records, ended without success in 1296.[17] Both Sophonias and Manuel Holobolos (ca 1245–1310/14) are described as typifying well known intellectuals of the preceding generation in a letter directed to Makarios Chrysokephalos, metropolitan of Philadelphia.[18] The Dominican friar Simon of Constantinople (ca. 1235–1325) dedicated the second book of his work *De processione Spiritus Sancti etiam ex Filio* to Sophonias (using the title ἱερομόναχος).[19] A Latin manuscript in the library of Uppsala University contains a treatise written by Guilelmus Bernardus de Gaillac (Guillaume Bernard) who, in 1307, founded the Dominican monastery in Pera.[20] On f. 5r (p. 342) of this treatise, written after he had left Pera, Guillaume reveals that he was personally acquainted with Sophonias the monk, for he informs us that Sophonias the "kalogerus or monk" knew both Greek and Latin and "had suffered persecution on account of his confession of the true faith as taught by the Roman Church". Thus, in the same period in which Sophonias the paraphraser of Aristotle must be assumed to have been working, we also find Sophonias the monk, well versed in the intellectual issues of the day, a Greek equipped with a knowledge of Latin, with ties to Dominicans and with some connection to Joseph Rhakendytes and

16 See A. Failler, La mission du moine Sophonias en Italie et le mariage de Michael IX Palaiologos. *REB* 60 (2002) 151–166.

17 Cf. C. Perrat / J. Longnon (eds.), Actes Relatifs à la Principauté de Morée 1289–1300. Paris 1967, 4 nos. 130, 143, 153, 154, 158–159, 165, 170–173; F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, 4. Teil: Regesten von 1282–1341. München / Berlin 1960, 18 no. 2156a.

18 R. Walther, Ein Brief an Makarios den Metropoliten von Philadelphia. *JÖB* 22 (1973) 219–232. The passage on p. 229,28–30 runs: Τοὺς γὰρ Ὁλοβώλους ἐκείνους καὶ Σοφωνίους τοὺς πάντ' ἀρίστους καὶ ὧν πολὺ κλέος ἐς ἡμᾶς καθήκει, περιττὸν ὅλως ἥγηνται ἀντεξετάζειν σοι. Note that Sophonias is here spelt with an omega in the second syllable. This spelling sometimes occurs in the manuscripts, but Σοφονίας is more correct.

19 Cf. Mercati (as in note 15 above) p. 169. On Sophonias' contact with Simon and the Dominicans, see M-H. Congourdeau, Frère Simon le Constantinopolitain, O. P. (1235?–1325?). *REB* 45 (1987) 165–174, and: Note sur les Dominicains de Constantinople au début du 14e siècle, *ibid.* 175–181.

20 For an edition, see F. Stegmüller, Guilelmus Bernardi de Gaillac OP, Tractatus de obiectionibus Graecorum contra processionem Spiritus sancti a Filio (Uppsala C 55). *Analecta Upsaliensia Theologiam Medii Aevi Illustrantia*, tom. I. *Opera Systematica.* Uppsala 1953, 323–360. On the founding and development of the Pera monastery, see R. J. Loenertz, La Société des Fréres Pérégrinants. *Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum, Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes historicae,* fasc. 7. Rome, 1937, 38–88 (Sophonias is mentioned on pp. 79 f.).

Manuel Holobolos. Almost all scholars view the paraphrast and the monk as one and the same man.[21]

As he explains in the preface to *In de anima*, Sophonias aimed not merely at paraphrase but at a combination of paraphrase and commentary.[22] Most historians of philosophy hold that Sophonias contributes nothing of his own in the way of argument or interpretation, apart from his method of paraphrase and compilation as well as certain scattered remarks.[23] However, both at the beginning and end of the treatise, Sophonias does allow himself to speak in his own words. In the preface, he explains his aims and methods, as already mentioned; in an epilogue (p. 151 f.), he reveals his philosophical, or rather theological, interest in how Aristotle's psychology relates to the question of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, an interest he has also already indicated earlier in the treatise.

## Concluding Remarks

The most probable assumption is that the Sophonias known through the Aristotelian paraphrases is the same as the author of our declamation. Strong support for this can be found not only in the explicit attribution in the manuscript to the monk Sophonias (a very rare name) but also in the parallels to formulations in the *De anima* paraphrase (see § 42 and § 46 with references), as well as the general philosophical tenor of the work. Sophonias presents Paul more or less as a professional philosopher speaking to professional philosophers.

Sophonias was clearly moving in the same "post-Lyons" intellectual circles as Joseph the Philosopher († ca 1330) and Manuel Holobolos († ca 1310). Although we do not know the date or circumstances of the

---

21 The fact that the paraphrast is never called a monk in the mss should not disturb us, nor should the alternation between the titles of monk and priest-monk. Sophonias could have written the Aristotelian treatises before becoming a monk – he may be one of those learned officials who entered a monastery upon the rise in influence of strict anti-unionists (cf. Constantinides, as in note 10 above, 67) and then took a number of years to be ordained a priest. Blumenthal (as in note 14 above) 309 writes: "It must be said that the identification" (i.e. of the paraphrast and the monk sent to the West) "depends rather too much on the infrequent occurrence of the name." To this it must be objected that Blumenthal does not take into account the Sophonias mentioned by Bernard nor the letter to Joseph or other evidence.

22 See Searby (as in note 14 above) for more details and a fuller bibliography.

23 Blumenthal (as in note 14 above) offers a more positive assessment.

composition of the declamation, whether Sophonias delivered it orally or just circulated it in writing, it seems reasonable to assume that it was written around the first years of the 14th century. Perhaps the freedom to speak (ἐλευθερία τοῦ λέγειν) much valued by Paul in [5] hides a contemporary reference to a freedom of expression warmly desired by Sophonias himself, who may have felt some reticence about expounding his views with full candour during the reign of Andronikos II.[24] Sophonias may be endorsing a certain view of the relation of philosophy to theology, even while he maintains the transcendance of the mystical knowledge of God that comes through faith. This would also be consonant with the epilogue found at the close of the *In de anima.*[25] By

---

24 The best study of the policies and the "anti-Latin" tendencies of Andronikos II, remains that by A. E. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282–1328. Cambridge MA 1972. Laiou (pp. 212–216) discusses the letter from one "Sophronias", a priest-monk, to Charles de Valois, dated 1308, one of five Byzantine supporters in high positions who wrote to Charles, urging him to take the Byzantine throne. She goes on to observe that "Sophronias" wrote in a much more familiar way to Charles than the others had, even mentioning the possibility of seeing Charles in France. This makes it tempting, she says, to identify "Sophronias" with the Sophonias sent by Andronikos II, but the difference in the names is an obstacle. The name "Sophronias" occurs only once, on the back of the parchment letter in the bold address to Charles: τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων κυρῷ Καρούλλῳ † ὁ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις εὐτελῆς Σωφρονίας. The name was omitted in the original edition of the letter in C. du Cange, Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois, Paris 1657, but included in H. Moranvillé, Les projets de Charles de Valois sur l'empire de Constantinople. *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 51 (1890) 63–86. We have obtained a black and white copy of the letter in question and can confirm that the name on the back of the letter is Σοφρονίας (with two omicrons and the abbreviated ending -ίας). In our opinion, the writing on the back of the letter may be in a different hand from the letter itself, since there are some minor differences, but we have too small a sample to go on. The name Σωφ**ρ**ονίας or Σοφ**ρ**ονίας is so rare as not to be included in any form in either the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* or the *TLG.* One would rather expect the name Σωφρόν**ιος** which, of course, is far more common than our Σοφονίας. Since the name Σωφρονίας or Σοφρονίας appears not to have been in use at all, we do not rule out that the author of the letter to Charles is our monk Sophonias, and that the name on the back of the page was written erroneously by someone other than the original sender. We are grateful to Delphine Herve at the Archives nationales in Paris for promptly sending us a reproduction of the letter.

25 Sophonias, *In de anima*, *CAG* 23,1, 152,2–5: καὶ μέντοι καὶ σωμάτων ἔσται ἀνάστασις ταῖς ἰδίαις ψυχαῖς συνέσεσθαι, ἣν δὴ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν ὁ ἀληθὴς πρεσβεύει λόγος· καὶ τὴν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν συλλογισμῶν καὶ πλοκῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνὴν πιστοτέραν ἡγούμεθα. δεῖ δὴ οὖν ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸ ταύτης εὐσεβείας· ἑκάτε-

choosing the Apostle of the Gentiles to do his speaking, Sophonias was perhaps driving home his own view of philosophy's potential, not least Platonic philosophy, to be put in the service of theology.[26] We offer this idea merely as a possible avenue of investigation for scholars who may wish to pursue a more thorough synchronic study of the declamation.

## Presentation of the edition and translation

Editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum. Deletions are indicated in the main text by means of square brackets […], suppletions by angle brackets <…>, lacunas by braces {…}. Minor changes in the accentuation or orthography have generally not been noted,[27] nor the scribe's less important corrections.[28] We tried to follow the punctuation of the manuscript by indicating pauses in the same places though not always using the same signs (e.g. we may substitute commas for medial

ρον γὰρ ἑκατέρου χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ὤνησεν. Constantinides (as in note 10 above) 131 uses Sophonias' epilogue – "where Sophonias in his epilogue supported the Christian point of view" – as evidence that the "Church kept a closer eye on philosophical studies in Constantinople". This is not a necessary conclusion: the epilogue may be completely sincere.

26 The 11th century anathemas in *Syndicon Orthodoxiae* against pagan Greek philosophy, especially certain eschatological doctrines of Platonism, were still in force at this period. Cf. N. SINIOSSOGLOU, Plato and Theodoret. The Christian Appropriation of Platonic Philosophy and the Hellenic Intellectual Resistance. Cambridge 2008, 241. In her review of Siniossoglou, Ilaria Ramelli notes our text: "Theodoret was interested 'in the Platonic *lexis* rather than Plato's *nous*'. This is the reverse of what Sophonias, the Christian commentator on Aristotle, regarded as a good exegesis, and I deem it no accident that in an unpublished *melete* on Paul's Athenian speech, which of course Siniossoglou could not have mentioned, Sophonias displays a good acquaintance with the best of patristic philosophy." See I. RAMELLI, review of Siniossoglou in *The Journal of Religion* 89 (2009) 413–415. For Sophonias' interest in the hidden sense, cf. [11] in our text (τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν ὑπονοίαις κεῖται).

27 Such as φωρᾶσαι for φωράσαι in [2]; ἑστὼς for ἑστῶς in [15]; ἐγώ for ἐγὼ and ἐπ' αὐτοὺς for ἐπαυτούς in [25]; κἀγὼ for καγὼ in [38]; δῦναι for δύναι in [45]; ἐκείνῳ for ἐκεῖνο in [56], or our several changes of μὴ δὲ to μήδε and similiar cases.

28 Such as τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν for τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν in [12]; ἀντεισοικίσασαι for ἀντισοικίσασαι in [17]; ἐξεταζομένον to ἐξεταζομένων in [24]; σώζει for ζώζει in [28]; the order of κάτω νενευκόσι καὶ κακίᾳ in [31]; τῷ λόγω to τῷ κόσμῳ in [77].

points, etc), but, to avoid confusion, we have at several points omitted pauses indicated by punctuation in the manuscript.[29]

Despite some unevenness, the text seems complete, all but for the ending in [82]. It is unlikely that much is missing there, perhaps only a few words, since it is clear that what we have belongs to a final exhortation. The δὲ after αὐξῆσαι indicates a possible lacuna: this infinitive does not construe easily with the foregoing. The gospel passage Sophonias has in mind here is Luke 13:19 (ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ηὔξησεν καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον), as we can see by the choice of the verb βάλλειν (καταβάλλειν) and the apparently intransitive αὐξάνειν (the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark use σπείρειν and the more normal αὐξάνεσθαι). Sophonias has also based himself here on a passage in the oration over Basil the Great by Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 43, 36.2–3, ed. Boulenger) that praises Basil for physically feeding the poor and for given hungry souls the nourishment that causes them to grow to spiritual maturity (εἰς αὔξησιν ἄγοντος πνευματικῆς ἡλικίας τὸν καλῶς τρεφόμενον). We have decided not to suggest any major emendations here apart from indicating possible lacunas, bracketing a single word, and adding a final word.[30]

In the notes we indicate the more important parallels and/or sources that we have identified; we omitted a number of lesser parallels and have certainly missed others. A translation into English is given for the convenience of the reader, even for readers knowledgeable in Greek, since the text is at times difficult to follow. We have made a translation using a somewhat archaic English style which, we felt, suited the artificiality of the original well. Some liberties were taken to render expressions into more readable English. We can certainly not claim to have captured Sophonias' meaning at every point; there are still a number of points the interpretation of which remains uncertain.

---

29 On the advice of one of the peer-reviewers, we removed, for example, commas after σοφότητα, ἄμοιρον, Ἰουδαίοις, πεισθείς, προθύμως in §§ 6, 7, 11, 20, 24, respectively, and in other passages.

30 Filippomaria Pontani of Venice suggested to us that the ms the scribe was copying from was damaged at this point. Prof. Pontani suggests placing the words καὶ νῦν τὸ φιλότιμον ἐνδεικνύσθω before κἂν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διαφερέτω, which would certainly make the text flow much more neatly.

(f. 156r) Τοῦ σοφωτάτου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Σοφονίου μελέτη :–

Παῦλος ἐν Ἀθήναις δημηγορῶν :–

[1] Οὐ νῦν ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἀναβέβηκα καὶ γνώσει δικαστῶν ἐξετάζομαι, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνω ἤδη λόγον ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω λόγον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς πρότερον δοκιμασθεὶς καὶ συνεξετασθεὶς βήμασι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀναδεξάμενος καὶ πάντων περισωθεὶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κηρυττομένου λόγου δύναμιν καὶ θειότητα, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον τοῦτον ἀπήντηκα προσκεκλημένος. [2] δικαιοτέρῳ μέντοι ἢ σεμνοτέρῳ τούτου, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται, οὔπω παρέστηκα βήματι, οὐδὲ κριταῖς σοφωτέροις ἢ φιλανθρωποτέροις ὑμῶν ἐντετύχηκα, οὐδὲ φωρᾶσαι τἀληθῆ δυναμένοις· διὰ ταῦτα καὶ δικαιοτάτην ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι ῥηθῆναι τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἤλπικα καὶ τεθάρ<ρ>ηκα.

[3] Ὡς ἔοικεν οὖν οὐ σοφίᾳ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὸ κρατεῖν ὑμῖν τῶν ἄλλων περίεστι· καὶ ἔργα σεμνὰ λόγοις εὐπρεπέσι κοσμούμενα τῆς μακρᾶς ταύτης σχολῆς ὑμῖν ὁ καρπός· ἴσην γὰρ μελέτην ποιεῖσθε δύνασθαί τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι χρηστόν. καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἥ γε πόλις τὸν ἀεὶ διέμεινε χρόνον τοῖς ἐγγύτατα γένους Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς πόρρω διεστηκόσι καὶ ὑφηγουμένη τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ βελτίω συμπράττουσα καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διετέθητε· [4] οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀγνῶτα καὶ ὑπερόριον ἀπεπέμψασθε οὐδ' ὡς πρὸς καινῶν ἀκουσμάτων εἰσηγητὴν ἐξωργίσθητε, οὐδ' ὡς διεστηκότα τὸ σέβας ἀσεβείας ἐγράψασθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεξιὰν δεδώκατε καὶ τὸ ἁπλοῦν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ εὐτελὲς τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν πενίαν ἐν μέρει θαύματος ἔθεσθε. [5] ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρῶτον ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἄν τις ἐπαινέσαι ἔχοι· τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀεὶ δεομένους καὶ παρατυγχάνοντας φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἡμερότητα. δεύτερον δὲ ὅ μοι καὶ διαφερόντως σπουδάζεται τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὸ προτραπῆναι κηρῦξαι τὸν λόγον ἀφόβως ὃν ἥκω φέρων καὶ οὗ μετασχεῖν ὡς κρατίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ βαρβάρους πείθω καὶ Ἕλληνας, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐρχόμενος. [6] καὶ οὐκ ἀπηξιώσατε Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες τοῦ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγῳ ὃ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστηρίων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν τιμιώτερον ἀκροᾶσθαι δημηγοροῦντος. ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τούτοις διανενόησθε καὶ διεπράξατε φιλανθρωπότητα καὶ σοφότητα, οὕτω μοι καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἴσοι κριταὶ γίνεσθε μηδὲν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔμπροσθεν ἄγοντες, μὴ δόξαν προσώπων, μὴ νόμον πόλεως, μὴ συνήθειαν.

---

3 Οὐ … ἀναβέβηκα Pl. *Ap.* 17.d.2. | 4 ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω cf. *Eph.* 6:20.

---

27 κηρῦξαι] κηρύξαι cod. | 28 οὗ alia manu in mg., οὐ in textu

[7] καὶ ἔτι δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἄηθες καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τῆς λέξεως καὶ χαρίτων ἄμοιρον ξενοπαθήσαντες οἱ σοφίᾳ τρυφῶντες, πρὸς βάρος τὰ λεγόμενα δέξησθε, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ οἴκοι ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν καὶ οἷς ἐντεθράμμεθα, οὕτως ἀκούετε, τοῦτο μόνον σκοπούμενοι εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω ἢ μή. [8] κήρυκος μὲν γὰρ ἀρετή, καὶ τῶν οἷος ἐγώ, τὸ διαγγεῖλαι τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μαρτύρασθαι ἃ ἑώρακε καὶ ἀκήκοε καὶ προστέτακται· ἀκροατῶν δὲ καὶ σοφῶν καὶ τῶν οἷοι ὑμεῖς τὸ τὰ ἀμείνω ἰδεῖν, καὶ Θεῷ λατρεύειν ἑλέσθαι ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ, τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ ψηλαφωμένων ἀναχωρήσαντας, ὡς μή τι (f. 156v) ἐχόντων θεότητος μηδὲ τῆς προσκυνουμένης φύσεως.

[9] Τίς δὴ ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ὅθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἥκων ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ὄντων, διὰ βραχέων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι· περὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου οὗ προΐσταμαι καὶ πρεσβεύω καὶ ὃν καταγγεῖλαι πᾶσιν ἐπείγομαι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διηγήσομαι. δεῖ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κρατεῖν. [10] εἰμὶ δὴ αὐτὸς τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰουδαῖος· γεγέννημαι δὲ ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας, πατέρων δὲ τυχὼν τῶν ἐν συμμετρίᾳ καὶ ἤθους καὶ περιουσίας, οἳ καὶ διά τινα πεπραγμένα καὶ πολιτείας Ῥωμαίων ἠξίωνται, ἐλευθερίως ἀνῆγμαι. [11] διαβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους τὴν πάτριον ἐξασκοῦμαι παιδείαν· παιδεία δὲ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τὸ εἰδέναι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τοῦ τε νομοθέτου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν προφητῶν τῶν ῥητῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν ὑπονοίαις κεῖται· παιδεία δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τῇ θρησκείᾳ προσκεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἐπιθειασμοῖς προσέχειν. [12] ἀκριβωσάμενος δὲ ταῦτα, ζηλῶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων τὴν διαπρεπεστέραν, καὶ συντάττομαι Φαρισαίοις. φιλοσοφίας δὲ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον μετέσχον, ὅσον τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἐφίησιν ἔθος· ἔθος δὲ Ἑβραίοις, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιστήμης ἅπτεσθαι, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνάγκη· μὴ προσ<εξ>ετάζειν δέ, μηδὲ διὰ τέλους ἔρχεσθαι, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἃ μὴ τοῖς κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς εὐκατάληπτα· καὶ συζητητὴν εἰς ταῦτα ἢ καινοποιὸν ἥκιστα Ἰουδαῖον εὑρήσεις· ἐρρῶσθαι γὰρ οὕτως ἐδόκει καὶ πεπηγέναι τὰ πατρία μή τινι νεωτερισμῷ σαλευόμενα. [13] ἐπαγγελίας δὲ οὔσης Θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸν Ἀβραάμ, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις, ἐν τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη εὐλογηθήσεσθαι καὶ ἤδη εἰς πέρας τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐλθούσης ἐπ' ἐσχάτων

35 δέομαι καὶ παρίεμαι Pl. *Ap.* 17c 6. | 38 οἷς ἐντεθράμμεθα Pl. *Ap.* 18a 1. τοῦτο … 39 μή Pl. *Ap.* 18a 5. | 39 κήρυκος … ἀρετή Pl. *Ap.* 18a 5. | 40 ἃ … 41 προστέτακται cf. *Act.* 22:10. | 49 γεγέννημαι … Κιλικίας *Act.* 21:39. | 51 πολιτείας Ῥωμαίων ἠξίωνται *Act.* 21:25–28. | 65 ἐν … 66 εὐλογηθήσεσθαι cf. *Gen.* 12:1 f., *Gal.* 3.8.

45 ἥκων] ἧκον cod. ἀνάγκην] αν ante ἀνάγκην erasit scriba | 55 προ ante θρησκείᾳ del. scriba

τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον ἦν ψεύσασθαι θεόν, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις μάρτυς καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἐπιφανείσης τῷ κόσμῳ σωτηρίας καὶ χάριτος γίνομαι· [14] καὶ κηρύττω ὡς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ προαιώνιος, ζῶσα ὢν οὐσία καὶ Θεῷ συνὼν ἀεί, δἰ οὗ καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον καὶ δἰ οἰκείας δυνάμεως καὶ σοφίας ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ, νῦν εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ, ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ γεγένηται εἴδει καὶ τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώποις συμπεπολίτευται, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτὸν ἐνδημήσειν προαγορευούσης· [15] μίγνυται δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸς ἵνα τοῖς αὐτοῦ τὰ ἡμέτερα τελειώσει, καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀνακληθῇ ἄνωθεν ῥεύσασα, καὶ ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἀληθῆ ἐπιγνοίη Θεόν, τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ἀναχωρήσας, καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρετὴ πολιτεύσηται, τοῦ διδάξοντος ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικομένου, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἑστὼς πῆξιν σχοίη τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ κινούμενον.

[16] Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρθένος ἁγνὴ ὑπηρετεῖ τῷ τόκῳ, ἵνα μηδὲν ᾖ ῥυπαρὸν οὗ Θεὸς καὶ δἰ οὗ σωτηρία. καὶ καινῶν προηγεῖται καινὴ ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς μήτηρ καὶ παρθένος λοχεύουσα· οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει γενέσθαι τοῦ λόγου τὴν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα σκήνωσιν. [17] τέλος, ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἔργοις,τὰ δὲ λόγοις παρέδειξε τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ὅθεν ἥκει καὶ δἰ ὧν ἄνθρωπος σῴζοιτο, ἐπὶ σταυρὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ θάνατον ἔρχεται, ἵν᾽ ἐν κρίματι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου κράτος λύσηται, καὶ ἀναιρήσῃ τὴν τυραννίδα τῶν ἀποστατικῶν (f. 157r) δυνάμεων, αἳ πρὸς εἴδωλα καὶ χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κατήγαγον πλάσματα, Θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηκότος χωρίσασαι καὶ τῇ τοῦ νοῦ συναρπαγῇ τὰ πάθη ἀντεισοικίσασαι. [18] ἀναιρεῖ οὖν θανάτῳ θάνατον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἡμέτερον καὶ νεκρώσει βραβεύει ζωὴν καὶ τῇ ταφῇ τῶν τῆς ἁμαρτίας δεσμῶν ἀπολύεται· ἀναστὰς δὲ τριήμερος ὡς ἑωράκειμεν, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνελήλυθεν ἀποκαταστάς, τῆς τε ἐν τέλει τῶν χρόνων κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως ἀπαρχὴ καὶ προοίμιον γίνεται, καὶ ὅπῃ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ πεισθέντες αὐτῷ οἰκήσουσι καὶ οἵας δόξης ἀξιωθήσονται δείκνυσι. [19] καὶ συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο ἦν τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ πέρας, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων βουλῆς, ἣν διὰ τοῦ λόγου τελεῖ· ἀποπλήρωσις, τὸ θεωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν ἀξίωμα, καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ κάλλος ᾧ πρὸ τοῦ πτώματος ἐλαμπρύνετο. ταῦτα καὶ οἱ παῤ Ἰουδαίοις προφῆται πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν γεγονότες τοῖς χρόνοις διήγγειλαν ὡς γενήσονται. τούτοις

---

67 ἀδύνατον ἦν ψεύσασθαι *Hebr.* 6:18. | 79 μηδὲν … 80 σωτηρία Greg. Naz. *In s. bapt. PG* 36.424B. | 85 τῶν … τούτου cf. *Eph.* 6:12.

---

67 τούτων supr. lin. | 70 τοῦτον καὶ] ὡς ante καὶ manu recentiore in mg. additum | 71 ἐδημιούργησεν] ἐδημηούργησεν cod. | 73 ἐνδημήσειν] σειν post ἐνδημήσειν del. scriba | 75 in ἀνακληθῇ ex ἀνακλιθῇ (η supra ι) corr. scriba | 92 ἀνελήλυθεν] ἀνελήλυθε ἐλήλυθεν cod.

πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι ποιητῶν συνεφώνησαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οἱ τελεώτεροι καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἐπιτετευχότες τοῦ ὄντος.

[20] Τούτοις οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀληθέσι πεισθεὶς ἥκω καὶ ὑμῖν ἀγγέλλων καὶ ὑπηρέτης μυστηρίων Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονος ἀπορρήτων γίνομαι· καὶ τῆς ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ παραγενομένης σοφίας μετασχεῖν τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄκρους βιάζομαι, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς ἄρτι κόσμον ἑαυτῷ καταλλάττει τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας πολεμωθέντα διαγορεύω τοῦ υἱοῦ μεσιτεύσαντος. [21] καὶ δὴ πολλὰς διελθὼν καὶ νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους, καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς καρποφορήσας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐκ ἀμογητὶ οὐδὲ πειρατηρίων ἐκτὸς πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν κωλυόντων, καὶ πάντας νενικηκὼς ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι με Χριστῷ, καθά μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ῥώσειν ὑπέσχετο· [22] νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβέβηκα, καὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ παρέστηκα βήματι, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ πείθων, ἀπαρνήσασθαι μὲν τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως δὲ καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι, ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, [23] μὴ ἀναβαλλομένους μηδὲ φεύγοντας τὸ σωτήριον, καὶ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ διὰ πονηρῶν ἔργων συνείδησιν, ὡς οὐ προσδεχθήσεσθαι μέλλοντας, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνήσειν, καθάπερ διαφθαρέντας, [24] ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψαντας, γεγονότα διώκτην καὶ ὑβριστὴν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρότερον πλήθει κακῶν καὶ μεγέθει ἐξεταζομένων, νυνὶ δὲ ἠλεημένον κήρυκα καὶ ἀπόστολον ὧν ἐπόρθουν πάλαι προθύμως τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεσθαι.

[25] Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἄνωθεν καὶ παρείθη. καὶ προστίθημι δή· καὶ οὐ τῶν πρώτως ἠκολουθηκότων τῷ λόγῳ ἐγώ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ τὰ πρῶτα συνεταττόμην, ἀλλὰ τῶν διωκόντων ἦν καὶ τῶν προσεπηρεαζόντων. διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπῆγον λύπην τοῖς προσεδρεύουσι τῷ κηρύγματι χεῖρα κινῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς (f. 157v) καὶ ἐπὶ βασάνους ἕλκων, δήμους ἐκμαίνων καὶ τοὺς τῶν κρατούντων ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων λύμῃ θυμοὺς ὑπανάπτων. [26] ζηλωτὸς γὰρ ὢν τῶν πατρῴων, ὡς παρακεκινημένων αὐτῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κρατυνομένου, προσεδυσχέραινον, ἕως με κατὰ κρημνῶν φερόμενον ὁ Θεὸς ἐλεήσας οὐρανόθεν καλεῖ. θεία γάρ μοι γίνεται φωνὴ ἐν μέσῃ ὁδῷ μεσούσης ἡμέρας ἀποκαλύπτουσα τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τῆς κακίας ἱστῶσα. [27] Καὶ δὴ πηρώσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῇ μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἀστραπῇ μετὰ τὸ μυηθῆναι καὶ τελεσθῆναι ἰᾶται πάλιν, πέμπει δέ

103 ὑπηρέτης μυστηρίων Θεοῦ I *Cor.* 4:1. | 105 Θεὸς … καταλλάττει II *Cor.* 5:19. | 109 ἐν … 110 Χριστῷ *Phil.* 4.13. | 113 ἀσέβειαν … 115 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, see *Tit.* 2:12–13. | 119 διώκτην καὶ ὑβριστὴν I *Tim.* 1:13. | 120 κήρυκα καὶ ἀπόστολον II *Tim.* 1:11. | 128 ζηλωτὸς *Gal.* 1:14. | 132 πηρώσας … 133 ἀστραπῇ, cf. *Act.* 9:3–8, 22:6–21.

126 ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς] ἐπαυτούς cod.

με ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἄλλοις μετροῦντα, ἃ αὐτὸς ἀκήκοα καὶ μεμύημαι, καὶ στήλην μετανοίας ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκελεύεται παρασχεῖν καὶ ὁδὸν εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑποτύπωσιν. [28] παντὸς δὲ γυμνὸν ἐφοδίου μακρὰν στέλλων ὁδόν, μαινομένοις ἐπεμβάλλων κύμασι, ἀντιπαραταξόμενον βασιλεῦσι καὶ δήμοις πόλεων. καὶ συνηθείᾳ μακρῷ χρόνῳ βεβαιωθείσῃ μόνην τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥοπὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις κατεπηγγείλατο· [29] ἣ δὴ συνοῦσα σώζει καὶ ζωὴν ἐμπνεῖ πολλάκις ἤδη νενεκρωμένῳ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπιφορῶν καὶ μεγέθει. καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῷ λόγῳ βοήθειαν ἀφελόμενος, τὴν διὰ σημείων προστίθησι ἵνα μὴ δυνάμει τέχνης μηδὲ ἀνθρωπίνῃ πειθοῖ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀλλὰ τῇ θείᾳ κρατύνοιτο.

[30] Ἀθετεῖται δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀντιλέγεται τὸ μυστήριον· καὶ κινδυνεύει ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑπόθεσις γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν δωρεῶν μέγεθος ὅτι ὑπεραίρει πάντα νοῦν ἀπιστεῖται, ἀδοξεῖται δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κηρυττόντων εὐτέλειαν, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶς τοιαῦτα πιστεύεσθαι. ἰδιῶται γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐντιμῶν καὶ πένητες τῶν πεπαιδευμένων καὶ δόξῃ καὶ περιουσίᾳ λαμπρῶν εἰς τοῦτο προετιμήθησαν. [31] καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων τραχύτητα· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδραποδωδεστάτοις καὶ νενευκόσι κάτω καὶ κακίᾳ συζῶσι, δυσχερὴς ἡ τῶν τηλικούτων ἀκρόασις. οὐ γὰρ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων <μόνον> κολάζομεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐγκαλοῦμεν· καὶ οὐ πράξεων ἀπαιτοῦμεν εὐθύνας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ διανοημάτων. [32] καὶ ἀναγκάζομεν ὑπερορᾶν τῶν τῇδε καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, πεπεισμένοι κρείττονα ἔχειν ὕπαρξιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ μένουσαν, τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀπολλυμένης· καὶ οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ποιεῖ τις ἃ μὴ δεῖ θαυμάζεται παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ ἄκρος ἀγαθὸς ὀνειδίζεται· [33] οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει τῶν φαυλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προσλήψει τῶν βελτιόντων τὸ τέλειον κρίνομεν καὶ ὡς τὴν τοῦ καθαρωτάτου καὶ λαμπροτάτου ἑνότητα εἰς ἣν ἐπειγόμεθα, μὴ ἄλλως ἢ παντελεῖ ὁσιότητι καὶ ἁγιότητι γίνεσθαι· καὶ Θεοῦ κοινωνοῦμεν ὅταν καὶ ὁμοιώμεθα. μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ ἅπτεσθαι καθαροῦ, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν ἐστὶ θεμιτόν, διά τε δὴ ταῦτα προσάντης ἡ καταδοχὴ τοῦ κηρύγματος. [34] καὶ ἔτι ὁ σταυρὸς ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιᾳδόμενος, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ παροινίαι θράττουσι τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ σαλεύουσι· καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ τὴν ἀνωτάτω οὐσίαν καὶ πρώτην τοσοῦτον προσπλακῆναι

---

135 στήλην μετανοίας cf. Psellos *Poemata* 54.637. | 145 ἀντιλέγεται τὸ μυστήριον cf. Romanos *Cant*. 14.13. | 152 οὐ … 154 ἐγκαλοῦμεν cf. Greg. Naz. *In s. pascha*, *PG* 36 col. 648B. | 156 ἔχειν ὕπαρξιν … μένουσαν, see *Hebr.* 10:34. | 162 ὅταν καὶ ὁμοιώμεθα cf. Pl. *Theaet*. 176b. ἅπτεσθαι … 163 θεμιτόν, see Pl. *Phd.* 67.b.2.

---

134 μετροῦντα] ἐτροῦντα cod. | 149 ἐντιμῶν] ἀτιμῶν cod. | 151 ἀνδραποδωδεστάτοις] ἀνδραπωδεστάτοις cod.

λέγειν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ (f. 158r) χείρονι οὐ σεμνὸν οὐδὲ εὔσχημον οἴονται. [35] ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ οἶμαι ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι θείας οἰκονομίας λόγους καὶ τῷ βάθει τῆς σοφίας οὐ παρακύπτουσιν, οἷς ἐκεῖνος διοικεῖ τὰ ὄντα καὶ κατευθύνεται ὃς διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία ἐν πλείστοις κατασκευάζεται, καὶ διὰ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα· διὰ γὰρ φθορᾶς γένεσιν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀτελῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ εἴδη τῇ φύσει περαίνεται τελεώτατα, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζηται καὶ τῦφος ἅπας πατῆται τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοξασμάτων καὶ ὑπολήψεων. [36] καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ διὰ τῆς σοφίας ἡ γνῶσις ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐδοκεῖ διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας. τὸ γὰρ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί· καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ὑπερβαλλούσης δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ δόξαν παράλογον παντὸς νοῦ καὶ λόγου κρατεῖ. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ κριτηρίῳ τῶν ὄντων Θεὸς προσχρήσεται, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀκολουθήσει νόμοις καὶ διατάξεσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ βέλτιον ὑπολήψεσιν ἡ θεία φύσις καὶ ἀνεκλάλητος. [37] τὸ ἔμπαλιν δὲ δεῖ τῷ ἑστῶτι συνέχεσθαι τὸ κινούμενον καὶ τῷ μέτρῳ τάττεσθαι τὸ ἀόριστον· καὶ τῷ ἀληθῶς ὄντι, τὸ γεγονὸς ῥυθμίζεσθαι τὸ πλανώμενον. νόμος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἰσοκλινὴς ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, καὶ ἡ ἐκεῖ νεῦσις οἰκείωσις καὶ τελείωσις.

[38] Οὔκουν ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις καὶ ἀθείᾳ ζῶσι μωρία καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ δοκεῖ, ἤδη καὶ τοῖς σῳζομένοις καὶ Θεὸν εἰδόσι οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἅπαν. τὴν γὰρ ἀνωτάτην δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ σταυρῷ δηλοῦσθαι πιστεύομεν· οὐδ᾽ εἴ τισιν αἰσχύνη ἡ εἰς τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ὁμολογία, ἤδη κἀμοί. μὴ γάρ μοι γένοιτο ἕτερον ἀγαθὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ καυχᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι᾽ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ τῷ κοσμῷ. [39] οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν μαινομένων ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγιαινόντων τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ψήφους λαμβάνειν δεῖ· ἐπεὶ καί τισι τὸ μέλι πικρὸν καὶ ὁ ἥλιος οὐχ ἡδύς, τοῖς γὰρ πυρέττουσι καὶ ὀφθαλμιῶσι. τί οὖν; οὕτω καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει; οὐδαμῶς. δεῖ τοίνυν ἑπομένους Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ λογῷ καὶ ὑγιαίνοντι, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἔρχεσθαι. [40] τί δὲ καὶ ἄπιστον ἢ ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λέγεται; ἵνα καὶ λογισμοῖς θεωρήσαιμεν, εἰ Θεὸς ἀνθρώπων κήδεται, εἰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνεται φύσεως, εἰ ζωοποιεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν νενεκρωμένον τριήμερον, εἰ σώζει τούτοις ἀπολωλότας ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὴν πτῶσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνορθοῦται πάλιν, καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς μετεωροτάτοις πορείας μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοητοῦ θέας καταξιοῖ.

[41] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πᾶσα φύσις καλὸν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῖς οἰκείοις προσχρῆσθαι γεννήμασι καὶ ποιήμασι καὶ

176 τὸ γὰρ μωρὸν … 177 ἀσθενὲς, see I *Cor.* 1:25. | 183 νόμος … Θεὸς Arist. *Mund.* 400b28. | 185 ἀπολλυμένοις … 186 μωρία … σῳζομένοις, cf. I *Cor.* 1:18. | 189 τὸ … 191 κόσμῳ cf. *Gal.* 6:14. | 202 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πᾶσα … 203 γεννήμασι, cf. Pl. *Ti.* 69.c.5.

μάλιστα ὅταν τι διοικῆται θεῖον, καὶ τοῦ προσειλημμένου σωτήριον, οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς οὐδ' ἀνάξιον. ἄχραντος ὁ λόγος ἔσται κἀν τοῖς ἡμετέροις γενόμενος· καὶ οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χείρονος πρόσληψιν αὐτῷ τῆς δόξης ὕφεσις μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν προσθήκη μεγαλειότητος. [42] (f. 158v) οὐ γὰρ δείσομεν μήποτε τῇ περὶ τὴν ὕλην κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ ἀΰλου καὶ ἀμελοῦς, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀειδοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρατον μεταβάσει πάθοι τι τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ μακάριον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἥλιος παρεχραίνετο πάντα ἐπιπορευόμενος διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἢ τὸ πῦρ ἐμολύνετο τῇ τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμειξίᾳ, ἢ πρὸ τούτων ὁ νοῦς χώρα ὢν τῶν εἰδῶν τῇ εἰσδοχῇ τὴν φύσιν ἐβλάπτετο ἢ ἡ αἴσθησις τοῖς αἰσθήμασιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐννοήσαιμεν. [43] πότε δὲ καὶ Θεὸς τῶν ὄντων χωρίζεται, ἀεὶ συνέχων καὶ προνοούμενος; οὐ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἥκει διηνεκῶς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν; οὐκ οὐσία οὖσα ταῖς πάσαις οὐσίαις ἀχράντως ἐπιβατεύει; οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν τὸ ἓν οὐδενὸς τῶν ὄντων ἀποστατεῖ; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἄπειρον τῶν γενητῶν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ νῷ καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασι μέμικται. [44] καὶ Θεοῦ πάντα πλήρη κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν· οὗ δὴ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν ὡς ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνων δέ τις προφήτης ἡμέτερος, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, φησίν, ἐγὼ πληρῶ λέγει κύριος· ὥστε τὸ τὸν ποιητὴν ὑποκλίνεσθαι κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ σώζειν, οὐκ ἀσθενείας δεῖγμα, ἀλλ' ὑπερεχούσης δυνάμεως ὥσπερ εἴρηται· [45] τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐν τούτοις καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς οἴκοι πιστεύσητε καὶ ἀκολουθήσητε, ὅταν τὸν δημιουργὸν εἰσάγῃ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιλαμβανόμενον, χειμαζομένου καὶ ἀποροῦντος καὶ κινδυνεύοντος εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος δῦναι τόπον. [46] ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν οἰάκων καθίσας, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἔφεδρος τῶν τοῦ παντὸς πηδαλίων γενόμενος, οὕτω τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπαλλάττει καὶ ἐπανορθοῖ τὰ νοστήσαντα. ἣν γοῦν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τοῦ παντὸς ποιεῖται ἀνάκλησιν, τοῦτο ἐπὶ μέρους ἡμεῖς, ὅσον κἀνταῦθα καὶ τιμιώτερον τὸ μέρος τοῦ ὅλου· ὑπεραίρει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις παντὸς ἀλόγου καὶ ἀψύχου ἡ λογικὴ οὐσία ὁ ἄνθρωπος. [47] κατὰ δὲ λόγον ἕτερον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι λέγομεν τὰ πάντα

---

208 τὴν ὕλην κοινωνίᾳ cf. Sophonias *In de anima CAG* 23,1 p. 151.13. | 216 οὐκ οὐσία οὖσα … ἐπιβατεύει, see Ps.-Dion. Areopag. *De div. nom.* 134.13 (οὐσία ταῖς ὅλαις οὐσίαις ἀχράντως ἐπιβατεύουσα). οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν … ἀποστατεῖ, see Pl. *Parm.* 144b. | 220 οὗ … ποιεῖ *Act.* 17:28, citing Aratus *Phaen.* 1.5. | 221 τὸν … 222 κύριος *Jer.* 23:24. | 224 Πλάτων φιλοσοφεῖ … 227 δῦναι τόπον, see Pl. *Plt.* 273d. | 227 ἐπὶ … 228 καθίσας cf. Pl. *Plt.* 272e; the words ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων καθημένη appear in Sophonias, *In de anima CAG* 23,1 p. 45.6. | 229 ἐπανορθοῖ τὰ νοστήσαντα Pl. *Plt.* 273 d–e.

---

221 φησίν] φύσιν cod.

ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ἀνακαινίζεσθαι τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθαι πιστεύομεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἡμεῖς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρόσληψιν δογματίζομεν, ὡς συγκλεισθῆναι τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ περιγραφῆναι τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὅλως τι τραπῆναι τὴν φύσιν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. [48] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σωτηρίας ἔδει, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, δυνατὸν δὲ οὐκ ἦν γυμνὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα φέρειν, ἡ σάρξ ἀντὶ παραπετάσματος προσλαμβάνεται, ἵν' ὡς ἐγγύτατα τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἁγιασθῇ τὸ ἡμέτερον ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ λυθῇ τὸ κατάκριμα, σαρκὶ τοῦ θανάτου θανατωθέντος. καὶ ὥσπερ δι' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθε τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀθετήσαντος, οὕτω πάλιν καὶ δι' ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἀνόρθωσις γίνεται. [49] καὶ οὕτω χωρητὸν τοῖς γενητοῖς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀπρόσιτον λέγομεν, μηδὲν τῶν αὐχημάτων τῆς ἰδίας καθυφιέντος (f. 159r) φύσεως, οὕτω τὸν πλήρη ὁρῶμενκενούμενον, μένοντα ὃ ἦν, καὶ δούλου μορφὴν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ὑπήκοον τῷ Πατρὶ μέχρι σταυροῦ καὶ θανατοῦ γινόμενον τὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν ὑψηλότερον· [50] ἔπρεπε γὰρ αὐτῷ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτὸν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἱλαστήριον μέσον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς τίθησι, καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν προσαγωγὴν διὰ τούτου τοῖς ἀνιοῦσι χαρίζεται. [51] οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐδὲ γινώσκει τις αὐτόν, μὴ τούτου ἀποκαλύπτοντος. οὗτος καὶ θῦμα καὶ ἀμνὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς ὀνομάζεται, ὡς ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνενέγκαι, καὶ ὥσπερ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ χαρίζεται τὴν ἀπάθειαν, καὶ τῷ συνταφῆναι αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος συζωοποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ᾧ τρόπῳ μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς ἐδικαίωσε, τὴν ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι. [52] τούτῳ δὴ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν ὁ πατὴρ τὴν ἐν τέλει τῶν αἰώνων γενησομένην. ἄξει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἅπαντα ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἐξέτασιν λόγον ἀπαιτήσων ὧν πεπολίτευται. ὁ γοῦν δικάσων τότε καὶ τὴν θρυλλουμένην τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτουργήσων ἀνάστασιν, [53] οὗτος ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς γεγονὼς αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν χρηματίσας. σαλπίσει γὰρ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι

---

239 ἦν … φέρειν, see Greg. Naz. *In sancta lumina PG* 36.349 A. | 240 ἀντὶ παραπετάσματος, cf. *Mt.* 27.51 and Greg. Naz. *ibid.* 349B. | 241 λυθῇ … 242 θανατωθέντος, see Greg. Naz. *ibid.* 349B. | 242 ὁ θάνατος … 243 εἰσῆλθε, see *Rom.* 5:12. | 245 τὸν ἀπρόσιτον cf. I *Tim.* 6:16. | 246 κενούμενον … 248 σταυροῦ, cf. *Phil.* 2:7–8. | 249 ἔπρεπε …251 τελειῶσαι, see *Hebr.* 2:10. | 251 ἱλαστήριον … 252 τίθησι, see *Rom.* 3:25. | 252 τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν προσαγωγὴν *Eph.* 2:15 | 253 οὐδεὶς … 254 υἱοῦ *Jo.* 14:6. | 256 τῇ … παθημάτων *Phil.* 3:10. | 257 τῷ … βαπτίσματος *Col.* 2:12. | 259 κρίσιν … ὁ πατὴρ, see Jo. 5:22. | 263 πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν *Apoc.* 1:5. | 265 δεῖ … 266 ἀθανασίαν I *Cor.* 15:52–53.

ἄφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. [54] ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα γένηται, καὶ τοῦτο γενήσεται τὸ καταποθῆναι εἰς νῖκος τὸν θάνατον, ὡς στησομένης ἁπάσης μεταβολῆς καὶ κινήσεως ὑφ' ὧν ἁμαρτία καὶ δι' ἣν θάνατος, καὶ ἀκαταλύτου διαδεξομένης καταστάσεως αἰῶνος ἀντεισαχθησομένου τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, τότε καὶ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψει ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός. [55] ἀνάστασιν δὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀνθρώπου τελείου, οὐ σωμάτος μόνου, οὐδὲ μόνης ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ πράττων τὰ χείρω καὶ τὰ βελτίω, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐν τέλει ἀναστησόμενον καὶ κριθησόμενον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ τέλειον· καὶ ἔτι οὐδὲ δικαίως κρίνοντος, ἀμφοτέρων πραξάντων, τὸ ἓν εὐθύνειν ἢ στεφανοῦν.

[56] Εἰ δέ τις διαποροίη διατί μὴ πρότερον, ἵνα καὶ σωθῶσι πλείονες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναφαίνεται, ἐκείνῳ ἂν εἴποιμεν· ὡς οὐκ ἀμελῶν τῶν προτέρων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὕστερον ἦλθε σώσων, ἀλλ' οἷς ἐχρῆν κἀκείνους ἐπιστραφῆναι καὶ διορθωθῆναι εἰσήχθη πάντα. [57] τὰ δὲ ἦν ὁ λόγος ὁ ἔμφυτος, ἡ θέα τῆς κτίσεως, αἱ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ τρόπους ἐναντίαι μεταβολαὶ δι' ὧν κακίας κολαζομένης καὶ ἀρετῆς (f. 159v) τιμωμένης. ἡ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀφ' οὗ παρεξεπέσαμεν ἐπραγματεύετο ἄνοδος. ὧν ἐληλεγμένων ὡς ἀνοήτων, ἡ μεγάλη βοήθεια ἐπὶ κινδύνοις ἀτοπωτέροις ἐν ὑστέροις ἐλήλυθεν. [58] εἰ δέ τι κἂντῷ βάθει τῆς σοφίας ἑαυτῷ τι τῇ βραδυτῆτι διωκεῖτο ἕτερον, τῷ πάντα παράγειν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι ὁ χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ θέμενος, παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ. ὥστε τῷ μὲν ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν παρελθόντων ἀσεβούντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀρνουμένων, δεῖγμα μακροθυμίας αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ σῶσαι τοὺς ὕστερον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μὴ ἐπιδραμόντας ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου προκεκλημένους ἀγαθότητος· τῷ δὲ τὸν τρόπον εὑρεῖν δι' οὗ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς εὐπετῶς ἀνοιγήσεται, ὅτι σοφῶς ὑμνηθήσεται.

[59] Ἔτι ἐπεὶ κἀν τῇ φύσει κἀν τῇ τέχνῃ κἀν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πᾶσιν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸ πλῆρες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πέρασι, τί κωλύει κἀν τοῖς θείοις οὕτω κατὰ μικρὸν γενέσθαι τὴν πρόοδον καὶ ἀνάβασιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τελεωτάτην εὐσέβειαν, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν οἷον τύπους εἶναι καὶ προπαιδεύματα καὶ εἰσαγωγάς τινας εἰς εὐσέβειαν; καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔδει χεθῆναι τὴν κακίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐαθῆναι προκόψαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνίατον, ἵνα πᾶσα ἀποδοκιμασθῇ θεραπεία καὶ σωτηρία, ἡ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἄλλου προσαγομένη, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστῆναι τὸν σώζειν δυνάμενον θριαμβεύοντα

---

267 τὸ … θάνατον I *Cor.* 15.54. | 271 πᾶσα … 272 πατρὸς, see *Phil.* 2.10–11. | 282 ὁ λόγος ὁ ἔμφυτος *Jac.* 1:21. | 286 –287 τῷ βάθει τῆς σοφίας *Rom.* 11:33. | 288 ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ θέμενος *Act.* 1:7. | 298 ἔδει … 299 πᾶσαν cf. Greg. Naz. *In s. pascha PG* 36.629 A (ἔδει χεθῆναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν).

ταύτην καὶ καταλύοντα. [60] ἐντεῦθεν πᾶν εἶδος κακίας παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐφεύρηται καὶ πέπρακται καὶ δεδημοσίευται· καὶ πᾶσα ἀσεβὴς ὑπόληψις καὶ δογμάτων διαφορὰ ἐφεῦρεν εἰσηγητὴν καὶ προστάτην. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμος ἐπεισαχθεὶς εἰς βοήθειαν οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπτέρωσεν ἢ ἐθέωσε, τοῖς σωματικοῖς καθάπαξ καὶ σαρκωδεστέροις ἠσχολημένος. [61] ἐντεῦθεν ἡ παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφία ἐπὶ τῷ γνῶναι Θεὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσα διήμαρτε πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεποιημένη τὴν ἔρευναν· ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ παρ' οἵς τισι καὶ ἀρχὰς θεότητος εἰσηγησαμένη τὰς πηγὰς τῆς φαυλότητος. [62] διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐν τέλει ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦλθε λόγος ἡμᾶς ἰασόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγγελος οὐδὲ πρέσβυς. καὶ ἃ μὴ νόμος μηδὲ σοφία ἀνθρωπίνη ἴσχυσεν, ὁ κατοικῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐπιλαβόμενος χείρονος ἀπεπλήρωσε.

[63] Κατηγορεῖ δὲ λόγος τῶν πάλαι ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ σοφίᾳ προεχόντων καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ λόγου σαρκώσεως, ὅτι τηλικούτου διδασκαλίου θεογνωσίας πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὄντος αὐτοῖς, τῆς ὁρωμένης κτίσεως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κτίσμασιν ἐνθεωρουμένης σοφίας, διαμονῆς, τάξεως, κινήσεως ἐπὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀνέδραμον αἴτιον. [64] οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν δημιουργημάτων τὸν δημιουργὸν κατέλαβον, οἷος ἐκεῖνος τὴν δύναμιν, τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ἀγαθότητα, καίτοι τρανότερον σάλπιγγος τὸν ποιητὴν κηρυττούσης τῆς κτίσεως. (f. 160r) τά τε γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἥ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης. [65] ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Θεοῦ ζητήσει, ὥσπερ τυφλοῦ τυχόντες τοῦ χειραγωγοῦ, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀπῳκίσθησαν ἐν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις καὶ ψηλαφωμένοις καὶ χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης πλάσμασι τὴν ὑπερκειμένην φύσιν συναριθμούμενοι, καὶ ταύτην ἐν πλήθει καὶ παθητὴν καὶ ταραχῆς γέμουσαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχουσαν μύθοις τισὶ τὴν ἀθεΐαν κρατύνουσαν, αὐτοί τε στοιχήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πείσαντες.

[66] Πῶς γὰρ δὴ θεῖον τὸ προσκυνούμενον, ὦ σοφώτατοι, εἰ μὴ ἄκρως σεπτόν; πῶς δὲ τελεώτατον ἢ πληρέστατον ἢ δυνάμει κράτιστον ἢ σοφίᾳ ὑπερβάλλον ἢ νικῶν ἀρετῇ, εἰ ἐμπαθές, εἰ ἐνδεές, εἰ ἐλλέλοιπεν, εἰ διαφέρεται καὶ παραλλάττοι πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τόποις, χρόνοις, ἕξεσι καὶ δυνάμεσι; καὶ πρὸ τούτων, πῶς πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἀρχή, εἰ κακοῦ χορηγόν, εἰ πολύαρχον, εἰ στασιῶδες, καὶ τἄλλα πάσχει ὅσα ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι λέγουσιν; οὔκουν θεοὶ πολλοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ πλειόνων τοῖς ἕνα μὴ

302 πᾶν εἶδος κακίας cf. *Rom.* 1:18 (ἀποκαλύπτεται … πᾶσαν ἀσέβειν, κτλ). | 312 οὐκ … 313 πρέσβυς *Isa.* 63:9. | 322 τά τε … 324 θειότης *Rom.* 1.20. | 335 εἰ πολύαρχον, εἰ στασιῶδες cf. Greg. Naz. *De filio* (*orat.* 29) 2.3 (τό τε γὰρ ἄναρχον ἄτακτον· τό τε πολύαρχον στασιῶδες, καὶ οὕτως ἄναρχον, καὶ οὕτως ἄτακτον).

θεραπεύσασιν; οὐδὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸ τοῦ ἑνός, τοὔμπαλιν δέ, πᾶν πλῆθος δεύτερον τοῦ ἑνός, εἰ καὶ μετέχει πῃ τοῦ ἑνός. [67] ἔνθεν καὶ ἡμῖν εἷς Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, τὸ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ συνταττόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτοις θαυμάζεται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν πῶς ἓν εἰ τρία ἢ πῶς μοναρχία τὸ ἀριθμοῖς διαιρούμενον, [68] λέγομεν ὡς μιᾶς οὔσης καὶ παντελείου τῆς ἀνωτάτω οὐσίας καὶ πρώτης καὶ ἑαυτῇ ταύτης καὶ ὁμοίας κάλλει, δυνάμει, δόξῃ, καὶ ἀϊδιότητι, ἡ κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον αὐτῇ καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰ θεωρεῖται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔσται ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ μόνη τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος, τὰ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβλύζοντα καὶ προϊόντα. καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰς ἓν ἀναφέρεται αἴτιον τὸν πατέρα τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. [69] καὶ ἔτι τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ θελήσεως ἡ μοναρχία κρατύνεται, τῷ δὲ διαιρεῖσθαι ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι τὰ ἐκεῖθεν ὄντα ἀχρόνως καὶ ὁμοτίμως.

[70] Ὁ πλοῦτος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμφανίζεται· καὶ γὰρ διὰ μέσης ἔδει θεότητος τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα προελθεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν κλήσεων ἃς τῷ μονογενεῖ προσάπτομεν, αἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἵνα μία αἰτία πιστεύηται καὶ ἀρχὴ ἧς πάντα ἐξάπτεται. [71] αἱ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν δηλοῦσι τὸ πολυειδὲς καὶ διάφορον· φῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ δόξης ἀπαύγασμα λέγομεν ὅτι ἐξ ἡλίου καὶ ὡς τὸν σκότον τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφαιρούμενον· καὶ ζωὴν ἐπειδὴ ζῶμεν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κινούμεθα· λόγον δὲ ὅτι ἐκ νοῦ καὶ ὡς αἰτίαν τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὡς ἀπάγοντα τῆς ἀλογίας ἡμᾶς· εἰκόνα δὲ τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ υἱὸν μονογενῆ διά τε τὴν ἐκεῖθεν (f. 160v) πρόοδον καὶ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ταυτότητα· καὶ ὁδὸν καὶ θύραν ὅτι εὐθυποροῦμεν καὶ εἰσαγόμεθα. [72] ὅτι δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ γόνιμον δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐνταῦθα φαντάζονται. ὡς γὰρ ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῖς οὖσι καὶ οὐσία καὶ ζωὴ καὶ στάσις καὶ κίνησις καὶ τἄλλα, οὕτως καὶ ἡ αἰτία καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ γεννῶν καὶ γεννώμενον προελήλυθε, δἰ ὧν τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ γίνονται καὶ συνέχονται, καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλου προβλητικὸν ἢ γεννητικόν. ἔνθεν καὶ πᾶσα πατριὰ καὶ υἱότης ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης πατρότητος καὶ υἱότητος ὀνομάζεται. [73] ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ καθόλου φύσις, τὰς ἐν εἴδει προήγαγε καὶ αἱ ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος

---

338 –339πᾶν πλῆθος δεύτερον τοῦ ἑνός Proclus *Inst. theol.* 5.1. | 339 μετέχει πῃ τοῦ ἑνός Proclus *Inst. theol.* 1.1. ἡμῖν εἷς … 341 ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ, see I *Cor.* 8:6. | 352 Ὁ πλοῦτος … ἐμφανίζεται cf. *Rom.* 2.4, 9.23; II *Cor.* 8.2; *Eph.* 1.7, etc. | 357 φῶς … ἀληθινὸν *Jo.* 1:9. δόξης ἀπαύγασμα *Hebr.* 1:3. | 358 καὶ ὡς τὸν σκότον τῆς ψυχῆς, cf. Greg. Naz. *In s. bapt. PG* 36 col. 365. | 359 ζῶμεν … κινούμεθα *Act.* 17:28. | 360 εἰκόνα … 361 ὑποστάσεως, see *Hebr.* 1:3. | 362 καὶ ὁδὸν … 363 εἰσαγόμεθα cf. Greg. Naz. *Cum consumm. Jesus hos serm. PG* 36 col. 285D–288 A. | 368 ἔνθεν … 369 ὀνομάζεται *Eph.* 3:15.

διεστῶσαι τὰ ἄτομα. ἐντεῦθεν αἱ πρόνοιαι τῶν ὑπερτέρων αἱ ἐπιστροφαὶ τῶν δευτέρων. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μέγας δεσμὸς τῆς ἀναλογίας καὶ ὁμοιότητος, ᾧ τὰ ὄντα συνέχεται καὶ ἀλληλουχεῖται καὶ διεξάγεται. ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἐν γῇ καὶ παθητοῖς στοιχείοις, τὰ οὐράνια τὰς γενέσεις παρέχουσιν. [74] ὁ γὰρ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων παραγαγὼν Θεός, οὐχ ἃ δίδωσιν εἰς ὕπαρξιν καὶ τελείωσιν παρ' ἑτέρου δανείζεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἔχει καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὕτως ἐν Θεῷ οὐσία καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ζωὴ καὶ νοῦς καὶ κάλλος καὶ φῶς καὶ ἀλήθεια. καὶ ἔτι πρὸ τούτων, τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ γόνιμον, καὶ τἄλλα. [75] οὐχ ὁμοίως μέντοι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ αἰτίῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν, ἀλλ' ἄπειρον τὸ διάφορον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἀπαράβλητον καὶ ἀσύγκριτον. ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀΰλως καὶ ἀμερίστως καὶ αἰωνίως καὶ ἀπαθῶς, ταῦτα ὧδε ὑλικῶς καὶ μεμερισμένως καὶ ἐγχρόνως καὶ ἐμπαθῶς. καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ἐν τούτοις, ἰδέα τῶν ὄντων καὶ μέτρον καὶ τάξις ὁ δημιουργός. καὶ τῇ ἐκεῖθεν διαφόρῳ μεθέξει τῇ ἐπὶ ποσὸν καὶ ποιὸν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καὶ χεῖρον καὶ τίμιον.

[76] Ἃ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς λόγου ὃν καταγγέλλω, ὡς ἂν διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν εἶχον, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τούτων πρώτως ἐχρῆν ταῦτα. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔργον ἐμοὶ παρακαλέσαι τοὺς σοφωτάτους ὑμῶν, μὴ τοῦ τοσούτου ἀπολειφθῆναι καλοῦ, μηδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἐληλυθότος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀμελῆσαι, μηδὲ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀπώσασθαι Θεοῦ. [77] πρὸ γὰρ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπιφανείας, ἴσως καὶ συγγνώμη ἦν τοῖς τότε ἀγνοοῦσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πλανωμένοις καὶ ἀντὶ Θεοῦ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σέβουσι. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου καταγγελθέντος τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς λατρείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποδειχθείσης, καὶ ἐληλεγμένου ὡς πᾶν γεννητὸν ἢ παθητὸν ἢ ὁρώμενον ἢ κακίας ὑπαίτιον ἢ χαῖρον αἰσχρότησιν, οὐ Θεός, οὐδὲ λατρευτόν, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὸν ἀληθῶς ζητοῦντα Θεὸν ὑπερβῆναι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰ αἰσθητά. [78] τὸ καὶ ἔτι τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐναπομένειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν νεκρῶν αἰτεῖσθαι ζωήν, καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πλάσμασι καὶ μορφώμασιν, ὃ μόνῳ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων (f. 161r) Θεῷ προσοφείλεται, μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἄτοπον καὶ κινδύνου τοῦ μεγίστου παραίτιον; οὐ πόρρω ἡμῶν γενέσθαι Θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν σώσοντα. πόσον γὰρ καὶ ὑπερέχει τοῦ προσκυνοῦντος τὸ λατρευόμενον. [79] ἵνα καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἴποιμεν, ὡς ἂν εἴη τὸ μὲν τιμῶν, τὸ δὲ τιμώμενον· καὶ τὸ μὲν τὴν ἀνωτάτω χώραν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ τὴν πολλοστὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου οὐ σώματα ἄμφω, οὐκ ἐκ στοιχείων, οὐ διαλυτὰ ὅτι καὶ σύνθετα,

---

371 αἱ πρόνοιαι τῶν ὑπερτέρων cf. Ps.-Dion. Areopag. *De div. nom.* 152. | 372 ὁ μέγας δεσμὸς τῆς ἀναλογίας is a general reference to various places in Pl. *Tim.* For the exact expression, see e.g. Albinus *Epit. doctr. Plat.* 12.2, Proclus *In Plat. Tim.* 2.25.

---

393 λόγῳ ante κόσμῳ del. scriba

οὐ γεννητά, οὐ παθητά, οὐ τρεπόμενα. ταῦτα δεῖ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρ' αὐτῶν διαγνῶναι τῇ ἐξετάσει τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ διελεῖν ἄριστά τε καὶ τελεώτατα. τί μὲν Θεός; τί δὲ καὶ κτίσις; [80] καὶ προσθέσθαι τῷ κρείττονι ἀνακεχωρηκότας τοῦ χείρονος πείθομαι, καὶ ἔτι περιχαρῆναι τῇ εὐκολίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεταλήψεως. οὐ γὰρ ἀποδημῆσαι δεῖ μακράν, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν διαβῆναι ὃ κἀν τῇ ἀναλήψει τῶν μαθημάτων γένοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ τῇ καρδιᾷ σου. ῥῆμα δὲ λέγω τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύττομεν, καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. καρδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν. [81] σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀπόντα πειρᾶσθαι κτᾶσθαι τὰ διαφέροντα, κἂν ἱδρῶτες, κἂν πόνοι, κἂν χρημάτων εἰσφοραὶ πρὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας εἰσφέρωνται· προκειμένων δὲ καὶ προῖκα χαριζομένων τὸ μὴ μεταλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳστώνῃ προίεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ὀρθοῖς στοιχούντων ἐστὶ λογισμοῖς. ὃ μὴ ὑμεῖς πάθοιτε σοφώτατοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εἰπεῖν καὶ σπεῖραι τὸν λόγον καὶ διαγγεῖλαι τὰ σώζοντα, ἔστω ἐμόν· τὸ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ πεισθῆναι καὶ καρποφορῆσαι γενέσθω ὑμέτερον. [82] καὶ ὡς κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφανὴς ἡ πόλις ἐν Ἕλλησι, σοφίᾳ καὶ πολιτείᾳ καὶ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἀεὶ καταφευγόντων καὶ δεομένων, οὕτω κἀν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διαφερέτω, μὴ σῖτον μηδὲ κριθήν, βρῶσιν ἀπολλυμένην καὶ ῥέουσαν, ὑπὸ πτερωτοῖς τισιν ἅρμασιν ὡς οἱ πάλαι μῦθοι διήγγελλον, τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ γῆς [ἣν] διανέμουσα {…} καὶ νῦν τὸ φιλότιμον ἐνδεικνύσθω {…} ἀλλὰ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον, τὸν λόγον τὸν ζωτικὸν δηλαδὴ ᾧ ψυχαὶ τρέφονται πεινῶσαι Θεόν, ἄρτι καταβεβλημένον ὑμῖν, ἴσα καὶ κόκκῳ σινάπεως, {…} αὐξῆσαι δὲ τῇ μεγαλονοίᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δυνάμει καὶ τῷ τῆς γλώττης <λόγῳ>.

## Declamation of the learned monk Sophonias: Paul's speech in Athens

[1] This is not now the first time that I come before a court or am put on trial by jury. Nor do I only now begin to offer a word in defense of the Word on whose behalf I serve as ambassador. On the contrary, earlier

411 ἐγγύς … 412 ἐστίν *Rom.* 10:8. | 412 ἐν τῷ … 413 κηρύττομεν, cf. *Rom.* 10:8. | 424 βρῶσιν ἀπολλυμένην cf. *Jo.* 6:27. ὑπὸ … 425 διήγγελλον: Athens seems to be personified here as a goddess in a winged chariot (cf. the image of Athena in such a chariot evoked by Euripides *I.A.* 250–1), something normally associated with Triptolemus. The image of Athens in a winged chariot distributing food is perhaps a reference to the distribution of food at festivals such as the Panathenaea. | 426 τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον *Jo.* 6:31–32. | 427 ᾧ … Θεόν cf. Greg. Naz. *In laud. Bas. magn. Orat.* 43, 36.2–3 (ed. Boulenger). | 428 κόκκῳ σινάπεως cf. *Mt.* 13:31, *Mc.* 4:31.

406 δεῖ in mg., δὴ in textu scr. | 416 εὐτυχίας] ἐντυχίας cod.

tested and tried before many tribunals, subjected to many a trial, surviving them all by the power and divinity of the word I preach, at last I am summoned to the Areopagus. [2] I have yet to stand before a juster or worthier tribunal than this, it seems to me. I have never encountered judges more wise and benevolent than you nor ones more capable of detecting the truth of the matter. Accordingly I have the utmost confidence and hope in the justice of what the jurors decide.

[3] Men of Athens, your rule appears to surpass all others not only in wisdom but also in virtue. Noble action embellished by fitting speech is the fruit of your great learning. Indeed, you take equal care in being able both to speak and to act well. This is evident from the fact that your city has always remained a guide concerning duty as well as being a partner in the best of undertakings for our ethnically related Greeks and for other more distant peoples. It is evident, too, from the way in which you have treated me now: [4] You have not sent me off as an ignorant foreigner or shown anger towards me as an author of strange precepts or indicted me for impiety as one differing in religion. Instead you gave me your right hand in friendship and considered my direct way of speaking and my simple dress and my apparent poverty as something of a wonder. [5] This is the first thing, gentlemen, for which one might praise you and your city – your benevolence and gentleness towards visitors and those in need. The second is one especially valued by me, namely, the freedom given me to speak and your insistence on my fearlessly proclaiming the word I bring, persuading both barbarians and Greeks to share in it as in the greatest and most divine gift, as I travel over land and sea. [6] Furthermore you, though Athenians, have not disdained to hear a Palestinian declaiming in the Areopagus, the court honored above all others among you. In the way in which you have been minded to me and with the same benevolence and wisdom with which you have treated me, be, accordingly, likeminded judges of what I say, preferring nothing to the truth – not personal appearance, not the law of the city, not its customs. [7] Moreover, I beg and beseech of you not to be shocked at my unaccustomed manner of speech and strange dialect or my lack of grace nor to receive my speech with distaste like men fickle in matters of wisdom. Rather, be prepared to hear me as I speak – familiarly and according to my upbringing. Attend to this alone: whether I tell the truth or not. [8] The excellence of a herald and of such as I lies in this: to announce the message of God and to bear witness to what one has seen and heard and been commanded. The excellence of wise listeners and of such as you lies in this: to discern the better course and choose to serve the living and true God, detaching yourselves from

visible and tangible things that have nothing of the divine and adored nature.

[9] I shall deal briefly with who I am and whence I have come to you, as not being necessary information. About the Word, however, whose representative and ambassador I am and which I feel compelled to proclaim to each and all, I shall discourse at greater length, for the divine must take precedence over the human in all cases.

[10] I am Jewish by race but was born in Tarsus of Cilicia. I chanced to have parents moderate in both character and wealth who, on account of certain actions, were deemed worthy of Roman citizenship, and so I was brought up as a free citizen. [11] I moved to my compatriots in Palestine and was thoroughly trained according to our ancestral education. Education among Jews means knowing and correctly reciting our legal customs, and understanding the sense both of the lawgiver and of the sayings of the prophets after him, because the sense lies mostly in the hidden meaning. Education among Jews means both devotion to religion and dedication to ritual prayers. [12] Investigating the matter, I emulated the most esteemed of the groups among us and swore allegiance to the Pharisees. I partook in our philosophical training in so far as native custom allowed. The Hebrew custom is to acquire only so much of knowledge as is necessary, but not to investigate any further nor to be constantly concerned with it nor to busy oneself with that which is not easily grasped by means of common reasonings. You will hardly find any Jew who is an investigator or an innovator in such things. The hereditary customs appeared strong and firmly fixed when unshaken by any novelty. [13] God's promise to Abraham, the founder of our race, as is written in the Holy Scriptures, was that the nations would be blessed in his offspring, and in these final days the promise has now reached its fulfilment, for it is impossible for God to lie. In addition to many other witnesses, I myself have become a witness to the manifestation of salvation and grace to the world. [14] I proclaim that the Word of God, existing before the ages, a living being, ever co-existing with God, through whom and through whose might and wisdom the begetting Father fashioned this world, has now by the good pleasure of the God of the universe appeared in human form and lived among men in Palestine, where it had been told in prophesy that he would live. [15] God joined with man in order that he might perfect the nature of his own creatures and so that our downfallen nature might be restored, so that man, retreating from the things that are not, might recognize the true God, and so that the virtue of heaven might also dwell on earth,

once the teacher from above had arrived, and so that the indeterminate and mobile might find stability next to the immobile.

[16] A pure Virgin was therefore entrusted with the child-bearing in order that there might be no defilement in the same place as God through whom salvation comes. A new woman thus ushered in a new age – a mother without a man, a virgin giving birth. It was in this way that the in-dwelling of the Word in the flesh was destined to come to pass. [17] Finally when, by both deeds and words, he manifested who he was and whence he had come and by what means man might be saved, he went to a voluntary death on the cross, in order that he might undo, by judgment and justice, the power of those ruling the darkness of this age in hostility to us, and so that he might destroy the tyranny of the rebellious forces that have led to idols and fabrications fashioned by our own human hands, which separate us from God our Maker and give room to passions by an assault on the intellect. [18] He has destroyed, then, our death by his own death and has by his mortification determined our life and loosened by his burial the bonds of sin. He rose on the third day, as we saw, and ascended to heaven and returned to his dominion, becoming the first fruit and prelude of the common resurrection of us all at the end of time. He reveals where those who have believed in him shall dwell hereafter and who shall be deemed worthy of glory. [19] In sum, this was the goal of the divine disposition and the will of the God of the universe, which he accomplishes through his word. Its fulfilment means that man should be divinized and attain his pristine dignity and receive that beauty with which he shone before the fall. The Jewish prophets announced that these things would come to pass, though they were born long before the events. Many of the Greek poets have been in agreement with them, as well as many of the more perfect among the philosophizers, those who have in many respects hit upon reality.

[20] Convinced myself by the truth of these things, I come to you and proclaim them to you. I have become a minister of God's mysteries and a servant of his secrets. I urge the foremost among the Greeks to share in the Wisdom that has appeared from heaven, and I declare that God has now reconciled the world to himself through the mediation of his Son. [21] Accordingly, I have traversed many islands and mainlands and spread the fruit of the good news among many peoples, with many toils and trials opposing me. Yet I have overcome them all in Christ who empowers me in accordance with his promise to strengthen me when he first sent me on my mission. [22] Now, for the same purpose, I have arrived on Attic soil and appear before your tribunal, both proclaiming

and pleading the same case, namely, to reject impiety and worldly desires and to live chastely, justly, piously in the present age, in expectation of the great hope and glorious manifestation of our great God and Savior, [23] neither postponing that which brings salvation nor fleeing the approach to the Word due to the consciousness of evil deeds, as though you would not be welcome or able to share in the good, as being thoroughly corrupted. [24] Look at me: once I was an insolent persecutor of those belonging to Christ who were put to trial under a great multitude of wicked hardships. Now, however, I have been granted mercy as the herald and apostle of that which I once sought to destroy. So lay eager hold of your own salvation.

[25] This, then, had to be said, and it was granted me. I repeat that I was not among the first followers of the Word nor did I at first swear allegiance to Christ our teacher but belonged to his persecutors and abusers. Whereupon I caused every injury to those serving the gospel message, lifting my hand against them, dragging them to trial, stirring up the people and inciting the rage of those in power unto their injury. [26] Being a zealot of hereditary traditions, I was filled with disgust, as though our traditions were being violated as the gospel grew in strength. But then God had mercy on me in my headlong rush and called upon me from heaven. In the middle of my way at midday, a divine voice came to me, revealing Christ and putting an end to my wrongdoing. [27] Indeed he incapacitated my eyes with the lightening flash that accompanied his voice but, after my instruction and initiation, he healed me again. From there he sent me to mete out even to others what I myself had heard and been taught. He commanded me to offer myself as a monument of repentance and a way to conversion and a model for those who would believe in him. [28] He sent me, naked of every provision, on a long journey, throwing me upon the raging waves to take my stand before the kings and peoples of states. By a custom confirmed over time, he promised only his influence [29] which saves when present and often breathes life into the already dead by the great force of its impact. When he takes away the help to the word (*logos*) that comes from the word (*logos*), he adds the help of miraculous signs in order that what I have said might be confirmed not by artful skill or human persuasion but by divine alone.

[30] The mystery is rejected and gainsaid by many, and the excess of goodness risks becoming an excuse for ignorance. The magnitude of the gifts transcending every intellect is disbelieved and even held in contempt due to the low estate of the preachers, so that such things are scarcely believed. For ordinary citizens have been preferred to men of

high rank, and paupers to educated gentlemen renowned for both fame and wealth. [31] A further reason is the difficulty of the commandments. Hearing such things is disagreeable to those who are enslaved and bowed down and living in sin. We not <only> castigate the ends of sinful actions, but we even attach blame to their beginnings. We require an account not only of deeds but also of words and thoughts. [32] We demand that one turn away from the here and now and live for the hereafter, convinced that we have a better and more lasting possession in heaven than this perishing one on earth. It is not merely the person who does not do what he ought not who is admired among us. Rather a good person is reproached for not being perfect. [33] You see, it is not the withdrawal from base actions but the attachment to better things that we judge to be perfection. The union with the most pure and the most bright for which we strive resides in nothing other than in complete holiness and sanctity. Surely we communicate with God when we also resemble him. According to the sage, it is unright for the impure to lay hold of the pure. Therefore, the reception of the gospel message is arduous. [34] Further, the celebrated Cross and the outrages before the Cross disturb and upset rational thoughts. Finally, they think that to say that the highest and primary Essence was to such an extent attached to our inferior nature is not serious or decent. [35] Most people, I think, in this respect are ignorant of the words of divine disposition and do not gaze at the depth of wisdom. Through these the universe is governed and guided by him who in so many cases produces opposites by means of opposites and the most honorable things by means of the most common. From corruption he produces generation, and from imperfect beginnings the most perfect forms in nature, so that they may be admired all the more and so that every delusion of human opinions and assumptions may be trampled down. [36] And, because the knowledge of God did not come to men through philosophical wisdom, he pleases to save believers by the foolishness of the gospel message. Surely, the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and his weakness conquers overwhelming power and his apparent illogicality all intellect and reason. The God of the universe is not going to make use of human criteria, nor will the divine and ineffable nature follow our laws and dispositions or our assumptions about good and evil. [37] Again, it is necessary that the mobile be contained by the immobile, the indeterminate be ordered by the due measure, and that illusory becoming be shaped by that which truly is. For God is an impartial law unto us, as someone says, and the inclination towards the higher realm is adaptation and perfection.

[38] Talk of the Cross, though it has seemed and still seems foolishness for those who are perishing and living in godlessness, is surely not so for those who are saved and who know God, but quite the opposite. Indeed, we believe that the highest might of God is revealed in the Cross. Though it seems so to some, belief in the crucified One is not shameful now to me. May no other good accrue to me than to boast in the Cross of Christ through whom the world is crucified to me and I to the world! [39] Not indeed from madmen but from the sane should one accept judgments about reality. To some people honey seems bitter and the sun unpleasant, for example, to those who are feverish or suffering from some disease of the eyes. So what then? Is this so in reality? Certainly not. Therefore, we must follow God and true and sane discourse (*logos*) and in this way come to judgments about reality. [40] If anything unbelievable or impossible is expressed in the word (*logos*), it is in order that we may meditate in our thoughts on how God cares for the human race, how he has partaken of human nature, how he enlivened his own temple three days dead, how he saves us by these means, we who were lost, and how he sets the fallen soul upright again and deems us worthy of an ascent to the summit of the beatific vision in the best of company.

[41] Inasmuch as every nature is noble because it comes from the Good, it is not unseemly or unworthy for the Demiurge to make use of his own creatures and offspring, most especially when he is carrying out divine salvation for the nature he has assumed. The Word will remain undefiled even when it appears in our human condition. There is no more a diminishment of his glory due to the assumption of the inferior nature than there is an increase of his majesty due to his love for humankind. [42] We shall not fear lest his impassible and blessed nature suffer any change by the communion of the immaterial and unmembered with matter nor by the descent of the invisible to the visible realm. That would be as if the sun were defiled by traversing all things with its rays or as if fire were stained by mingling with unclean substances or, even more, as if the intellect, being the place of the forms, had been damaged in its nature by their reception, or the faculty of sense by sense impressions – thus we may understand the things beyond us from the things among us. [43], Since God himself always contains created beings and has forethought for them, when is he ever separated from them? Does he not constantly reach across the universe and is beyond the universe? Does he not as Being transcend every being in an undefiled manner? Does not the wise man say that the One is never absent from any being? Even if he is by nature infinite and remote from

things that have been brought into existence, still both by his power and operation, he is in contact with intellect and souls and bodies. [44] All things are full of God, as the poet says. And we are his offspring, as he puts it. One of our prophets from Palestine states: "I fill up the heavens and the earth, says the Lord." Thus, the fact that the Creator bends down to his creatures in danger and saves them is not an example of weakness but of his surpassing might, as it has been said. [45] Even Plato philosophizes about this in the same way – if you would rather put your trust in your own native writers and follow their opinions – when he introduces the Demiurge taking hold of this storm-tossed and bewildered universe in danger of sinking into the region of diversity. [46] For having sat at the helm, and as Plato says, having become the helmsman of the universe, he thus saves it from the billows and cures what is sick. This restoration which he carries out in the universal case concerns, in the particular case, ourselves who are the most honorable part of the whole as regards this world. Indeed, the rational human being transcends every irrational and inanimate thing in the visible realm. [47] In another discourse I say that all things in heaven and on earth are recapitulated and renewed in Christ, because we believe that all things were created in him, but our doctrine does not imply that the assumption of the flesh by the Word limits the infinite or circumscribes the divine power or that the divine nature is in any way changed by its communion with human nature. [48] Rather, since there was a need of salvation, and this had to come about through communion, and since it was not possible for him to carry his divinity unclothed, he put on a body as a kind of veil in order that our human condition might be sanctified in as close proximity to his own as possible, as has been said, and in order that the condemnation might be abolished when death was put to death by the flesh. As through one man, death entered the world when he disobeyed the commandment, so again resurrection and restoration came about through one man who had no sin. [49] Thus, we say that the inapproachable has become accessible for us, his creatures, with the divine nature losing none of its glories. Thus we see the perfect One emptying himself, yet remaining what he was, the free One taking the form of a slave, and the immortal One who is above suffering becoming obedient to the Father unto death on the cross. [50] For it became him for whom are all things and by whom are all things, who had brought many children into glory, to perfect the author of their salvation, by his passion. God made him a propitiatory mediator between himself and us and granted access to himself to those who go through him. [51] For no one goes to the Father but through the Son,

nor does anyone know the Father but the Son who reveals him. He is called both sacrificial victim and lamb as well as priest because he has offered himself up to God for our sakes. Just as by our sharing in his sufferings, he grants dispassion, and by our being buried with him through baptism, he gives us life with him, so too by the reception of his body in the way in which he gave us the right to receive it, he grants us immortality. [52] The Father has given to him all right of judgment to be exercised at the end of the ages, for God will bring every man to trial and demand an account of his manner of life. He who will then judge will also effect the much discussed resurrection of the dead. [53] He is the one who has already become its author and bears the title of the first-born from the dead. For the trumpet shall sound at the last, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible being must put on incorruption; and this mortal must put on immortality. [54] When that happens, this too will happen: death will be swallowed up in victory. Thus, there will be a cessation of all the change and motion from which sin arises and, through sin, death, when a state of everlasting restoration will succeed this age. Then will every knee bend in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue will proclaim that Jesus Christ is Lord unto the glory of God the Father. [55] But we confess a resurrection of the whole human being, not of the body alone, not of the soul alone – for that is not a human being. Rather, just as down here it is a human being who does right and wrong, so too it needs be that the one who is raised up in the end and judged must be a full human being. Both parts having acted, the whole must be censured or rewarded by a righteous judge.

[56] If anyone should raise the objection why Christ has appeared in the final age and not earlier so that more persons might be saved, we would answer: It is not because of indifference to people of earlier times that he came to save people of later times, but all the means were introduced even for the former for whom it was necessary that they be converted and restored. [57] These were: emplanted reason, the contemplation of creation, the changes contrary in season and manner by which vice is disciplined and virtue honored. The way back to the goodness from which we had fallen was elaborated. However, these earlier people proved to be foolish, so the great help arrived in later times of more evil dangers. [58] But if he who sets times and seasons with authority holds one thing in the depths of his wisdom but brings about some other thing in a slow way by accomplishing all things at the proper moment, then it must be allowed him. Thus, while putting up with the impious men and deniers of the past is proof of his patience,

saving people of later times who ran to him not of their own accord but were called beforehand is proof of his goodness. His finding the way in which heaven might be easily opened for those on earth is proof that he will be wisely hymned.

[59] Further, since both in nature and in art and all human endeavours, perfection comes not at the start but at the finish, what prevents there also being in divine matters gradual progress and advancement to the highest philosophy and most perfect religion? The things that went before were as types and preparations and introductions to piety. In this respect it was necessary to allow every wickedness to be consumed and every disease to advance to the incurable point so that each treatment and remedy taken from anywhere else might be tested. In this way the One with the ability to remedy had to be recognized as he triumphed over it and abolished it. [60] Hence every form of wickedness was invented and practiced and manifested among men of former times, and every impious concept and doctrinal aberrance found its inventor and advocate. Hence the law of the Jews, introduced as a help, did not perfect in any way nor free from sins nor wing nor deify the soul, because it was preoccupied with material and carnal aspects. [61] Hence the philosophy of the Greeks given by God unto the knowledge of God erred in its conception, making an investigation of the things of God rather than of God himself. There has sometimes been philosophy among some which has taught that the sources of baseness are even principles of divinity. [62] Because of and in the midst of all this, in the end there came to heal us neither an angel nor ambassador but the Word of God himself. That which neither the law nor human wisdom could do, he who dwells in heaven, having assumed our lower nature, accomplished.

[63] But reason (*logos*) accuses impious men of the past before the incarnation of the Word (*logos*), even those preeminent in wisdom, because, though such a doctrine of divine knowledge was before their very eyes, they did not recognize God from his visible creation. Nor from the wisdom that may be contemplated in created things, nor from their maintenance, order, movement, did those men infer the creative cause. [64] Nor, by means of his artworks, did they apprehend the Artisan, such as he is in power, in wisdom, in goodness, and yet Creation proclaims the Creator more clearly than a trumpet. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, both his eternal might and deity. [65] Yet, as though they had found a blind man for a guide in their investigation concerning God, they were transported away from heaven

and the invisible realm to earth and the perceptible realm. They placed transcendent nature on a level with things seen and felt, with manmade products. They laid down and taught others that this transcendent nature is multiple and passible and full of agitation and giving agitation to others, confirming the godlessness in certain myths.

[66] But, o wisest of men, how is that which is worshipped divine unless utterly venerable? How most perfect or most full or mightiest in power or transcendent in wisdom or supreme in virtue, if it is subject to passion or deficient or lacking anything, if it undergoes change or alteration with respect to itself as to place, time, habit and power? Again, how is it the first good or principle if it is an instigator of evil or many-ruled or factious or suffers in all those other respects that poets and writers say? Surely there can not be many gods. Why is there a need of many for those who have not served even one? Multitude is not prior to unity. On the contrary, all multitude is secondary to unity, even though it somehow shares in unity. [67] Hence, too, for us there is one God, the Father, from whom all things come, and we unto him. And there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. And there is one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things, who arrays them all with God and Christ. But if one should marvel at our teaching about how one may be three, how that which is numerically distinguished may be a monarchy, [68] then we say that, while there is one Essence, all perfect, supreme, primary, that is alike to itself in beauty, power, glory and eternity, the distinction can be seen in respect of that which in the essence causes and that which is caused. One must be the single principle and source of the superessential divinity, but the other two flow and proceed from the source. In the first case, we refer to the one cause, the Father, and, in the other, those proceeding from him. [69] Furthermore, by its sameness the monarchy rules the essence and power and perfection, but, still, it is distinguished as to persons which come from it timelessly and with equal honor.

[70] A wealth of good attributes becomes evident. For the God of all things had to approach his creatures through a mediated divinity. Therefore, of the appellations which we apply to the Only-Begotten, some have a reference to the cause, namely that the Only-Begotten proceeds from the cause, in order that we believe in only one cause and one principle on which everything depends. [71] Other appellations make clear the multitude and variety of his gifts to us. For we call him True Light and the Brightness of Glory because he is from the sun, removing the darkness of the soul; and Life, for we live and move in him; and Word, because he is from Mind and is the cause of created

beings and leads us away from our irrationality; and the image of the unseen God, and imprint of his Person; and the only-begotten Son due to his procession from him and the identity of their Essence; and Way and Gate, for we walk straight and enter. [72] This is because where the causal and generative is, it is plain that from there the images are formed. For, as being and life and rest and movement and all else derive to created beings from God, so too the cause and that which is subordinate to the cause, the begetting principle and the begotten preceded creation. Through them everything both is and becomes and is maintained. One emits or generates the other. Hence, all fatherhood and sonhood in heaven and on earth are named after the first fatherhood and sonhood. [73] From that source the general nature in the universe has produced the specific natures, and the particular natures that differ in species have produced the individuals. From that source come the providences of the superiors, the conversions of the subordinates. From that source comes the great chain of analogy and resemblance by which beings are maintained and held together and brought out. From that source the heavenly bodies provide generations for the changeable elements on earth. [74] When God brings forth things from what is not, he does not borrow from another what he gives unto existence and perfection but from what he has and from himself. As in God there is being, so too in us, as well as life and mind and beauty and light and truth, and even prior to these, then, the causal and generative principle. [75] Not in the same way, however, do these things exist in the cause as in the effects, but, rather, infinite is the difference, infinite the incomparability and surpassingness of his Majesty. The divine exists immaterially and undividedly and eternally and impassibly, but created things exist materially and dividedly and temporally and passibly. To put the whole thing in these few words: the Demiurge is the archetype and measure and order of created beings, and the position of superior or inferior, worthier or worse, is determined in created beings by their varying participation in him as to extent and quality.

[76] I have, then, as briefly as I could, said the things most necessary for you to hear concerning the Gospel and the Word of life that I proclaim. However, it is also my task to encourage the wisest among you not to fail to attain so great a beauty or neglect the good that has come within your grasp or reject the knowledge of God. [77] Before the saving revelation came, there was perhaps forgiveness for the ignorant and mistaken men of the time, who worshipped the things of God rather than God. But now the word has been proclaimed to the world, and true religion has been taught to men, declaring that nothing generated or

passible or subject to evil or rejoicing in shamelessness is either God or worthy of worship. It declares that every true seeker of God must transcend sensible things with his mind. [78] Furthermore, to linger in the visible realm, and to ask for life from the dead, and to dedicate to the figures and shapes of human fabrication the reverence due only to the God of the universe – is that not completely absurd and the cause of the greatest danger? I call upon my God and Savior to be near to us! How greatly does the worshipped transcend the adorer! [79] To repeat myself about the same matter: there is that which honors and that which is honored. The one occupying the highest position, the other, having the lowest position away from that one. Both are not bodies, nor made from the elements, nor decomposable as though composed, nor generated, nor passible, nor changing. You, too, must be able to distinguish among these two in examining your reasoning and choose what is best and most perfect. Which is God and which created being? [80] I am persuaded that those who withdraw themselves from what is worse will side with what is better and, moreover, rejoice exceedingly in glad participation in the good. You need not travel far nor cross the sea, something that might indeed occur in acquiring scholarly knowledge. No, the word (ῥῆμα) is near to you, in your mouth and in your heart! I mean the word (ῥῆμα) of faith which I proclaim and the confession of his name. For with the heart we believe unto righteousness, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. [81] It belongs indeed to sensible men to attempt to possess what they do not have when it is an excellent thing, even if sweat and toil and expenditure are imposed before their successful attainment. But not to lay hold of gifts lying before them freely given but to let them slip out of indolence belongs to men who are not in line with right reasoning. O wisest of men, may that not be your experience! Proclaiming and sowing the word and announcing salvation is my role. But may listening and being persuaded and reaping the fruits be yours! [82] As in other ways, your city is outstanding among the Greeks for its wisdom and polity and protection of needy refugees, so too may it also excel in piety, distributing to those everywhere on earth not grain, not barley – food perishable and fleeting – from atop winged chariots as the old myths have told […] May it show its generosity […] but the heavenly bread, that is, the living Word, by which souls who hunger for God are nourished and which has now been sown for you like a mustard seed […] and to grow among you through magnanimity and through the power of the Word and the (word) of the tongue.

## Abstract

Codex Marcianus Graecus 266 contains a declamation in the character of Paul speaking before the Athenian Areopagus that is attributed to the learned monk Sophonias. This previously unpublished text is valuable both as an example of late Byzantine rhetoric and as additional testimony to the Sophonias known through historical sources to have acted as a representative of Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos and to whom a paraphrase of Aristotelian works is attributed. The text is introduced, edited and translated for the first time.

# EIN GRIECHISCHER DOPPELVERS SULṬĀN WALADS NEU GELESEN

DIMITRI THEODORIDIS / MÜNCHEN

Auf die nicht unerheblichen Schwierigkeiten, die arabischschriftlich überlieferten griechischen Teile im persischen Gesamtwerk des berühmten persischen Mystikers im seltschukischen Anatolien Mawlānā Ǧalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (starb 1273) und seines Sohnes Sulṭān Walad (starb 1312), griechisch zu transkribieren, wurde öfters hingewiesen. Die bisher erfolgten editorischen Bemühungen und die an sie knüpfenden Verbesserungsvorschläge haben indes gezeigt, dass die angesprochenen Schwierigkeiten größtenteils überwindbar sind.[1] Die Texte, welche in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. und in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jh. in dem *muslimisch-griechischen* Milieu von Ikonion/Qonya, jener ‚polykulturell-weltoffen quirlenden Rum-Seldschukenmetropole'[2] entstanden sind und uns heute vorliegen, sind mit der Summe jener vor 1952 unternommenen fragwürdigen Versuche, Versuche im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes, nicht zu vergleichen.[3]

Nach der Überwindung der Fremdheit, um nicht zu sagen der Exotik, die der arabischschriftlichen Überlieferung der als ‚seldschukische Verse' apostrophierten Texte anhaftet, ist zu erwarten, dass sie als ernstzunehmende Aufgabe, als selbstständiger Teil eines noch nicht oder kaum wahrgenommenen, muslimisch-griechischen religiösen Schrifttums, innerhalb der spätbyzantinisch-neugriechischen philologischen Forschung, ihren berechtigten Platz finden. Es müsste lediglich der Weg zu diesem Platz geebnet werden. Neue Anregungen und neue

---

1 Für Hinweise auf den Stand der Forschung siehe D. THEODORIDIS, Versuch einer Neuausgabe von drei griechischen Doppelversen aus dem Dīwān von Sulṭān Walad. *Byzantion* 74 (2004) 433–451. Den dort angegebenen bibliographischen Angaben sollte der Artikel von M. KAPPLER, Graphic adaptation in Sultân Veled's Greek and Turkish verses. *Turkic Languages* 6 (2002) 215–228 hinzugefügt werden.

2 Nach dem Urteil von U. HOLBEIN: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* Nr. 215 vom 16. September 2003, S. 42.

3 Einer dieser Versuche, der auf das Konto eines Konstantinopler Griechen gehen dürfte (etwa B. Mirmiroglou oder Th. Mentzos?), wurde von A. GÖLPINARLI, Mevlânâ Celâleddin. Hayatı, felsefesi, eserleri, eserlerinden seçmeler. Istanbul [3]1959, 260 f. veröffentlicht. Die Transkription in griechischer Schrift wurde unverändert im Vorwort von N. SARRES zum Buch von L. MYSTAKIDOU, Νεοπλατωνικά στοιχεία στο Μενεβί του Τζελαλεττίν Ρουμί και η κοινότητα των μεβλεβήδων. Athen 2002, S. 7, übernommen.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.009

Vorschläge, den einen oder anderen Vers überhaupt zu entziffern bzw. anders als bisher zu lesen und zu interpretieren, gehört zu den vordringlichsten Tätigkeiten zur Erstellung einer endgültigen Ausgabe der überlieferten Fragmente mit einem unvermeidbaren Minimum an zweifelhaften Textstellen. Da Sulṭān Walad Muslime für die Lehre und den Weg seines Vaters gewinnen wollte, dichtete er dementsprechend leicht verständlich, ohne sich im Dickicht einer komplizierten persischen Dichtkunst zu verirren. Seine Gedichte sind nicht nur Zeugnis seines inneren Erlebens, sondern auch ein missionierender, sich unermüdlich wiederholender Appell (‚*kommt zu Mawlānā!*') an seine Glaubensgenossen. Die Gründung des allbekannten *mawlawī*-Ordens ist hauptsächlich das Ergebnis *seiner* Bemühungen, nicht der seines entrückten und mächtigen Vaters, der wohl kaum Sinn und Muße für organisatorische Belange aufgebracht hätte.

Will man nun die griechischen Dichtungen Sulṭān Walads erschließen, so darf dabei weder der islamische Hintergrund noch die allgegenwärtige Diktion der islamischen Mystik außer Sicht kommen. Auf die Tatsache hinzuweisen, wie die an sich zwingende Berücksichtigung des öfters sehr präsenten, den Text beherrschenden islamischen Gedankengutes für das glaubwürdige Lesen und das richtige Verstehen einer Textstelle unerlässlich ist, ist das Anliegen folgender Zeilen, in denen ein Spezialfall, nämlich eine bisher unerkannt gebliebene, allerdings recht freie, *ḥadīt*-Wiedergabe Sulṭān Walads, abgehandelt wird.

Innerhalb einer größeren Texteinheit, bestehend aus zweiundzwanzig arabischschriftlichen griechischen Doppelversen im *Rabābnāma* von Sulṭān Walad,[4] nimmt der achte durch seine ‚schlichte Schwierigkeit' eine besondere Stellung ein. Das arabischschriftliche Konsonantengerippe, mit dessen Hilfe beide Verse niedergeschrieben bzw. überliefert wurden, sieht folgendermaßen aus:

*'jpn 's tskjnm' jwn tndnj*
*'jl' pjt'kh pšjšm's tndnj*

Die Herausgeber P. Burguière und R. Mantran sahen sich berechtigt, den Doppelvers in griechischer Schrift wiederherstellen zu können in der Lautung:

ἔμπαιν' εἰς τὸ σκήνωμα οἱὸν τὴν ταφή
ἔλα, πέθανι̯ε ψυχή μας στὴν ταφή!

4 P. Burguière/R. Mantran, Quelques vers grecs du XIII^e siècle en caractères arabes. *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 63–79.

und in der Bedeutung ‚entre dans cette tente (qu'est le corps) comme dans le tombeau: allons, meurs, notre âme dans ce tombeau!‘[5] Den Herausgebern ist es nicht einmal aufgefallen, dass die auch im islamischen Glauben unsterbliche Seele im Grab *nicht* sterben kann!

Es mussten vierzig Jahre seit dieser immerhin einigermaßen lesbaren Pionierleistung vergehen, bis D. Dedes in einem weiteren Versuch die Restauration

εἶπεν, Εἰς τὸ σκήνωμα γοιόν τὴν ταφή·
ἔλα πέ<ν>θα κ' ἡ ψυχή μας τὴν ταφή

vorschlug,[6] deren Sinn er in einer freien Wiedergabe (παράφραση) ins Griechische übertrug mit: er sagt (höchstens: ‚er sagte [εἶπεν] D. Th.): die Seele ist im Körper wie wenn sie begraben wäre / auch unsere Seele soll dieses Begräbnis betrauern‘ (αὐτὸς λέει: ἡ ψυχὴ στὸ σῶμα εἶναι σὰν θαμμένη / ἂς πενθήσει καὶ ἡ ψυχή μας τὴν ταφὴν αὐτήν).

Das, was man in diesem Doppelvers mehr ahnt denn versteht, konzentriert sich in der bildlichen Darstellung einer dem Grab ähnlichen ‚Behausung‘, eines dem Grab ähnlichen lebenslangen ‚Aufenthaltsortes‘ der Seele. Der zweite Vers ist ein bisschen dunkler und wirft nur noch Fragen auf: soll die Seele doch sterben oder soll die Seele ob ihres Wohnsitzes trauern? Ein dritter Anlauf einer Verbesserung und der Kommentar dazu sollen die Schwierigkeiten zu eliminieren versuchen. Als Text schlage ich vor:

ἐμπαίν' εἰς τὸ σκήνωμα γοιὸν τὸ ταφί<ν>·
ἔλα, πέθανε, ψὐχή μ' ἀς τὸ θανεῖ<ν>!

Die Übersetzung dürfte lauten: ‚sie (sc. die Seele) tritt in den Körper ein, wie ins Grab / komm, meine Seele, stirb vor dem (= vor deinem natürlichen) Tod (ab)!‘ Dazu folgende Anmerkungen:

**1**) ἐμπαίν(ει) im Präsens. Im Vers wird keine Aufforderung an die Seele gestellt, in den Körper einzutreten, wie Burguière und Mantran angenommen haben. Dedes hat mit der Lesart εἶπεν offensichtlich eine Wiederherstellung des Verses verfehlt.

**2**) Das Wort σκήνωμα, das Burguière und Mantran vorsichtig mit ‚tente (qu'est le corps)‘ übersetzt haben, hatte bereits im 14. Jh. aufgehört, nur eine fromme Metapher des Kurzlebigen und Vergänglichen

5 Burguière/Mantran, ebd. 66 f. (Text) und 69 (Übersetzung).
6 D. Dedes, Τὰ ἑλληβνικὰ ποιήματα τοῦ Μαυλανᾶ Ρουμῆ καὶ τοῦ γιοῦ του Βαλέντ κατὰ τον 13ον αἰώνα. *Τὰ Ἱστορικά* 10/18–19 (Juni/Dezember 1993) 3–22, bes. 13 und 16.

(‚Zelt‘ > ‚Körper‘) zu sein und bedeutete einfach ‚Körper‘. In dieser sekundär entwickelten Bedeutung kommt es vor im mehrsprachigen so genannten *Rasuliden*-Wörterbuch,[7] wo in einer Reihe von Synonymen zu lesen ist: (arabisch:) *al-badan*, (persisch:) *tan*, (′türkisch′:) *boy*, (griechisch:) *skinoma* <*skjnwm’*>, (armenisch:) *anj.*[8]

Es sollte an dieser Stelle nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass im Abschnitt mit den griechischen Versen im *Ibtidānāma* von Sulṭān Walad der Doppelvers

*’pj tn j’ ’ḏw skwṯksn*
*k’ẖtw fwβw twṯjw čkwṯksn*

vorkommt, der als

επί την γην εδώ *σηκωθήκουσαν
κι αχ το φόβο του Θιού *τσακωθήκουσαν

gelesen und veröffentlicht wurde.[9] Seine Bedeutung wäre ‚hier auf der Erde sind sie aufgestanden / und wurden von der Gottesfurcht erdrückt‘. Der Herausgeber hält σηκωθήκουσαν (< σηκώθηκαν) und τσακωθήκουσαν (< τσακώθηκαν) jeweils für eine ‚nicht attestierte Form‘ und bezeichnet die Lesung als ‚rekonstruiert‘. Wenn man jedoch unter dem letzten arabischschriftlichen Wort eine ursprüngliche Schreibung sk<n>wṯkn sich vorstellen kann, dann wäre eine Rekonstruktion der griechischen Verse in

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδῶ σκηνώθηκαν
κι’ ἐχ τὸ<ν> φόβο<ν> τοῦ θεοῦ τσακώθηκαν

wohl zumutbar und eine Übersetzung ‚sie (sc. die Seelen) sind hier auf der Erde in einen Körper (σκήνωμα) geschlüpft und aus Angst vor Gott

7 Vgl. D.M. Varisco/ G. R. Smith (eds.), The manuscript of al-Malik al-Afḍal al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī b. Dāūd b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Ibn Rasūl (d. 778/1377). A Medieval Arabic anthology from the Yemen. Warminster 1998, Faksimile-S. 186–206 und 211.

8 Darüber s. P.B. Golden, The Byzantine Greek elements in the Rasulid hexaglot. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985 [1987]) 41–166, vor allem S. 131, und T. Halasi-Kun/P. B. Golden/L. Ligeti/E. Schütz (trans.), P.B. Golden (ed.). The king’s dictionary. The Rasûlid hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol. *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung: Zentralasien*, 4. Leiden/Boston/Köln 2000, 107.

9 M. Kappler, Die griechischen Verse aus dem Ibtidâ-nâme von Sultân Veled, in M. Kappler/M. Kirchner/P. Zieme/R. Muhamedowa (eds.), Trans-Turkic studies. Festschrift in honour of Marcel Erdal. *Türk Dilleri Araştırma Dizisi*, 49. Istanbul 2010, 379–397 und bes. 390, Vers 6a.

gebrochen‘ recht passend. Die fleischliche Hülle, das σκήνωμα ist für die Seele verhängnisvoll. Diesem widrigen Umstand verdankt die Seele die für sie fremde und unsinnige Angst vor Gott, die eine Entfremdung und Entfernung von ihm mit sich bringt, was unabwendbar zu ihrem Verderben führt. Einzig und allein die rasche und gründliche Abtötung des Fleisches kann die Seele vor den schlimmen Folgen eines Untergangs retten.

**3**) ταφί<ν>: Das Neutrum ταφίν ‚Grab‘ ist m. E. dem Abstraktum ταφή ‚Begräbnis, Beisetzung‘ entschieden vorzuziehen, da es sich um eine klar begrenzte Räumlichkeit handelt, dem σκήνωμα vergleichbar. Die Graphie *tndanj* (varia lectio: *nndanj*) endet zwar mit *yā’*, aber eine Verschreibung oder gar eine spätere Angleichung an neuere Formen wäre durchaus denkbar.

**4**) Der Imperativ πέθανε hat aufgrund der arabischschriftlichen Vorlage *pjṯ’kh* Verwirrung gestiftet. Die Vermutung von Burguière und Mantran, es handle sich hierbei um die Wiedergabe des nasalen /ŋ/ wie gewöhnlich im Osmanischen durch ein *kāf*, ist nicht richtig, hatte aber als Folge die falsche Lesung πε<ν>θα κ(αί) von Dedes. Dem hier auftauchenden Problem liegt m. E. keine phonetische Entwicklung griechischer Mundarten Anatoliens, sondern eine paläographische zugrunde. Das diakritische Zeichen (ein Punkt) auf dem arabischen Buchstaben *nūn* nach dem *ālif* ist durch die schwungvolle Hand eines Kopisten etwas länglich und schräg von oben rechts nach unten links ausgeführt, was wiederum für die kurz geratene *kašīda* eines *kāf* gehalten wurde. Eine sehr verwandte paläographische Eigentümlichkeit, bei der ein *tā’* für ein *kāf* gehalten wurde, liefert das bekannte frühosmanische Prosaepos ‚Buch des *Dede Qorqut*‘ mit dem fatalen Ergebnis, dass ein seine Frau liebender und ehrender Oghuse sie angeblich mit ‚meine unreife Melone‘ (*düvle***g***üm*) ansprach, anstatt seinen Gefühlen entsprechend mit ‚mein Glück‘ (*dövle***t***üm*)![10]

**5**) Wer andere belehrt, die Seele sei unsterblich (s. o.), sollte sich hüten, sie, die Seele, in den Tod zu schicken! Allerdings heißt im zweiten Vers ψυχή nicht einfach ‚Seele‘, sondern das Zentrum des Empfindungslebens, der Sitz aller Triebe und Begehrlichkeiten (ar.

10 Darüber s. L. Bazin, Deux passages incompris dans le Kitâb-i-Dede Korkut, in B. Kellner-Heinkele/P. Zieme (Hrsg.), Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtstag. *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, 47. Wiesbaden 1997, 13–20 und besonders 14–17. Bazin sprach von der ‘fidélité aveugle, celle d’un copiste’ (S. 16).

*nafs*). *Dieser* Seele wird eine streng asketische νέκρωσις anempfohlen.[11] Die an die Seele der Begehrlichkeiten gerichtete Empfehlung, sie soll vor ihrem (natürlichen) Tod sterben, basiert auf einem Logion Muḥammads, das *mūtū qabl an tamūtū* lautet, einem äußerst populären *ḥadīṯ*, wenngleich Traditionalisten Zweifel an seiner Echtheit geäußert haben[12]. Es dürfte sich vielmehr um ein *ḥadīṯ ṣāliḥ* handeln, das als ‚un hadîth dont la faiblesse légère ne l'empêche pas d'être pris en consideration, et d'être mis en pratique s'il s'agit d'œuvres méritoires' erläutert wird[13]. Sulṭān Walad war allerdings fest davon überzeugt, dass die Forderung *‚sterbt bevor ihr sterbt'* Muḥammad verlässlich zugeschrieben werden kann. Das geht aus seinen rūmseldschukischen Versen hervor, in denen er ausdrücklich schreibt: *bu hadīs̱i buyurdï päyġambär* ‚diesen Leitsatz befahl der Gesandte' und fährt fort mit einem *quasi*-Zitat: *ölmädin tīz ölüŋ* ‚sterbt schnell bevor ihr sterbt', eine plakative Aussage, die er kurz davor periphrastisch *qanqï gišï, ki dirligin istär, / gändözinden gäräk, kim ol ölä* ‚jedwedem, der das (wahre) Leben haben will / dem ist es notwendig, dass er bereitwillig stirbt' formuliert hat[14].

In der osmanischen Literatur, und zwar sowohl in den volkssprachigen, von den Derwischorden und ihren Sympathisanten bevorzugten

11 Dieser Gedanke der ‚Abtötung der Seele' beherrscht auch die neu erschlossenen arabischschriftlich überlieferten Verse im *Ibtidānāma* des Sulṭān Walad, worüber s. Kappler (wie oben Fußnote 9).

12 Muḥammad b. Tulūn al-Ṣāliḥī, Alšadra fī 'laḥādīṯ almuštahira. Tahqīq: Kamāl b. Basyūnī Zaġlūl. Bd. II. Beirut 1413 h./1993, S. 207, Nr. 1041 und noch Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Aǧlūnī al-Ǧarrāḥī, *Kašf alḫafā'wa muzīl alilbās 'ammā ištahara min alaḥādīṯ 'alā alsinat alnās.* Teil II. Beirut ³1408/1988 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe Kairo 1351/1932), S. 291, Nr. 2669. Beide Belegstellen verdanke ich der Liebenswürdigkeit und Hilfsbereitschaft von Dr. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm (München).

13 Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, *Mu,ġam almuṣṭalaḥāt alḥadīṯīya.* Damaskus 1396 h./1976, 55 (Französischer Titel: *Lexique des termes techniques de la science du hadḥth.* Traduit et adapté en français par 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Širāzī al-Ṣabbāġ et Dāwud 'Abd Allāh Gril).

14 Vgl. M. Mansuroğlu (ed.), *Sultan Veled'in Türkçe manzumeleri.* I*stanbul Üniversitesi. Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları*, 765. Istanbul 1958, 10 und M.S. Fomkin, Султан Велед и его тюркская поэзия. Moskau 1994, 103 (Text) und 119 (russische Übersetzung). Mansuroğlu und ihm folgend Fomkin edierten *kiši* und *gendüzinden.* Die Verse sind in einer leichten sprachlichen Angleichung an das Aserbaidschanische noch im Buch von Ḥusayn Muḥammadzāda yi Ṣadīq, *Sayrī dar aš'ār i turkī. Maktab i mavlavīya.* Teheran 1369/1991, 162 zu finden. Da mir das Buch von B. Furūzānfar, *Aḥādīṯ i Maṯnavī*, Teheran 1334 h.š. unerreichbar bleibt, weiß ich nicht, ob Mawlānā das besagte Logion in sein großes Werk einbezogen hat; s. die Anzeige von H. R[itter] in *Oriens* 10 (1957) 402.

Dichtungen, als auch in der elitären hochsprachigen Hofdichtung, kann man Beispiele finden, in denen der *Sterbt-bevor-ihr-sterbt*-Gedanke sich deutlich zu erkennen gibt. Ešref oġlï Rūmī (starb 1469/70 [?]), typischer Vertreter der sogenannten ‚Dichtung der Derwischkonvente' (*tekke edebīyātï*) empfiehlt seinen Glaubensgenossen *ölmädin öŋdin ölüp bul bäqāyï* (‚finde das fortbestehende Leben, indem du vor dem [deinem] Tod stirbst')[15]. In einer rezenteren, von einem fernen Nachfahren Mawlānās besorgten, etwas anspruchsvolleren Ausgabe der Gedichte von Ešref oġlï Rūmī findet sich derselbe Vers mit unbedeutenden Abweichungen (*ölümdän öŋdin ölüp bul bäqāyï*) wieder, wobei der gleiche Gedanke des ‚Todes vor dem Tod' noch verschieden formuliert wird: *gäl imdi sän dä ölmäzdän öŋ ölgil* ‚komm nun du auch und stirb bevor du stirbst' bzw. *öli gör ölmäzdin* ‚schau zu, dass du stirbst bevor du stirbst' und *ölümüŋdän öŋdin öl* ‚stirb vor deinem Ableben'. Auch Ešref oġlï vertritt in seinen Versen die Meinung, er zitiere ein *ḥadīṯ*, wenn er dazu schreibt *öylä* (*äylä* ? D.Th.) *buyurdi räsūl* ‚so befahl der Gesandte'.[16]

Eine raffinierte, allerdings stark profanierte Anwendung des *ḥadīṯ*-Inhalts benutzt Ǧem Sulṭān, der unglückliche osmanische Thronprätendent und in Italien vergiftete Halbbruder Bāyezīd II. (starb am 25.02.1495) in seiner Gedichtsammlung: *ḫaṭṭï erišmädin ǧān ver yolïnda*; / *ölümdän öŋdin öl, ey qalb i ġafīl!* Hier sind in einem Kontext gleichgeschlechtlicher Zuneigung zwei vom Dichter beabsichtigte Interpretationen möglich: (1:) ‚gib seinetwegen den Geist auf, bevor (dich) sein Schreiben (mit dem Todesurteil) erreicht' bzw. (2:) ‚stirb ihm zuliebe, bevor ihm der Flaum (ins Gesicht) sprießt / oh sorgloses Herz, stirb vor dem (dir vom Schicksal zugedachten) Tod'.[17] Im Mittelpunkt des poetischen Geschehens steht hier ein schöner Knabe kurz vor seinem Eintritt in die Pubertät, die ihm durch den Bartwuchs das Gesicht verunstalten und seine Attraktivität erheblich vermindern wird. Demgegenüber steht der Dichter (1) als absolut Ergebener, der seinem Todesurteil (die Mannbarkeit des geliebten Knaben) zuvorkommt und stirbt und (2) als hochgradig sensibler Liebender, der seinem bevorstehenden Tod (die Mannbarkeit des geliebten Knaben) dadurch zu

15 *Dīvan i Ešref oġlï Rūmī* <Steindruck> [o.O. und o.J.] 38 und die Ausgabe *Dīvān i Ešref oġlï ,Abd Allāh al-Rūmī.* Dersa'ādet 1301, S. 27. In beiden Ausgaben ist der Imperativ *bul* ‚finde' in der Form *bwlh* geschrieben.

16 Asaf Hâlet Çelebi (ed.), Eşrefoğlu divanı. *Türk klâsikleri serisi*, 7. Istanbul 1944, 70, 86 und 105.

17 İ.H. Ersoylu (ed.), Cem Sultan'ın Türkçe Divan'ı. *Türk Dil Kurumu yayınları*, 543. Ankara 1989, 156, Nr. CCI, 3.

entgehen hofft, indem *er* dem Ganzen ein Ende bereitet, das heißt, stirbt.

**6**) Die Präposition ἀς ist in den griechischen Mundarten Anatoliens (Kappadokien und Pontos) ausreichend belegt; sie entspricht der Präposition ἀπό der heutigen griechischen Standardsprache.[18] Ihre Anwendung hier erweckt den Eindruck der Lehnübersetzung eines türksprachigen Ablativs *-dan* bzw. *-den.*

**7**) θανεῖ<ν> : Bereits im Jahre 1958 hat C.D. Mertzios[19] die Meinung vertreten, das letzte Wort des Doppelverses nicht ταφή, sondern θανή lesen zu müssen (nous lisons le dernier mot θανή [la mort] au lieu de ταφή [enterrement, sépulture]). In Anbetracht der gesicherten *ḥadīṯ*-Wiedergabe wäre der Vorschlag von Mertzios richtig, ja sogar zwingend. Ob allerdings das griechische Wort für das ‚Ableben' der Begierdenseele an dieser Stelle in der Schreibweise θανή oder θανεῖ<ν> zu Papier gebracht werden sollte, bleibt diskutabel.[20] Hier wurde auch einer inneren Symmetrie des Doppelverses Rechnung getragen.

Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass durch die hier vorgeschlagene neue Lesung des kleinen Textabschnittes aus dem Korpus der ‚seldschukischen Verse' des 13. / 14. Jh.s ein halber Schritt zu ihrer erstrebten endgültigen Wiederherstellung getan wurde. ‚Etwas ein Werk nennen heißt Anerkennung zollen' – so lautet ein schön und klug formulierter Grundsatz als respektable Anweisung an den Textkritiker.[21] Die Forschung arabischschriftlich überlieferter griechischer Texte darf diese ‚Anerkennung' nicht aus den Augen verlieren.

---

18 R.M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor.* Cambridge 1916, 586. Zusätzliches dazu von N.P. Andriotes, Τὸ γλωσσικὸ ἰδίωμα τῶν Φαράσων. *Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes*, 8; *Archives de musique populaire et de folklore d'Asie Mineure*, 4; *Cappadoce*, 2. Athen 1948, 32 f.

19 C.D. Mertzios, Quelques vers grecs du XIII[e] siècle en caractères arabes. *BZ* 51 (1958) 15–16.

20 Dazu vgl. G.K. Spyridakes, Ἐτυμολογικά. *Ἀθηνᾶ* 48 (1938) 238–241. Der Verfasser vertritt die Ansicht, dass der Übergang τὸ θανεῖν > ἡ θανή unter dem Einfluss von ταφή stattgefunden hat (S. 239 f.).

21 G. Wolandt, Die Unentbehrlichkeit von Poesie und Literatur, in P. Thiergen/L. Udolph (Hrsg.), Res Slavica. Festschrift für Hans Rothe zum 65. Geburtstag. Paderborn 1994, 3–16 und besonders 3.

## Abstract

The Greek poetry of Sulṭān Walad poses two main problems for Greek philology: the fact that the texts were written and passed on in Arabic writing, and that they were composed in the perished colloquial Greek of the city Ikonion/Konya (13th/14th centuries). A final edition of these poems therefore requires a stepwose approach regarding reading and interpretation of these trxts.

The article attempts to reconstruct a double verse by Sulṭān Walad and to interpret it with the help of ist Islamic background.

# II. ABTEILUNG

Wilhelm Blum/Walter Seitter (Hrsg.), Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355–1452). Reformpolitiker, Philosoph, Verehrer der alten Götter. *Tumult – Schriften zur Verkehrswissenschaft.* Zürich/Berlin, diaphanes 2005. 144 S. ISBN 3-935300-98-0.

Zu den herausragenden Gelehrten der byzantinischen Spätzeit gehört der Philosoph Georgios Gemistos, der sich selbst Plethon nannte. Geboren zwischen 1355 und 1360 in Konstantinopel verbrachte er seine zweite Lebenshälfte in Mistra, wo er als Leiter einer eigenen Schule, Berater des Despoten und Richter tätig war. 1437–38 war er Mitglied der griechischen Delegation auf dem Unionskonzil von Ferrara und Florenz. Hier in Italien blühte der Philosoph im Alter von etwa 80 Jahren noch einmal richtig auf, verkündete seine platonische Philosophie und machte Eindruck auf die italienischen Humanisten. Das Interesse der internationalen Forschung an Plethon hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten und Jahren spürbar zugenommen, im deutschsprachigen Raum ist hier an erster Stelle Wilhelm Blum zu nennen, der bereits 1988 einen Band publizierte, in dem er mehrere Schriften Plethons übersetzte und mit Anmerkungen sowie einer ausführlichen Einleitung versah.[1] Wilhelm Blum hat nun mit Walter Seitter einen weiteren Band über Plethon herausgegeben, der sowohl Übersetzungen als auch inhaltliche Beiträge zu Plethons Philosophie und Wirkungsgeschichte enthält.

Zum ersten Mal ins Deutsche übersetzt liegen hier vor sowohl einige zentrale Passagen aus Plethons Hauptwerk, der nur in Fragmenten erhaltenen Νόμων συγγραφή (*Die Gesetze*) (7–23), als auch seine Abhandlung *Über die Tugend (25–34). Die Gesetze* wurden nach Plethons Tod von seinem Gegner Gennadios Scholarios bis auf einige Fragmente verbrannt. Von den 100 Kapiteln des in drei Büchern gegliederten Werkes sind 15 ganz oder teilweise erhalten. Blum hat das ebenfalls erhaltene Vorwort, drei zentrale Kapitel sowie den überlieferten Teil des Nachwortes übersetzt. Im kurzen Vorwort (7) äußert sich Plethon zu den ganz zentralen Inhalten und Quellen seiner Schrift: Theologie nach Zoroaster und Platon, Ethik gemäß diesen sowie den Stoikern, eine auf der abgemilderten Verfassungslehre Spartas basierende und mit Philosophie verbundene Politik, Vorschriften für die Liturgie und Physik – letztere interessanterweise hauptsächlich mit Bezug auf Aristoteles. Im ersten Kapitel

[1] W. Blum, Georgios Gemistos Plethon, Politik, Philosophie und Rhetorik im spätbyzantinischen Reich. Stuttgart 1988. Gute Einführungen zum Werk und zur Gedankenwelt Plethons bieten zudem (neben dem hier vorliegenden Band): Ch. M. Woodhouse, George Gemistos Plethon, The Last of the Hellenes. Oxford 1986 (Neudruck 2000); B. Tambrun, Pléthon. Le Retour de Platon. Paris 2006.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.010

des ersten Buches, „Der Unterschied der Ansichten über die höchsten Dinge bei den Menschen" (7–10) erörtert Plethon den Zusammenhang verschiedener philosophischer Fragestellungen. Sein Werk über die Gesetze möchte eine Staatsform entwerfen, die dem Menschen das größtmögliche Glück ermöglicht. Was das wirkliche Glück für den Menschen ist, kann man aber nur beurteilen, wenn man weiß, was der Mensch für ein Wesen ist, was man wiederum nur verstehen kann, wenn der Mensch in Bezug gesetzt wird zum anderen Seienden, namentlich zum Kosmos und den Göttern. Bei der Beantwortung der Frage: „Was ist Glück?" divergieren die Ansichten der Menschen nun genau so wie bei den damit berührten ethischen, anthropologischen und theologischen Lehren. Gängige Antwortmodelle der Philosophiegeschichte werden knapp von Plethon referiert und werfen die Frage nach verlässlichen Theoremen auf. So geht es im zweiten Kapitel des ersten Buches, „Die geistigen Führer für die besten Lehren" (10–13) konsequenterweise um die Suche nach den entsprechenden Quellen und Lehrern. Es kommen nach Plethon nur wirkliche Gesetzgeber und Philosophen in Betracht, die er von Sophisten und Dichtern abgrenzt. Plethon entwirft hier die Traditionslinie einer uralten, zeitlich und räumlich umfassenden Weisheit und Theologie, die er bis auf Zoroaster zurückführt. Über die Gesetzgeber verschiedener Völker, mythische sowie historische Gestalten, setzt Plethon diese alte heidnische Theologie in Verbindung zu Pythagoras, Platon und dem späteren Platonismus. Plethon sieht hier eine stetige theologisch-philosophische Überlieferung, in deren Tradition er sich sieht und zu deren Anfängen er eine Brücke schlägt, um seine eigene Philosophie zu legitimieren. Das sechste Kapitel des zweiten Buches, „Das Schicksal" (13–17), wurde auch separat als Einzelschrift überliefert. Hier präsentiert Plethon seine streng deterministische Auffassung, die einen deutlichen stoischen Einfluss zeigt. Alles ist im Einklang mit der Vorsehung der Götter streng kausal determiniert. Einige der klassischen sich aus dieser Position ergebenden Fragen werden von Plethon diskutiert, so z.B. das Problem des Übels und der Freiheitsbegriff. Im 43. Kapitel des dritten Buches, „Epinomis – Die Schlussbetrachtung" (17–23) legt Plethon noch einmal resümierend einige Grundlagen seiner Philosophie hinsichtlich Kosmologie, Theologie und Anthropologie dar, wobei er sich auch mit anderen, insbesondere christlichen, Positionen auseinandersetzt.

Plethons Traktat *Über die Tugenden* (25–34), die am weitesten verbreitete seiner Schriften, wurde von Gudrun Schandl ins Deutsche übertragen. Im ersten Teil der Schrift (25–27) definiert Plethon Tugend als „eine Haltung der Seele, nach der wir gut sind" (25). Gut wird der Mensch, wenn er Gott folgt, insoweit es ihm als Menschen eben möglich ist. Er unterteilt die vier Kardinaltugenden in jeweils drei Teiltugenden (Mäßigung: Bescheidenheit, Großzügigkeit, Anstand; Tapferkeit: Seelenstärke, Edelmut, Sanftmut; Gerechtigkeit: Frömmigkeit, Staatsbürgerlichkeit, Redlichkeit; Einsicht: Gottesverehrung, Naturwissenschaft, Wohlberatenheit). Im zweiten Teil seiner Abhandlung (28–34) entwickelt Plethon ein Erziehungsprogramm, das eine bestimmte Reihenfolge für den Erwerb der Tugenden vorsieht und in der Gottesverehrung gipfelt.

Nach den Übersetzungen folgen zwei Beiträge von Wilhelm Blum. In „Das Leben und die Schriften Plethons“ (35–43) gibt er einen kurzen biographischen Überblick über die wichtigsten Stationen in Plethons Leben: In der ersten Lebenshälfte Konstantinopel, Adrianopel (das heutige Edirne) und Bursa, in der zweiten Lebenshälfte Mistra und der Aufenthalt in Italien. Plethon lernte als junger Mensch neben dem Christentum auch die beiden anderen monotheistischen Religionen kennen, den Islam in Adrianopel und Bursa (beides Residenzstädte osmanischer Sultane) und das Judentum wahrscheinlich von einem jüdischen Lehrer namens Elischa, der ihn vielleicht auch in die Lehren des Zarathustra einführte. Später machte Plethon dann als Leiter seiner Schule Mistra zu einem kulturellen Zentrum des spätbyzantinischen Restreiches. Der folgende Überblick über die Werke Plethons ist zwar nicht ganz vollständig, berücksichtigt aber seine wichtigsten Werke und ist repräsentativ für die weit gefächerten Interessen des Philosophen. Die Anordnung der Werke folgt einer thematischen Aufteilung in 1) Theologisches, 2) Historisches, 3) Philosophisches, 4) Varia, 5) Politische Schriften und erweist Plethon als wahren „Polyhistor, nicht anders als Aristoteles oder Leibniz“ (43). In „Die Anerkennung Plethons in der Nachwelt“ (45–59) gibt Blum einen Überblick über die Wirkung Plethons auf seine Zeitgenossen und die Generation nach ihm sowie über den Beginn der modernen Beschäftigung mit Plethon und den aktuellen Stand der Forschung. Besonders erwähnenswert ist hier eine nach Ländern gegliederte und erläuterte Bibliographie der wichtigsten Forschungsliteratur zu Plethon (bis 2005).

Zwei ältere Beiträge von Lambros Couloubaritsis (aus den Jahren 1986 und 1991) sind von Walter Seitter aus dem Französischen ins Deutsche übertragen worden. In „‚Physis‘ und ‚techne‘ in den *Unterschieden* von Plethon“ (63–68) versucht Lambros Couloubaritsis die innere Kohärenz dieser Schrift nachzuweisen. *Die Unterschiede zwischen Aristoteles und Platon* (*De differentiis*) wurde 1439 von Plethon in Florenz verfasst und war Ausgangspunkt für die spätere Platon-Aristoteles-Kontroverse zwischen ihm und Gennadios Scholarios. Im siebten Kapitel über Kunst und Natur kritisiert Plethon den physikoontologischen Ansatz des Aristoteles und die damit verbundene Konzeption der Entelechie. Für Plethon ist sowohl in der Natur als auch in der Kunst eine mit Überlegung verbundene Hervorbringungsinstanz entscheidend. Er parallelisiert den leitenden Handwerker in der Kunst und Gott in der Natur und verlegt die Problematik damit auf die anthropologische und theologische Ebene. Dies mündet in eine platonische Konzeption vom Göttlichen verbunden mit einer Kritik der aristotelischen Vorstellung von Gott als bloßer Bewegungsinstanz. Die Beschäftigung mit dem Begriff des Göttlichen am Anfang und am Ende der kleinen Schrift sowie die zentrale Stellung des siebten Kapitels über Kunst und Natur, das zusammen mit dem sechsten Kapitel über den Kosmos die zentralen Themen der traditionellen Physik (Gott, Mensch, Kosmos) entfaltet, legt in der Tat eine wohlüberlegte Struktur der Schrift nahe. Auch der zweite Beitrag von Couloubaritsis, „Prolegomena zur Kosmologie Plethons“ (69–76) geht aus von *De differentiis* und der Kritik an Aristoteles. Aristoteles‘ Annahme eines fünften Elements sowie seine Aufteilung des

Kosmos in einen unzerstörbaren supralunaren und einen dem Wandel unterworfenen sublunaren Bereich werden von Plethon abgelehnt. Er setzt die platonische Vorstellung einer Weltseele dagegen, um die Einheit des Kosmos zu gewährleisten, was ein Grundanliegen seiner monistischen Philosophie ist.

Walter Seitter erörtert in seinem Aufsatz „Plethonische Anthropologie. Zwischen Politologie, Kosmologie und Theologie" (77–89) ausgehend von der politischen Philosophie Plethons dessen Menschenbild. Plethon vollzieht, indem er „die Frage nach der besten politischen Ordnung zur Frage nach dem Glück und dann zur Frage nach dem Wesen des Menschen verschiebt … in formeller und exemplarischer Weise die *Anthropologisierung der Philosophie des Politischen.*" (83) Doch die Selbstverständigung darüber, was der Mensch sei, erfordert den Vergleich und die Abgrenzung sowohl vom Göttlichen, dessen Existenz nach Plethon sogar in der Verfassung festgeschrieben werden soll, als auch vom Tier. Der Mensch nun hat nach Plethon Anteil an der göttlichen und der sterblichen Wesenheit. Diese Doppelnatur führt einerseits zur inneren Zerrissenheit des Menschen, der hinsichtlich seiner Auffassungen und Handlungen nun verschiedene Optionen hat, andererseits kommt dem Menschen hiermit aber auch eine „kosmopoietische Funktion" (87) zu, da er im Kosmos das Bindeglied ist zwischen göttlicher und sterblicher Wesenheit und somit die Einheit des Ganzen gewährleistet.

Juan Signes Codoñer setzt in seinem Artikel „Die plethonische ‚Religion'" (91–100) den Begriff „Religion" in Bezug auf Plethon in Anführungszeichen, da dessen metaphysische Philosophie mit der Reform der byzantinischen Gesellschaft in erster Linie politische Ziele verfolgt habe. In Plethons „Götterwelt neoplatonischer Prägung" (91) entsprechen die Götter nicht ihren anthropomorphen Namensgebern der antiken heidnischen Religion, sondern verkörpern platonische Ideen. Plethon hat auch eine eigene Liturgie und einen eigenen Kalender entworfen, um in dieser Hinsicht mit dem Christentum konkurrieren zu können. Sein Verhältnis zum Christentum, namentlich zur Orthodoxie ist dann auch nicht ganz leicht zu fassen. Einige für die Öffentlichkeit verfasste Texte, wie z. B. die Monodie für die Kaiserin Helena Palaiologa, präsentieren allgemeine religiöse Gedanken, die sich sowohl in christlicher als auch in heidnischer Perspektive deuten lassen. Einen Hauptgrund für den Rückgriff auf die antike heidnische Philosophie, nicht nur bei Plethon, sondern auch bei einigen seiner Vorgänger, wie z. B. Leon Philosophos, Michsel Psellos oder Johannes Italos, sieht Codoñer in einem Bedürfnis nach kultureller Identität und Kontinuität in Zeiten der Krise.

Brigitte Tambrun-Krasker, eine exzellente Kennerin Plethons aus Frankreich, befasst sich in ihrem Beitrag „Plethons Abhandlung *Über die Tugenden*" (101–117) mit ebendieser Schrift Plethons, die sie auch selbst in einer kritischen Ausgabe ediert hat.[2] Das Erziehungsprogramm Plethons vermittelt dem Individuum die zwölf aus den Kardinaltugenden abgeleiteten Tugenden (s. o.)

---

2 *Traité des vertus*, hrsg., eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert von B. Tambrun-Krasker, in der Reihe: *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Philosophi Byzantini* 3. Leiden 1987.

und führt es über Einübung, Gewöhnung und richtige Meinung bis zur Einsicht der Vernunftgründe. Ziel ist dabei nicht, wie im antiken Neuplatonismus, die mit Reinigung und Flucht aus dem Körper verbundene Erlösung der Einzelseele, sondern die bewusste Wahrnehmung diesseitiger Rollenverpflichtungen in Familie, Gesellschaft und Staat. Schlüssig legt Tambrun-Krasker den Zusammenhang zwischen Plethons Ethik und seiner Metaphysik sowie seiner politischen Philosophie dar. Die Götterlehre der *Gesetze*, insbesondere der von Zeus, dem obersten Prinzip, ausgehende Schöpfungsprozess, bei dem Plethon „aus dem ‚selben' und dem ‚anderen' das Prinzip aller Teilung und Generierung" (105) macht, fundiert die Selbst- und Fremdbezüge des Menschen, die durch die einzelnen Tugenden reglementiert werden. Diese Götterlehre konnte Plethon in seiner für die Öffentlichkeit gedachten kleinen ethischen Schrift freilich nicht explizit machen. Vorrangiges Ziel war hier die Reformierung und Stärkung der byzantinischen Gesellschaft, und Adressaten waren nicht nur – wie bei einigen Denkschriften Plethons – die politischen Führer, sondern alle Klassen der Bevölkerung.

Paul Richard Blum beschäftigt sich in seinem Beitrag „Die Graue Eminenz des Renaissance-Platonismus: Georgios Gemistos Plethon" (119–129) mit einigen Aspekten der Wirkungsgeschichte Plethons. Marsilio Ficino hat im Vorwort zu seiner Plotin-Übersetzung bewusst eine Brücke zum Philosophen aus Mistra geschlagen, indem er die Gründung der Platonischen Akademie in Florenz indirekt auf diesen zurückführte. Cosimo de′ Medici sei von Plethons Vorträgen so beeindruckt gewesen, dass er die Eingebung bekam, eine Akademie zu gründen. Diese Äußerung Ficinos wird in der Forschung unterschiedlich interpretiert, doch sicherlich spielte es eine zentrale Rolle für ihn, „sein Projekt der Übersetzung Plotins damit zu rechtfertigen, daß er es in die Geschichte der Florentiner Medici und mittels Plethons in die ungebrochene, aber immer gefährdete Tradition der Alten Weisheit einbaut." (129) In der (Re-)Etablierung dieser Tradition einer „philosophia perennis" bzw. „prisca theologia", die auch für Giovanni Pico della Mirandola eine tragende Rolle spielte, sieht Blum einen wesentlichen Einfluss Plethons auf folgende Generationen. Bei Nikolaus Cusanus, der Plethon zwar nie erwähnt, ihn aber wahrscheinlich auf dem Schiff von Byzanz nach Ferrara kennenlernte, gibt es einige religionsphilosophische Bezugspunkte zu Plethon. Die Untersuchung theologischer Strukturen unabhängig von einer konkreten Offenbarung in *De pace fidei* bilden eine deutliche Parallele zu Plethons philosophischer Theologie. Doch die Position des Cusanus in seiner *Docta ignorantia*, dass Gott mit den Mitteln der menschlichen Rationalität gar nicht begreifbar sei, liest sich mit „Blick auf die neu-antike Mythologie des Plethon … wie eine methodologische Kritik der Religion aus dem Baukasten der Antike." (125)

Im letzten Beitrag des Bandes „Gibt es ein Bild von Plethon" (131–142) geht Walter Seitter dieser kunsthistorischen Fragestellung nach. Gleich zu Beginn konstatiert er: „Es ist uns von Plethon kein glaubwürdiges, zuverlässiges oder gar bezeugtes Bild überliefert" (131). Gleichwohl versucht er im Folgenden plausibel zu machen, dass es sehr wohl einige Abbildungen von Plethon geben könnte. Im Fresko *Zug der Heiligen Drei Könige* von Benozzo

Gozzoli im Florentiner Palazzo Medici-Riccardi wurde schon häufiger eine Anspielung auf den Einzug zum Unionskonzil in Florenz gesehen. Hier hat der Maler Benozzo Gozzoli im Zug des Königs Kaspar in der Nähe seines Selbstportraits zwei bärtige Greise gemalt, bei denen es sich mit Blick auf ihre Kleidung durchaus um Byzantiner handeln könnte. Einer von den beiden, ein würdiger Greis mit violetter Haube, wird von Seitter mit Plethon identifiziert. Ein ähnliches Gesicht wurde zwischen 1451 und 1465 mehrmals von Piero della Francesca gemalt. Sigismondo Malatesta, ein Verehrer Plethons, begann um 1445 in Rimini mit dem Umbau der Kirche San Francesco zum Tempio Malatestiano. Hier bekam Piero della Francesca den Auftrag, ein Fresko in der Sakristei der Sigmundskapelle zu malen. Auf diesem sieht man den jungen Sigismondo kniend vor dem alten Heiligen König Sigismund, dessen Gesicht dem vermuteten Plethon in Florenz sehr ähnelt. Auch die übrige Gestaltung des Freskos sowie des Tempio Malatestiano zeigen vielleicht einen Einfluss Plethons. Seitter verweist noch auf weitere Bilder von Benozzo Gozzoli und Piero della Francesca, auf denen Plethon dargestellt sein könnte. Er unterscheidet zudem die „offizielle florentinische und die weniger offizielle riminensische Plethon-Rezeption" (139). Während in Florenz der Neuplatonismus in der Platonischen Akademie mit dem Christentum verbunden wurde, wurde Sigismondo Malatesta exkommuniziert – „auch wegen Heidentums im Riminenser ‚Tempel'" (139). Er wehrte sich, indem er einen Kreuzzug zur Befreiung Griechenlands anführte, der freilich erfolglos blieb, in dessen Verlauf er allerdings die Gebeine Plethons aus Mistra nach Rimini brachte, um sein Idol am Tempio Malatestiano beizusetzen. Der schöne Beitrag wirft ein Licht auf eine andere Seite der Wirkungsgeschichte Plethons. Schade ist hier lediglich, dass es keine illustrierenden Abbildungen der besprochenen Bilder und Details gibt.

Insgesamt lässt sich sagen, dass der vorliegende Band sowohl für eine erste als auch für eine fortgeschrittene Beschäftigung mit Plethon gewinnbringend ist. Die inhaltlichen Beiträge eröffnen durchaus unterschiedliche Perspektiven auf Plethons Werk, werden aber durch die einführenden Kapitel und die Übersetzungen in Bezug zueinander gesetzt. Das weitgehende Fehlen griechischer Originalzitate kann verschmerzt werden, da sicherlich auch ein philosophisch interessierter Leserkreis ohne Griechischkenntnisse angesprochen werden soll. Gelegentliche Tippfehler stören den Lesefluss nicht und werden nur an zwei Stellen mit Eigennamen relevant (42: Renakis statt Benakis; 58: Hatula statt Matula).

Bonn *Thomas Backes*

Olga Gkratziu, Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής. Herakleio, Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης 2010. 336 S. Ill. ISBN 978-960-524-301-2.

Das Interesse der Forschung über die kretischen Kirchen betrifft überwiegend die Wandmalereien, während die Architektur und ihre kulturelle Bedeutung bisher vernachlässigt wurden. Dies stellt Verf. in der Einführung (9–19) fest, die mit einem Überblick über die Forschungssituation zu den Kirchen Kretas beginnt. Die Hunderte von Kirchen Kretas, die zwischen dem 13. und 15. Jh. errichtet wurden, deuten jedoch auf eine intensive Bautätigkeit hin. Ziel der Arbeit ist die Untersuchung der spätmittelalterlichen Architektur Kretas, des Verhältnisses zwischen den kretischen Kirchen auf dem Land und den lateinischen Kirchen der Städte wie auch die Untersuchung der großen Bautätigkeit des 13.–15. Jh.s, der an sich von der Verf. große historische Bedeutung beigemessen wird, da sie die schriftlichen Quellen ergänzt. Nach dem monumentalen Werk G. Gerolas von 1905–1932, der allerdings teilweise zu widersprüchlichen Ergebnissen kam, die von der späteren Forschung wiederholt wurden, und der Monographie von K. Gallas über die Sakralarchitektur Kretas von 1983 gab es keine so intensive Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema. Ein Grundproblem dabei ist, abgesehen von formalen Aspekten, die Charakterisierung der Kirchengebäude und ihre kulturelle und religiöse Zuordnung.

Das erste Kapitel (Εποχή ανοικοδόμησης, S. 21–53) widmet sich der intensiven Bautätigkeit, die die Eroberung Kretas durch die Venezianer im 13. Jh. verursachte. Diese umfasste nicht nur öffentliche und private Gebäude der Venezianer in den Städten, sondern auch zahlreiche sakrale Gebäude in den Städten und auf dem Land. Auffällig ist dabei die Dichte an kretischen Kirchen im Hinterland, die im Gegensatz zu den Bauten der Städte die Jahrhunderte überdauerten. Die urbane Architektur Kretas wurde analog zu Venedig gestaltet. Das Hinterland, das Rohmaterial wie Holz und Stein für die Versorgung der Städte lieferte, hat sich durch die Bautätigkeit der Feudalherren ebenfalls stark verändert.

Verf. rekonstruiert wie sich diese intensive Bautätigkeit sowohl auf das wirtschaftliche Leben als auch auf die Architektur der kretischen Kirchen auf dem Land auswirkte und die Verbreitung von neuen Techniken verursachte. Die Werkstätten beschäftigten auch lokale Kräfte, die mit den neuen Techniken der Venezianer vertraut wurden. Ein wichtiger Auftraggeber waren die verschiedenen Orden. Ihrerseits mussten die westlichen Auftraggeber sich an die lokalen Bedingungen anpassen: während in Venedig Ziegel verwendet wurden, stand auf Kreta der Stein als vorherrschende Baumaterial reichlich zur Verfügung.

Die Erscheinung westlicher Elemente in der Architektur der kretischen Kirchen, wie Spitztonnengewölbe und -formen, führt Verf. auf die Errichtung franziskanischer Bauten auf Kreta zurück. Es handelt sich dabei also nicht um einen venezianischen Einfluss, sondern um Elemente, die von den Franziskanern importiert wurden. Die Beschäftigung lokaler Kräfte bei den Werkstätten,

die die Kirchen des franziskanischen Ordens errichteten, führte zur Verbreitung dieser Formen und zu ihrer Übernahme auch für die orthodoxen Kirchen.

Das zweite Kapitel trägt die Überschrift „Das Meißeln des Steins“ (Η λάξευση της πέτρας, S. 55–91). Ein neues Element der kretischen Kirchenarchitektur sind Portale, Fensterrahmungen und Luken, die venezianischen Vorbildern folgen. Verf. gibt einen Überblick über die Typologie dieser dekorativen Elemente. Sie sind vor allem in Zentralkreta ab dem Beginn des 15. Jhs. nachweisbar, Verf. vermutet jedoch, dass sie bereits früher in Kreta eingeführt wurden. Ihre Verbreitung ist auf die Beschäftigung indigener kretischer Kräfte bei den westlichen Werkstätten zurückzuführen, die die Formen auch für die orthodoxen Kirchen übernahmen. Die Verbreitung dieser Elemente auf dem Land erlaubt Rückschlüsse auf die verlorene profane Architektur der Städte zu ziehen. Sodann wendet sich Verf. den praktischen Aspekten zu, den Steinbrüchen und dem Handel vom Baumaterial. Die archäologischen und schriftlichen Quellen wie auch scharfsinnige Beobachtungen der Verf. führen sie zur Schlussfolgerung, dass im Laufe der Zeit die Produktion, der Vertrieb des Baumaterials und des Materials für den Baudekor standardisiert und spezialisiert wurden. Ab dem 14. Jh. ist die Verwendung von Werksteinen (Steinblöcken in einheitlichen Formen und mit flach behandelten Oberflächen) festzustellen, wobei die Größen variierten. Die Steinbrüche waren nur für eine erste grobe Behandlung des Materials verantwortlich, die Steinmetze schnitten die Blöcke dann in bestimmte Größen und meißelten sie. Steinbrüche verkauften das Baumaterial an Händler. Ab dem 15. Jh. waren auf dem Markt fertige, grob behandelte Teile wie Türschwellen, Konsolen usw. vorhanden, daneben wurden auch unfertige Teile wie Reste von Baumaterial verkauft. Dadurch erfolgte eine Spezialisierung der Berufe und eine Unterscheidung zwischen dem Arbeitspersonal der Steinbrüche und der Steinmetzwerkstätten. Auf diese Weise rekonstruiert Verf. einen wichtigen Bereich des wirtschaftlichen Lebens auf Kreta, für den die Architektur der kretischen Kirchen des Hinterlandes und ihr Dekor eine wichtige Quelle darstellen.

Es folgt eine Untersuchung der kirchlichen Architektur Kretas vom 13.–15. Jh. beginnend mit einem Kapitel über die Einraumkapellen (Η κυριαρχία των μονόχωρων εκκλησιών, S. 93–125). Dieser architektonische Typus überwiegt deutlich auf Kreta. Er ist sowohl in großer Dichte in Siedlungen anzutreffen, als auch außerhalb von diesen und als Klosterkirchen. Verf. fasst die architektonischen Merkmale zusammen und zählt die wichtigsten Varianten auf. Das Spitztonnengewölbe, das von der frühen franziskanischen Architektur übernommen wurde, und ähnliche westliche Elemente der Architektur hält sie im Gegensatz zu K. Gallas nicht für einen Hinweis auf die Benutzung der Kirchengebäude für den lateinischen Ritus, die Bauweise hängt nicht mit der Konfession zusammen. Verf. stellt fest, dass im Westen der Insel wenige venezianische Türrahmungen anzutreffen sind, die zudem frühestens aus dem 15. Jh. stammen. Sie nennt allerdings als Beispiel die Kirche des Hl. Nikolaos in Kandanos, die Wandmalereien aus der 1. H. des 14. Jhs. aufweist und der Werkstatt des Ioannes Pagomenos zugeschrieben werden können.

Zur Herkunft des Typus der Einraumkapellen meint Verf., dass der Typus die Fortsetzung der Tradition der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit ist und lehnt die Annahme der älteren Forschung einer östlichen Herleitung des Typus ab. Für die starke Verbreitung des Typus auf Kreta hatte M. Borboudakis finanzielle Gründe vermutet, die laut Verf. das Phänomen aber nicht erklären können. Ihrer Meinung nach weist die große Dichte solcher Einraumkapellen auf die Verbreitung von Privatkapellen hin, zudem ist dies als Indikator für finanziellen Wohlstand zu verstehen. Der Typus der Einraumkapelle überdauert die Jahrhunderte, im Laufe der Zeit werden die Kapellen allerdings größer. Dies erklärt Verf. mit der späteren Nutzung dieser Kirchen als Gemeindekirchen.

Die Motive der Errichtung der Kirchen waren laut Verf. neben der Erfüllung religiöser Bedürfnisse, die private Frömmigkeit bzw. Selbstrepräsentation wie auch die Nutzung der Kirche als Einkommensquelle. Welches dieser Motive trug am meisten zur starken Verbreitung des Typus bei? Hing der Typus mit der neuen kirchlichen/politischen Situation zusammen? Oder ist er auf einen Stifterwunsch zurückzuführen? Die drei angeführten Motive werden sodann von der Verf. eingehender diskutiert beginnend mit der praktischen und wirtschaftlichen Seite des Themas.

Zur Errichtung einer Kirche war eine Genehmigung notwendig. Diese konnte der jeweilige Besitzer erteilen, der Feudalherr, der Staat oder die lateinische Kirche. In den schriftlichen Quellen wird nirgendwo ein bestimmter Bautypus vorgeschrieben. Die Errichtung einer Kirche bedeutet jedoch Abgaben an den jeweiligen Besitzer bzw. an die lateinische Kirche. In vielen Fällen ist das durch die schriftlichen Quellen rekonstruierte System der Erteilung von Baugenehmigungen unklar bzw. uneinheitlich. Wichtig für die These der Verf. ist jedoch die Feststellung, dass bei der Erteilung einer solchen Genehmigung nicht der Bautypus von Bedeutung war, sondern die konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit der zu errichtenden Kirche.

Anhand des *Katastichon ton ekklesion tou koinou*, einer von Tsirpanlis publizierten, wichtigen Quelle über die Kirchen, die um die Hauptstadt Candia auf gemietetem Land errichtet wurden, versucht Verf. das Phänomen der Errichtung von Kirchen zu rekonstruieren. Leider berücksichtigt sie in diesem Teil die Informationen der zahlreichen erhaltenen Stifterinschriften für die Kirchen des Hinterlands zu wenig.

Verf. stellt fest, dass die Mehrheit der Kirchen von Privatpersonen errichtet wurde, von denen viele Priester waren. Die Kirchengebäude wechselten oft den Besitzer wie das gut dokumentierte Beispiel der Kera Eleousa in Candia zeigt. Weitere Beispiele beleuchten die Bedeutung der Kirchen als Einkommensquelle. In dieser Hinsicht sind Privatkapellen, die von einem einzigen Stifter erbaut wurden, als eine Art Unternehmen zu verstehen. Der Besitzer profitierte von den Abgaben und den Stiftungen der Gläubigen, der Priester der Kirche wurde vom Besitzer der Kirche oder von den Gläubigen für verschiedene liturgische Dienste (Taufen, Hochzeiten etc.) bezahlt. Seinerseits musste der Besitzer Abgaben an das lateinische Bistum leisten. Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass als Abgabeeinheit für die Venezianer nicht die Kirche, sondern der Priester zählte. So rekonstruiert Verf. einen wirtschaftlichen Zweig mit eigener

Dynamik. Verf. deutet mit diesen Ausführungen an, dass die große Dichte an Kirchen auf Profitgründen ihrer Besitzer zurückzuführen seien. Dies erklärt allerdings immer noch nicht die Auswahl des architektonischen Typus.

Schriftliche Quellen belegen die Unzufriedenheit der Venezianer über die Steigerung der Anzahl von Kirchen und Priestern. Die venezianischen Behörden monierten außerdem, dass die Venezianer auf dem Land griechische Kirchen frequentierten. Verf. glaubt, der Typus der Einraumkapelle wurde absichtlich ausgewählt, da er, anders als die stark mit der Orthodoxie verbundenen Kuppelbauten, konfessionell neutral sei. Der Typus sei sowohl für Orthodoxen als auch für Katholiken akzeptabel. Einige dieser Kirchen wurden mal für den orthodoxen, mal für den lateinischen Ritus benutzt. Belege dafür führt Verf. jedoch nicht an. Diese Annahme über das konfessionell neutrale Aussehen der Kirchen widerspricht allerdings der vorher geäußerten Behauptung der Verf., dass die Konstruktionsweise durch die Bauwerkstätten geprägt wurden und deshalb unmöglich von der Konfession der Auftraggeber abhängt (S. 101) bzw. auf die konfessionelle Ausrichtung einer Kirche hindeuten kann. Zudem handelt es sich bei diesem Typus nicht um einen neuen, speziell als konfessionell neutral entwickelten Kirchentypus, sondern um eine Form, die eine lange byzantinische Tradition hat.

Das Thema des nächsten Kapitels sind die Doppelkirchen (Εκκλησίες για την εξυπηρέτηση δύο δογμάτων, S. 127–183). Dabei beschreibt und unterscheidet Verf. zwischen zweischiffigen (δίκλιτες) Kirchen mit zwei Apsiden und hierarchisierten Räumen, die ab der Mitte des 14. Jhs. nachweisbar sind, und Kirchen, die durch die Addition einer (fast) gleichwertigen Einraumkapelle mit eigenem Patrozinium und eigener liturgischer Ausstattung meistens an einer bereits bestehenden Einraumkapelle entstanden sind (διπλές, von K. Gallas als additive Kapellen bezeichnet). Letzterer Typus erscheint ab der Mitte des 15. Jhs., fand eine große Verbreitung auf Kreta und war Jahrhunderte lang in Verwendung. Er unterscheidet sich von dem Typus der zweischiffigen Kirchen dadurch, dass die beiden Kapellen fast gleichwertig in ihrer Größe sind.

Beide Formen, zweischiffige und Doppelkirchen, erscheinen auch in anderen Regionen außerhalb Kretas und wurden in der Forschungsliteratur in Verbindung mit der Nutzung für beide Riten gebracht. Bei dieser Diskussion wurden die kretischen Beispiele zu wenig berücksichtigt.

Verf. hält alle Doppelkirchen grundsätzlich für Kirchen, in denen der Gottesdienst in der einen Kapelle nach dem orthodoxen Ritus, in der anderen nach dem lateinischen Ritus gefeiert wurde. Zunächst bespricht sie die Herleitung des Typus, den sie mit der Architektur der Dominikaner in Verbindung bringt. In den zweischiffigen Klosterkirchen der Dominikaner diente das eine Schiff den Mönchen, das andere war für Laien bestimmt. Neuere Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema stellen jedoch jene nicht nachgewiesene Behauptung in Frage (z. B. W. Schenkluhn, Architektur der Bettelorden: Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa, Darmstadt 2000). Zweischiffige Dominikanerbauten auf Kreta sind außerdem nicht bekannt.

Die hinzugefügten Kapellen seien von Nebenkappellen zu unterscheiden, die anderen Zwecken dienten, z. B. als Grabraum, für besondere Kulte oder als

Stiftungen wichtiger Personen. Einer Erklärung warum die hier untersuchten angebauten Einraumkapellen diesen Zwecken nicht gedient haben könnten, bleibt Verf. allerdings schuldig. Über das eventuelle Vorhandensein von Gräbern in diesen Kapellen erfährt man leider nichts. Hier hätten die kretischen Stifterinschriften berücksichtigt werden sollen. Diejenige der Johanneskirche in Choumeriakos, Merabello, gibt beispielsweise an, dass die Brüder Ioannes und Frangiskos Kalonas 1584 die Kirche erneuerten. Als letzterer sechs Jahre später starb, wurde aus diesem Grund eine zweite Kapelle angebaut, die dem Hl. Nikolaos geweiht wurde (G. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti dell'isola di Creta, Bd. IV, Venedig 1932, 527, Nr. 20).

Die beispielsweise von M. Borboudakis vertretene Erklärung der additiven Kapellen zum Zweck der Erweiterung oder Vergrößerung des liturgischen Raums lehnt Verf. pauschal ab. Zur liturgischen Ausstattung der hinzugefügten Kapellen macht Verf. leider keine Angaben. Der Annahme der räumlichen Trennung der Einraumkappellen wegen des unterschiedlichen Ritus ist ferner entgegenzusetzen, dass es Doppelkirchen seit der frühbyzantinischen Zeit gibt, wie Verf. selbst zugibt.

Eine Doppelkirche erscheint auf Kreta auch als Katholikon eines Klosters. Diese Klöster waren der Verf. nach als Proskynemata konzipiert, die Angehörigen beider Konfessionen ansprechen sollten. Analog hätten franziskanische Klöster Kapellen für den orthodoxen Ritus mit missionarischen Hintergedanken errichtet. Zu beachten ist jedoch, dass die angeführten Kapellen für den lateinischen Ritus keine Apsis haben, wie das Beispiel des Hl. Antonios in Kare, Lassithi, und andere Beispiele belegen. Wann und unter welchen Umständen die Kapelle mit der Apsis hier hinzugefügt wurde, ist unbekannt.

Verf. befragt schließlich die schriftlichen Quellen hinsichtlich der Nutzung der Kirchen für beide Konfessionen. Wenige Quellen, die ab dem ausgehenden 16. Jh. datieren, wie der Bericht von Radzivil, bestätigen die simultane Nutzung eines Kirchenraums für den orthodoxen und den lateinischen Ritus. Um dies zu ermöglichen, mussten besondere Maßnahmen getroffen werden, wobei der Gottesdienst an unterschiedlichen Altären und zeitversetzt aber im gleichen Raum gefeiert wurde. Der durch die schriftlichen Quellen des 17. Jhs. gut dokumentierte Fall der Christos-Kirche in Hierapetra ist der einzige Beweis für die Erweiterung einer orthodoxen Kirche durch eine Kapelle für den lateinischen Ritus. Die Notwendigkeit für diese Erweiterung ergab sich allerdings aus den Streitigkeiten zwischen Orthodoxen und Lateinern für die Nutzung der Kirche. Verf. sieht nun in der Erweiterung der orthodoxen Kirchen auf dem Land einen klaren Beweis für eine verbreitete Praxis der Symbiose der beiden Riten im selben Kirchenraum auch in den früheren Jahrhunderten und zwar einen Beweis, der wichtiger einzustufen sei als die schriftlichen Quellen.

Diese Annahme kann nicht bewiesen werden und ist auch schwer nachvollziehbar angesichts der zahlreichen Quellen, die den Eindruck von unüberbrückbaren religiösen Differenzen zwischen den beiden Konfessionen auf Kreta und einer konfrontativen Situation hinterlassen. Dass die Orthodoxen quasi gezwungen wurden, diese Lösung zu akzeptieren oder aus Profitgründen nichts dagegen unternahmen, muss spekulativ bleiben.

Die Doppelkirchen waren besonders im 16. und 17. Jh. beliebt. Meistens ist es schwierig bauhistorisch festzustellen, wann die zweite Kirche hinzugefügt wurde. In der großen Mehrheit der Fälle weisen allerdings die addierten Kirchen keine Wandmalereien auf, ein Phänomen wofür Verf. keine Erklärung gibt. M. E. handelt es sich dabei um Additionen aus der Zeit nach ca. 1500, als die kretischen Kirchen generell keine Wandmalereiausstattung mehr aufweisen. Allerdings ist die Errichtung einer zweiten Kirche für den lateinischen Ritus sehr unwahrscheinlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass es zu diesem Zeitpunkt, Jahrhunderte nach der venezianischen Eroberung, kaum noch katholische Priester auf dem Land existierten und viele Kreter venezianischer Abstammung inzwischen hellenisiert waren. Dies belegen zahlreiche Berichte der italienischen Provveditori. Die Notwendigkeit für die Errichtung solcher Kapellen scheint also nicht gegeben gewesen zu sein. Sie kann jedenfalls nicht in diesem Ausmaß und in dieser Pauschalität angenommen werden.

Letztendlich deutet Verf. die additiven Kapellen als einen Versuch der Trennung der beiden Konfessionen, der das Scheitern für eine unierte Kirche attestiert.

Die Schwierigkeiten bei der Interpretation der Doppelkirchen werden noch bewusster im zusammenfassenden Teil dieses Kapitels (S. 174ff). Dort wird die Frage aufgeworfen, ob uns hier eine Politik der Koexistenz und gegenseitigen Toleranz oder der Trennungslinien offenbart wird. Die Errichtung von Doppelkirchen ergab sich laut Verf. nicht aus der großen Anzahl der Lateiner auf dem Land, sondern sei politisch gewollt gewesen. Die Koexistenz der beiden Konfessionen sei nicht mit harmonischen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Konfessionen gleichbedeutend. Nicht die lateinische Kirche, sondern Venedig hätte dadurch versucht, die Orthodoxen zur Bekehrung zu zwingen. Denn die lateinische Kirche bestrafte die eigenmächtige Nutzung orthodoxer Kirchen wie eine Bulle des Papstes Leon I. (1513–21) beweist. Die additiven Kapellen dienten also der Vermeidung von Streitigkeiten zwischen Orthodoxen und Katholiken oder hatten zum Zweck, die Katholiken daran zu hindern, an der orthodoxen Liturgie teilzunehmen. In diesem Fall wäre es aber logischer gewesen, unabhängige Kirchen für die Lateiner zu errichten. Als weiterer Grund führt Verf. den Versuch an, ab dem 15. Jh. die Kirchenunion durchzusetzen. Dies erklärt aber nicht die zweischiffigen Kirchen des 14. Jhs., die Verf. ähnlich interpretiert.

Eine Fehldeutung ist m.E. auch die Interpretation der Erweiterung der Nikolaoskirche in Skepasti (S. 180–182). Dort belegt eine Stifterinschrift, dass der gleiche Priestermönch, der 1586 die erste, dem Hl. Nikolaos gewidmete, Einraumkapelle stiftete, 1592 eine zweite Einraumkapelle der Gottesmutter anbauen ließ, als seine Frau nach 28 Jahren Gefangenschaft zurückkehrte. Unbegründet ist hier m.E. die Vermutung, der Stifter wollte durch diese Erweiterung seine Dankbarkeit an die Lateiner zum Ausdruck bringen, die, wie die Verf. annimmt, bei der Befreiung seiner Frau halfen. Oder dass die Errichtung der mutmaßlich für den lateinischen Ritus bestimmten Kirche als gemeinsames Zusammenhalten der orthodoxen-lateinischen Bevölkerung vor den Piraten zu verstehen sei.

Dem einheitlichen architektonischen Muster der Doppelkirchen werden auf diese Weise unterschiedliche Motive und Zwecke für ihre Entstehung gegenübergestellt: mal waren sie das Ergebnis von Auseinandersetzungen, wie in Hierapetra, mal wurden sie aus Dankbarkeit an die Lateiner errichtet, wie angeblich in Skepasti, in anderen Fällen zwecks Missionierung der Angehörigen der jeweils anderen Konfession, mal war es der Versuch der Trennung der gemeinsamen religiösen Praxis und eben die Abwendung der Kontakte zwischen Orthodoxen und Lateinern als Ausdruck einer desintegrativen (Kirchen)Politik. Alle diese an sich interessante Thesen lassen sich leider nicht beweisen.

Das fünfte Kapitel widmet sich den dreischiffigen tonnengewölbten Kirchen (Τρίκλιτες θολοσκέπαστες βασιλικές: το προσφιλές σχέδιο των μετασκευών, S. 185–227). Dieser Typus erscheint auf Kreta nach der venezianischen Eroberung und vor der Zeit der großen Verbreitung der Doppelkirchen. Der Typus ergibt sich meistens aus dem Umbau älterer byzantinischer Kirchen. Es werden die wenigen bekannten Kirchen dieses Typus beschrieben, wobei die ursprüngliche Form der Kirche nicht immer rekonstruiert werden kann (meistens wird als Typus eine Kreuzkuppelkirche angenommen). Der gemeinsame Nenner, den Verf. hier sieht, ist die absichtliche „Modernisierung“ der älteren Bauten nach einem bestimmten Schema, um als Kirchen für den lateinischen Ritus oder als Simultankirchen zu fungieren. Daneben gibt es auch sehr wenige Kirchen, die von Anfang an als dreischiffige tonnengewölbte Kirchen errichtet wurden.

Dem Umbau der älteren Kirchen schreibt Verf. eine große symbolische bzw. religiöse Bedeutung zu, denn sie ginge mit einer Funktionsänderung einher. Dass Erdbeben die Kirchen beschädigten und zu einem Umbau zwangen, lehnt Verf. pauschal ab. Sie führt allerdings nur ein Erdbeben im Jahr 1303 an, das nicht für alle Umbauten herhalten kann, belegt sind allerdings durch die schriftlichen Quellen eine ganze Reihe von starken Erdbeben und bekanntlich ist Kreta in dieser Hinsicht eine stark gefährdete Region.

Die Raumanalyse und manche liturgische Konstruktionen dienen der Verf. als Beweis für ihre These. Angeführt wird eine Art Synthronon in Kamariotis, das Vorhandensein von drei Altären in manchen der angeführten Kirchen, Nischen für Weihwasser wie auch Reste eines Ambos in der Johanneskirche in Liliano. Diesem letzten Befund misst sie besondere Bedeutung zu, denn Ambokonstruktionen aus der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit seien sehr selten. In Kombination mit der Erweiterung des Raumes durch den Umbau der älteren Kirchen stellt sie die These auf, dass die Kirchen speziell für Predigen der Orden bestimmt waren.

Von den angeführten Konstruktionen sind Nischen für Weihwasser die einzigen Elemente, die tatsächlich für die postulierte Nutzung für den lateinischen Ritus sprechen. Ihre Anzahl ist jedoch so gering, dass sie die pauschalen Ergebnisse der Verf. nicht rechtfertigen.

Verf. schlussfolgert, dass die Kirchen des in diesem Kapitel untersuchten Typus der Durchführung des Gottesdienstes in beiden Riten diente. Die Entfernung der ursprünglichen Kuppel hatte zum Zweck, den Kirchen ihre or-

thodoxe Identität zu nehmen. Sie bewirkte den sozialen Frieden und die Annäherung der Orthodoxen an die lateinische Bevölkerung. Da die meisten dieser Kirchen im Einflussbereich der Kallergis-Familie entstanden sind, sei die bisherige Annahme der Forschung, dass die Kallergis-Familie sich besonders für die Orthodoxen einsetzte, was übrigens durch die *Pax Alexi Callergi* von 1299 bezeugt ist, zu relativieren.

Schließlich stellt Verf. die Frage, ob es legitim ist, einen Bautypus mit einer gewissen Konfession in Verbindung zu bringen. Eine klare Antwort sei nicht möglich. Erst ab dem 15. Jh. verliere die Architektur ihre symbolische Bedeutung. Damit relativiert sie allerdings ihre eigenen oft widersprüchlichen Thesen. Denn die Rede ist sowohl von der symbolischen Bedeutung des Bautypus wie auch von einer gewollten konfessionellen Neutralität.

Der Reduzierung der Kuppelbauten auf Kreta ab dem 13. Jh., das Thema des nächsten Kapitels (Η υποχώρηση των τρούλλων, S. 229–263), führt sie ebenfalls auf die Intention der Entfernung des orthodoxen Charakters zurück. Wie ist jedoch die Errichtung von Kuppelbauten auch noch bis ins 15. Jh. zu erklären? Warum wurden sie nicht umgebaut? Für eine Reihe von Kuppelbauten, die in der venezianischen Herrschaft weiterhin benutzt wurden, werden unterschiedliche, allerdings nicht beweisbare Erklärungen angeboten: Bei der Bischofskirche des Hl. Myron wurde der Kuppelbau beibehalten, weil die Lateiner kein Interesse an der Kirche selbst, sondern nur an ihr Vermögen hätten. In anderen Fällen, darunter Bischofskirchen, die angeblich für den lateinischen Klerus benutzt wurden, wurde der orthodoxe Bautypus beibehalten, um Auseinandersetzungen zu vermeiden, oder wegen der kultischen Bedeutung der Kirchen oder aus finanziellen Gründen. Es werden also die gleichen Argumente angeführt, die der Erklärung der Umbauten dienten! Als Fazit wird formuliert, dass keine aggressive Latinisierung der Bischofssitze beabsichtigt wurde, die Beibehaltung orthodoxer Bauformen und ihre mutmaßliche Benutzung durch die Lateiner sei als ein Zeichen des Respekts gegenüber der lokalen orthodoxen Bevölkerung zu werten.

Im letzten Teil des Kapitels wird die Bedeutung der Kuppel als Synonym für die Orthodoxie unterstrichen und es werden Beispiele angeführt für die nachträgliche Betonung des orthodoxen Charakters einer Kirche, indem man einer älteren Einraumkapelle einen Narthex mit Kuppel hinzufügte. Da solche Narthices mit Kuppeln jedoch auch an Kuppelbauten hinzugefügt wurden (s. die angeführten Beispiele in der Anm. 89 auf S. 256), ist diese These zu relativieren. Zurecht stellt Verf. schließlich fest, dass bei der Übernahme der Kuppelform für Bauten in Venedig Kreta eine wichtige Vermittlerfunktion hatte. In dieser Hinsicht halte ich jedoch die Herleitung des Typus der Fünfkuppelkirche des Christos, Hl. Demetrios und Hl. Nikolaos in Kounaboi von San Marco in Venedig, die ihrerseits bekanntlich die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel kopiert, für abwegig.

Die Panagia-Kirche in Prinos, Mylopotamos, ist der Gegenstand des nächsten Kapitels (Ανάμεσα στο Βυζάντιο και τη Βενετία: Η εκκλησία της Παναγίας στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου, S. 265–299). Es handelt sich um eine Kreuzkuppelkirche im Typus des freistehenden Kreuzes. Verf. beschreibt die

Architektur, die byzantinische und westliche Elemente kombiniert. Gleiches gilt für die Wandmalereien. Die Datierung der Kirche, die als Katholikon eines Klosters diente, ergibt sich aus der zeitlichen Einsetzung der Wandmalereien in die 2. H. des 15. Jhs. durch die Verf. Ich halte allerdings die von I. Spatharakis vorgeschlagene zeitliche Einordnung der Malereien in die 1. H. des 15. Jhs. für überzeugender.

Zum Kloster existiert nur eine schriftliche Quelle des 17. Jh.s, nach der das Kloster von dem kretischen Adeligen Farnzisco Gritti dem Priester Gianna Varouchas übergeben wurde. Die Gestaltung des Klosters führt Verf. zur Annahme, es handele sich nicht um ein orthodoxes Kloster. Die Genehmigung für die Einrichtung eines orthodoxen Klosters wäre nach der Verf. ohnehin nicht möglich gewesen, auch weil nach der Synode von Ferrara 1439 die lateinische Kirche versuchte, die Orthodoxie einzuschränken. Besonders nach dem Aufstand des Sephes Vlastos 1453/54 wurden strenge Maßnahmen gegen die Orthodoxen getroffen. Die antiorthodoxe Politik Venedigs und der lateinischen Kirche, die hier als Argument angeführt wird, widerlegt allerdings die vorher entwickelte These der Verf. über die Doppelkirchen und die friedliche Koexistenz der beiden Konfessionen.

Unter Betrachtung aller Faktoren (Architektur, Malerei, politische Situation) schlussfolgert Verf., dass es sich um ein Kloster handelte, das die Kirchenunion propagieren sollte. Als Hinweis *ex silentio* führt sie das Fehlen einer zweiten Einraumkapelle für den lateinischen Ritus an und sie findet es erstaunlich, dass es keinen zweiten Altar in der Kirche gibt. Nach dieser Logik müssten aber sämtliche Einraumkapellen Kretas für den Ritus der Unierten bestimmt gewesen sein. Problematisch ist ferner die Annahme, dass bis zum 15. Jh. der Charakter der Malereien keine konfessionelle Bedeutung gehabt hätte, in der 2. H. des 15. Jhs. jedoch schon. Gründe für diese Aussage werden leider nicht genannt. Weiterhin halte ich die Behauptung, dass die Kuppel der Panagia-Kirche in Prinos trotz ihres orthodoxen Charakters beibehalten wurde, da die Kuppelform zu dieser Zeit in Venedig beliebt waren, für abwegig.

Das letzte Kapitel trägt den Titel „Zwischen dem Westen und dem Osten“ (Ανάμεσα στη Δύση και την Ανατολή, S. 301–307). Hier wiederholt Verf. die Ergebnisse der vorangehenden Kapitel und verbindet sie miteinander. Dabei stellt sie abschließend fest, dass sich die Kirchen auf dem Land allmählich vom byzantinischen architektonischen Stil entfernen würden. Das Erstaunliche dabei wäre, dass diese Gebäude jedoch mit Malereien byzantinischen Charakters kombiniert werden.

Bibliographie, eine englische Zusammenfassung und ein Index vervollständigen die Arbeit, die von schönen Photos und Grundrissen begleitet wird.

Das Buch bietet eigentlich keine Architekturgeschichte und auch keine detaillierte Typologie der kretischen Kirchen. Es wird eine kulturelle und konfessionelle Lesung bestimmter Bauformen versucht, durch welche weitreichende Aussagen zum Charakter der Kultur Kretas formuliert werden. Leider geschieht dies unter selektiver Berücksichtigung der schriftlichen Quellen, die sehr oft nicht zeitgenössisch mit den Monumenten sind, wie die der Stifterinschriften und der Wandmalerei. So entsteht der Eindruck, auf

Kreta gäbe es überwiegend Kirchen für beide Riten. Dies kann jedoch in den wenigsten Fällen durch schriftliche und archäologische Zeugnisse oder bauhistorisch belegt werden. Alles Andere bleibt hypothetisch und in vielen Fällen nicht nachvollziehbar.

Neben diesem generellen Urteil sind grundsätzlich noch folgende methodische Probleme hervorzuheben: Meistens wird die Architektur einer Kirche über die Malerei in ihrem Inneren datiert, was grundsätzlich unzulässig ist. Dies geschieht beispielsweise bei der Kirche des Erzengels Michael in Kakodiki, die die Verf. aufgrund deren Wandmalereien ins 14. Jhs. datiert. Dabei übersieht Verf., dass es sich dabei um die zweite Malschicht handelt, wie auch K. Gallas bemerkte. Eine ältere Malereischicht, die vermutlich spätestens aus dem 13. Jh. stammt, ist an wenigen Stellen noch sichtbar.

Ein weiteres Problem stellt der Umstand dar, dass Verf. mit *rito greco* stets den unierten Ritus (so etwa S. 182, 294) meint, was eine Fehldeutung der schriftlichen Quellen ist. Die zahlreichen negativen Äußerungen über den *rito greco* in den venezianischen Quellen weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass damit der orthodoxe Ritus gemeint war.

Abschließend ist festzustellen, dass die Forschung noch weit davon entfernt ist, die Kultur Kretas und ihre Äußerungen in der Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft vollständig zu verstehen. Die hier besprochene ideenreiche Monographie wird aber sicherlich die weitere Forschung dazu anregen.

Mainz *Vasiliki Tsamakda*

G. C. Horrocks, Greek: a history of the language and its speakers. Oxford/West Sussex, Wiley-Blackwell ²2010. 525 S. ISBN 978-1-4051-3415-6.

Bei der hier zu rezensierenden Publikation handelt es sich um eine neue, erweiterte und verbesserte Ausgabe. Die erste Ausgabe des Buches erschien im Jahr 1997, wurde mehrmals (positiv) besprochen und ins Neugriechische übersetzt (2006 von M. Stavrou und M. Tzevelekou). Das Buch war ausverkauft und konnte nicht mehr ediert werden, da die Serie (*Longman Linguistics Library*), deren Bestandteil es war, seit der Übernahme des Longman Verlags durch den Pearson Verlag nicht mehr existierte. Die zweite Ausgabe, ein Buch von hochästhetischer Qualität, ist 2010 im Verlag Wiley-Blackwell erschienen.

Wie die vorausgegangenen Besprechungen bereits deutlich gemacht haben, bildet das Buch von H. ein Desiderat für die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Die zu diesem Thema vorliegenden Werke sind entweder zu verkürzt (beispielsweise die Bücher von Browning und Tonnet[3]), um den Ansprüchen des heutigen Forschers der griechischen Sprache zu genügen, oder aber sie decken nur eine bestimmte Zeitspanne ab (so reicht die Geschichte der grie-

3 R. Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek. ²Cambridge 1986; H. Tonnet, Histoire du grec moderne: la formation d'une langue. ²Paris 2003.

chischen Sprache von Christides[4] lediglich bis zur Spätantike und das Buch von Adrados befasst sich nur auf wenigen Seiten – im spanischen Original S. 260–277 – mit dem Neugriechischen[5]). Der Schwerpunkt meiner Besprechung wird auf den Ergänzungen der zweiten Ausgabe des Buches im Vergleich zur ersten liegen.

Die allgemeine Struktur der zweiten Ausgabe ist weitgehend gleich geblieben. Das Buch besteht aus drei großen Teilen: *Part I Ancient Greek: From Mycenae to the Roman Empire, Part II Byzantium: From Constantine I to Mehmet the Conqueror, Part III Modern Greek: From the Ottoman Empire to the European Union.* Diesen Teilen geht eine Einführung in die Zielsetzung des Werkes voraus, die einen umfassenden Einblick in Ansicht und Methodologie des Autors erlaubt. Schnell wird klar, dass der Schwerpunkt, im Gegensatz zu anderen Entwicklungsgeschichten der Sprache, weder auf einer bestimmten Periode (z. B. Altgriechisch oder Byzantinisch), noch auf einer eindimensionalen Berücksichtigung nur der schriftlichen oder nur der mündlichen Sprache liegt. H. bemüht sich, alle sprachlichen Phasen der griechischen Sprache anhand sowohl hoch- als auch volkssprachlicher Quellen in ihrem historischen und sozialen Kontext zu erfassen. Infolgedessen geht jedem Teil eine Übersicht der historischen und sozialen Ereignisse voraus, da es – wie der Titel besagt – um die Geschichte der Sprache und der sie Sprechenden geht.

Vergeblich sucht der Leser im ersten Teil nach Informationen über die Genese der griechischen Sprache aus dem Indogermanischen, ihren Austritt aus den übrigen Sprachen dieser Familie und die erheblichen Abweichungen von den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen. Das Buch beginnt mit dem Kommen der ‚Griechen' nach Griechenland.

Der Kritik der ersten Ausgabe des Buches, dass die altgriechische Sprache nicht besonders gründlich dargestellt worden sei, begegnet H. mit einer Erweiterung des ersten Teils (*Ancient Greek*). Das erste Kapitel (*The Ancient Greek Dialects*)[6] wurde mit einer Reihe von Beispielen zu jedem Dialekt bereichert. Das Unterkapitel 1.4 (*Some Examples*) auf S. 24–40 ist neu und die Charakteristika der griechischen Dialekte werden mit Hilfe von Inschriftentexten aufgezeigt. Auch dem zweiten (*Classical Greek: official and literary 'standards'*) und dritten Kapitel (*The Rise of Attic*) wurden Beispiele aus literarischen Texten (Homer, Archilochos, Sappho, Pindar, Sophokles, Herodot, Thukydides, Plato und Demosthenes) hinzugefügt.

Alle Beispiele werden wie folgt angegeben: der griechische Text im Original, phonetische Transkription, die der Aussprache der jeweiligen sprachlichen Periode entspricht, Wort-für-Wort-Übersetzung ins Englische und am Ende die

[4] A.-F. Christidis, Η ελληνική γλώσσα και οι διάλεκτοί της / La langue grecque et ses dialects, Thessaloniki 2005.

[5] F. R. Adrados, Historia de la Lengua Griega. De los origins a nuestros días. Madrid 1999. Es überrascht, dass dieses Buch, welches ins Englische, Deutsche und Griechische übersetzt worden ist, nicht in Horrocks Bibliographie aufgenommen wurde.

[6] Bezeichnend ist die Änderung des Titels: *Ancient Greek and its dialects* war der ursprüngliche Titel.

englische Gesamtübersetzung des Textes. Diese Methode wurde bereits in der ersten Ausgabe angewandt und ist in der zweiten gleich geblieben. Die Ergänzung des internationalen phonetischen Alphabets zu Beginn des Buches (S. xvii) ist in diesem Zusammenhang überaus hilfreich. Das Unterfangen, die jeweilige Aussprache wiederzugeben, stellt innerhalb der Geschichte der griechischen Sprache eine Innovation dar, die von Allen (*Vox Graeca*)[7] beeinflusst zu sein scheint. Einige Beispiele werfen Fragen und Widersprüche auf (siehe die Besprechung der ersten Ausgabe von Julian Méndez Dosuna, *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 1, 2000, 274–295). H. ist es gelungen, diese in seiner zweiten Ausgabe aufzuspüren und einige Verbesserungen nachzutragen (wie auf S. 358 das Verschwinden des Akuts in der Transkription auf νά Z. 7). Dennoch fallen zahlreiche Fehler innerhalb der phonetischen Transkription auf; in der Tabelle auf S. xviii wird die phonetische Transkription [b] beispielsweise zur modernen Aussprache des Neugriechischen <β>; auf S. 184 wird das Wort <καί> einmal als [kai] und ein Wort danach als [ce] phonetisch transkribiert. Im allgemeinen ist die exakte phonetische Wiedergabe jeder zeitlichen Periode eine äußerst schwierige Aufgabe, und jede von H.s Entscheidungen (z.B. die Aussprache des attischen <ζ> immer als [zd], die frühzeitige Datierung der Synizese in die hellenistische Zeit, die phonetische Wiedergabe der Texte der kretischen Literatur des 16. und 17. Jh.s mit der heutigen Aussprache) könnte an dieser Stelle diskutiert, angezweifelt oder verworfen werden. Dessen ungeachtet bleibt es eine lobenswerte Arbeit.

In den drei übrigen Kapiteln (*Greek in the Hellenistic World, Greek in the Roman Empire, Spoken Koine in the Roman Period*) des ersten Teils lassen sich keine bedeutenden Unterschiede zur ersten Ausgabe erkennen. Subtile Änderungen finden sich z.B. in einigen Titeln (z.B. 4.7.7 *Drama: the 'new' Attic comedy and the mime*, dem das literarische Genre Mime beigefügt wurde, 5.4. *Roman Attitudes to Greek Culture* ersetzt den Titel *Romanitas and Hellenism*). In manchen Fällen werden detaillierte Beschreibungen sprachlicher Phänomene wiedergegeben (wie im Kapitel 4.11.3 das Partizip), durch eine erweiterte Bibliographie ergänzt, die die neuen Forschungsergebnisse berücksichtigt, und mit neuen Beispielen bereichert (siehe die neuen Wörter auf S. 128 über den Einfluss des Lateinischen auf das Griechische, den Menander-Text auf S. 138–139, die Phrynichos- und Matthäus-Beispiele auf S. 150). Ebenso wurden neue sprachliche Phänomene mit aufgenommen (auf S. 148 zur neutestamentlichen Sprache sind die Bemerkungen über den Nominativ anstelle von Akkusativ und Vokativ neu, oder auf S. 156–157 zum Gebrauch von τυγχάνω). Überall (in diesem wie auch in den übrigen Teilen des Buchs) wurde die Literatur umfassend aktualisiert. Tatsächlich umfasst die Bibliographie 200 neue Einträge.

Der zweite Teil (*Byzantium: From Constantine I to Mehmet the Conqueror*) besteht wie in der ersten Ausgabe aus sechs Kapiteln: *Historical Prelude, Greek in the Byzantine Empire: The major issues, Byzantine Belles Lettres, The Written Koine in Byzantium, Spoken Greek in Byzantine Empire, Texts in the 'Vernacular'.* Die Titel der zahlreichen Unterkapitel wurden in einigen Fällen

---

7 W.S. Allen, Vox Graeca. The Pronunciation of Classical Greek. $^{3}$Cambridge 1987.

leicht variiert (meist verkürzt),[8] Schlussfolgerungen werden den Kapiteln 8 und 9 hinzugefügt – so dass nun jedes Kapitel dieses Teils mit den Schlussfolgerungen endet. Das neunte Kapitel (*Byzantine Belles Lettres*) ist mit einem zusätzlichen Unterkapitel (*After the Fall: Michael Kritóboulos (15th Century)*) versehen, in dem H. sprachlich auf einen Ausschnitt des Werks des byzantinischen Autors Kritoboulos eingeht. Die Textbeispiele sind im allgemeinen im zweiten Teil vielfältiger: eine Passage aus der *Chronographia* von Psellos (S. 234), zwei zusätzliche Passagen aus Malalas (S. 246 und 248) sowie der griechische Text aus *De Administrando Imperio* (S. 259). Was den theoretischen Aspekt angeht, so wurden einige Teile zuweilen verkürzt, meist jedoch mit neuem Material angereichert (wie auf S. 250–251). In literaturgeschichtlichem Hinblick wurde das Kapitel über die Chronographien (S. 222–225) um mehrere Autoren, wie den Anonymus des *Chronikon Paschale*, Georgios Synkellos, Georgios Monachos und Symeon Logothetes erweitert. Der Ausbau der Liste mit den volkssprachlichen Änderungen der christlichen Tradition (der stabile Gebrauch von δύο anstelle des Duals, der Gebrauch von μή mit nicht finiten Verben, S. 256) und die anschauliche Zusammenstellung der Regeln für die Bewahrung des finalen –ν können verzeichnet werden. Insgesamt wurden die meisten Listen mit der Darstellung der sprachlichen Merkmale bearbeitet und sinnvoll ergänzt.

Der dritte Teil (*Modern Greek: From the Ottoman Empire to the European Union*) besteht wie in der vorangegangenen Ausgabe aus fünf Kapiteln (*Ottoman Rule and the War of Independence, Spoken Greek in the Ottoman Period, Written Greek in the Turkish Period, The History of the Modern Greek State, The 'Language Question' and its Resolution*). Neben den kleinen Änderungen in den Titeln[9] liegt der Unterschied in der Ergänzung zweier neuer Unterkapitel: 14.2.6 das Kapitel *The northern dialects*, und 17.8 am Ende des Buches *A Range of Styles*, welches sich aus Beispielen aus den Werken der literarischen Autoren G. Seferis, M. Douka und P. Markaris, einem Artikel der Zeitung *To Vima* und einer Passage aus einem Gesetzentwurf des Bildungsministeriums zusammensetzt. Auffällig sind die neuen Beispiele für die süditalienischen Dialekte (S. 390–391) sowie für die Dialekte der Dodekanes, auf Kreta und Zypern (S. 394–397). Die Listen der sprachlichen Charakteristika werden auch hier erweitert (z.B. die demotischen, phonologischen und morphologischen

---

8 Besonders in Kapitel 8 (8.3 *The Prestige of Greek* anstelle von *The Prestige of Greek: Byzantine identity in the middle period*, 8.4 *Greek in the Later Empire* anstelle von *'Greek' identity in the Later Empire: linguistic implications*, 8.4.1 *Introductio*n anstelle von *National reappraisal*, 8.4.2 *Byzantine Atticism* anstelle von *Byzantine belles lettres and the Atticist revival*, 8.5.7 *A new written standard in the later empire* anstelle von *The Koine in the later empire: a new written standard*). Kapitel 10 wurde zu *The written koine in Byzantium* anstelle von *Middle styles in Byzantium.*

9 13.2 *Ottoman decline* anstatt *Ottoman decline and the Greek revival* und Kapitel 14 *Spoken Greek in the Ottoman Period* anstatt *Spoken Greek in the Ottoman Empire.*

Merkmale auf S. 424–426).[10] Der historische Überblick dehnt sich in dieser Ausgabe bis zum Jahre 2002 (S. 437) aus.

In seiner überarbeiteten Ausgabe bemüht sich der Autor um die Ausmerzung kleiner Schwächen der vorigen, um zahlreiche Nachträge sinnvoller Beispiele, um anschauliche Listen und die Aktualisierung der Bibliographie, und so konnten in der Tat viele der einst zu überprüfenden Stellen verbessert oder gänzlich ersetzt werden. Die meisten Überarbeitungen betreffen den sprachlichen Teil. Bezüglich der historischen Gegebenheit jeder Phase der griechischen Gesellschaft basiert das Buch nach wie vor auf wichtigen Referenzwerken, die ohne größere Vertiefung die groben Züge der griechischen Geschichte wiedergeben. In diesem Teil sind nur geringfügige Änderungen zu finden.

Leserfreundlicher sind die Endnoten, die sich nicht mehr ganz am Ende befinden, sondern im Anschluss an jedes einzelne Kapitel. Gleichwohl könnten diese ebenso zu Fußnoten umgestaltet werden. Das Buch richtet sich an ein breitgefächertes Publikum, das ein Erscheinen als Paperback sicherlich begrüßen würde. Der Umschlag der ersten Ausgabe (Christusdetail aus dem Deesis-Mosaik der Hagia Sophia) wurde durch das Bild eines delischen Amphitheaters ersetzt. Des sich aufdrängenden Eindrucks, das Buch sei ein Touristenführer, kann man sich dadurch kaum erwehren. Besonders der interessierte Laie dürfte hin und wieder Schwierigkeiten haben, die Baumdiagramme (beschränkt auf S. 279–280) und die linguistische Terminologie zu verstehen. Ohne Zweifel ist es ein schwieriges Unterfangen, dem Erwartungshorizont aller Rezipienten zu genügen. Das Buch wird von Wissenschaftlern unterschiedlicher Herkunft gelesen, beispielsweise von Philologen, die mit einer spezialisierten Sprachwissenschaft nicht vertraut sind, oder aber von Sprachwissenschaftlern, deren täglich Brot der Umgang mit Texten der antiken oder byzantinischen Literatur ist, oder von Literaturspezialisten, deren Forschungshorizont eine abgesteckte Zeitepoche (antike, byzantinische oder neugriechische) umfasst. Innerhalb des Buchs finden sich einige Stellen, die besser erklärt werden sollten, anderen wiederum haftet unnötiger Informationsballast an. Gleichwohl gelingt es dem Autor, den Durchschnitt seiner Leser auf eine verständliche und eindrückliche Weise zu erreichen.

Am Ende steht das Buch von H. nach wie vor als ein monumentales Werk für die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Auf vorbildliche Weise ist dem Autor das diffizile und nicht wenig komplexe Unternehmen geglückt, die linguistische Beschreibung der griechischen Sprache (synchronische Analyse und diachronische Änderungen) auf allen Ebenen (Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax, Wortschatz) mithilfe einer innovativen Methodik darzustellen. Die Vielzahl der sprachlichen Phänomene und Texte, die diskutiert, analysiert und kommentiert werden, sind in keiner anderen Beschreibung der griechischen

---

10 Siehe auch mehrere Beispiele für die sprachlichen Eigenheiten von Konstantinopel auf S. 449–450.

Sprache zu finden; die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung sind an vielen Stellen originell und überall mit reicher Sekundärliteratur versehen.

Athen *Grammatiki Karla*

Paul Magdalino / Robert Nelson (eds.), The Old Testament in Byzantium. *Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia.* Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks 2010. 300 p. illustrations. ISBN 978-0-88402-348-7.

This is the second volume in the series Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. It comprises an important collection of essays from the 2006 symposium, "The Old Testament in Byzantium" that was held in conjunction with the exhibit, "In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000" at the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, D.C. This volume accomplishes what it intends: to address a lacuna in the field of Byzantine studies. As editors Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson remark in their introduction, while Byzantine Christianity has been widely examined, "the Bible, the foundation of all Christian belief, has never previously been the focus of any monograph, journal, handbook, volume of collected studies, conference, or exhibition devoted to Byzantium" (1). The significance of this collection of essays can be measured, at least in part, by the prominence of the Bible in Byzantium. Bibles of varying scope could be found in churches, monasteries and homes. Scriptural themes abounded in word and image, and transformed the lives not only of Byzantines, but of Jewish and Muslim peoples as well. In this collection of essays readers will find reliable guidance to several facets of the Old Testament in Byzantium (and beyond), ranging from the fourth through twelfth centuries.

In their introduction the editors orient readers to the contours of the volume. They reflect on the competing legacies of the Old Testament (OT) among Christians and Jews, narrate the increasing preoccupation with the OT in Byzantium by illustrating how the empire fashioned itself and its capital as the New Israel and Jerusalem respectively, and conclude with brief comparative reflections on the role of the OT in Byzantium and other medieval societies. There are two main foci in the essays that follow: how Byzantines encountered Bibles as cultural artifacts (chs 2–5), and the ways in which they and their neighbors appropriated this text in their everyday lives (chs 4, 6–11).

The first four essays examine the OT as a physical artifact. Nicholas de Lange writes about the Greek Bible translations of Byzantine Jews. He sets out to correct the "sweeping generalization" (39) that the language of the Jewish minority for most any occasion was Hebrew. On the basis of manuscript evidence (primarily from the Cairo Genizah), he argues that Jewish men learned to read the Hebrew Bible with the help of Greek translations based upon the second century Greek translation by Akylas (Aquila). James Miller's essay helpfully cautions against the easy anachronism that the physical format of the Byzantine Bible corresponded to the format with which we are today

familiar: a single codex comprising all the writings deemed canonical. In fact, he reminds us, a complete OT in Byzantium would have been comparatively rare. He contends that the lectionary designated by modern scholars as the Prophetologion (in use between the 9th and 16th centuries) best corresponds to the modern OT in Byzantium. This slender anthology of liturgical readings conveyed only a fraction of the complete OT. Miller sketches its contents and uses, and helpfully locates the Prophetologion amidst other vehicles for conveying a knowledge of the OT to the "common man." Georgi Parpulov argues for the central role of the Psalms in personal devotional life (as opposed to the public liturgy) by examining Psalters which were copied for personal, rather than public liturgical use. "Byzantine manuscripts of the Psalter are the physical remains of the such pious observances" (81). He gleans evidence for his thesis from the Psalms' arrangement in the Psalter, accompanying texts (often prayers), and perhaps most interesting, how miniatures could reflect the devotional use of the Psalms. Parpulov appends excerpts from three "reasonably typical" Byzantine Psalters (100–105).

The first block of essays comes to a close with John Lowden's examination of six illustrated Octateuchs (Pentateuch, plus Joshua, Judges and Ruth). Ultimately, he presses for the significance of these manuscripts by noting that this book achieved unique status in Byzantium, as there was no clear analogue for it in the medieval west. This richly illustrated chapter takes readers into the many facets of the production of Octateuch manuscripts, such as their commissioning, mechanics of production, and interrelationships. The main focus of the essay, however, is to trace the history of their images with a view to challenging Kurt Wietzmann's thesis that these manuscripts found their iconographic models in a pre-Byzantine context. Rather, Lowden argues, the best evidence suggests that we ought to view these illustrations as a middle and late Byzantine phenomenon.

Elizabeth Jeffreys heads the next section of essays. She explores the use of the OT in the Byzantine chronicle, i.e. the "Christianized world history from creation to the time of each example's composition or compilation" (153). Jeffreys offers a clear overview of the history of chronicle writing in the Christian tradition, its basic feature (a "meshing together of ruler lists from the Hellenic and Roman chronographic traditions with a chronology derived from the Old Testament genealogical lists" [159]) and the ways chronicle writers were both dependent on precursors as well as constructive with new agendas. The focus of her essay is on two passages in the chronicle of Malalas (mid sixth century) about the magicians who opposed Moses in Pharaoh's court and the Assyrian Sennacherib's failed siege of Jerusalem. Both passages "perhaps typify how the Old Testament is used in the Byzantine Christian world chronicle" (161), namely, the chronicle framed the OT as a type that pointed not simply to Christianity in general, but Byzantium in particular, thereby reflecting and bolstering the notion that Byzantium was the new Israel, God's elect. Claudia Rapp's essay is written with overlapping concerns. Focusing on literature from the first three and half centuries of the Byzantine empire, she explores the sorts of associations made between emperors and OT figures.

Ultimately she contends that "[t]wo main modes of establishing a relationship to Old Testament models can be identified, the Roman mode of the *exemplum* and the Christian mode of typology" (177). After defining these two imitative modes, she examines several literary contexts in which these associations were made, arguing that the use of *exemplum* or *typos* "depended upon the outlook and training of the author and on the literary genre in which he wrote. Historians favored the *exemplum,* while theologians preferred the *typos*, but both groups shared an appreciation of the Old Testament as the root, baseline, and standard against which their present had to be measured" (197).

"Byzantine monasticism sang, taught, interpreted, embodied, and reenacted Scripture" (220). Derek Krueger situates the OT in Byzantine monastic culture from the fourth through twelfth centuries. In the *Apophthegmata patrum*, for example, the heroes of the OT regularly exemplified central monastic virtues, thus serving as models for monks to imitate. Distinct from this literal approach was an allegorical interpretation that saw in the OT shadows of the deeper spiritual truths that informed the monastic life. Alongside interpretations of Scripture, Krueger reminds us that Scripture was spoken, read and heard by monks in the context of the liturgy. Here his essay dovetails nicely with G. Parpulov's. "[T]he Psalms scripted the monk's interior self-reflection and outward self-presentation" (218). Along the way, Krueger reminds the reader that as the OT shaped the monastic life, so too did monks refashion the Bible into a monastic text, relevant to their concerns.

Robert Ousterhout assesses "the metaphorical language of Byzantine architecture, in which the Temple figures prominently as a powerful, potent, and multivalent image" (225). Much of the essay works with the distinction between metaphorical descriptions of churches as temples on the one hand, and symbols of temples "embedded or encoded within the architectural forms of the building itself" on the other (228). He offers two case studies, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hagia Sophia. "In the final analysis," he concludes, "neither the Holy Sepulchre nor Hagia Sophia looked anything like the Temple" (251–252), i.e., they did not evoke the Temple through architectural form. But this is not to suggest they did not code it through words, or indeed, through ceremonies, relicts or settings. It is these linkages that Ousterhout explores, encouraging readers to develop more sophisticated categories for discerning the polyvalency of Byzantine architecture.

Two final essays turn to the use of the OT beyond the borders of Byzantium. Ivan Biliarsky examines the decisive period of the reign of Tsar Symeon (893–927) in which Bulgaria transitioned from a pagan, barbarian state to a Christian imperial one. Drawing upon two texts, the *List of the Names of Bulgar Princes* and the *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle of the Eleventh Century*, he argues that the "dominant themes of these two texts were borrowed from the Bible, and they substituted for pagan beliefs and images of authority" (256). In particular, he focuses on how scriptural themes of a promised land, a chosen people, and the king, all based in the OT, surfaced in these texts, and were used to forge a new identity for the early medieval Bulgarian state, in its transitional period. Jane Dammen McAuliffe completes this collection of essays by

surveying the ways in which Moses, and by extension other biblical material, relate to the Qur'an. She offers a helpful overview of how scholars explain the emergence of Moses' biography within the Qur'an and how this biography functions. "Virtually every major element in Muhammad's prophetic vocation finds it counterpart in the life of Moses …" (188). In the final sections of her essay she explores the validity (or lack thereof) of biblical materials for contemporary Muslim scholarship and concludes with a plea for further research into the "full historico-cultural context of the Qur'an's genesis and of its relations to earlier sacred literatures" (298).

By any account, this volume ought to be considered a success. It orients readers to its vast, and as yet, still largely untapped theme. It is also an attractive volume and adorned with numerous illustrations. Arguably the main leitmotif in this collection of essays is how Byzantines transformed the OT into a profoundly *relevant* text so that it spoke to, and informed, their lives. If I might voice a critique from the perspective of an historian of Christianity, it is that such a theme suggests additional topics for examination. "The Old Testament and Byzantine Philology" would have proven an interesting essay, exploring scribal practices of transmission and the use of research tools (such as lexica and concordances), interpretive approaches (literal and allegorical), exegetical genres (commentaries, scholia, catenae etc.), handbooks (Junillus' *Instituta Regularia* comes immediately to mind) and more broadly, the transmission of the patristic exegetical tradition. This volume pursues many linkages between the OT and Christianity, and so it perhaps comes as a surprise that we do not find an essay dedicated to Christology – how the OT functioned either intramurally (among Christians) or interreligiously (among Christians, Jews and Muslims) in the central, and often polemical, literature on Jesus. In the end, however, it is hard to argue with the essays that make up this publication. The scholarship is incisive and vivid, it summarizes important trajectories in the field, and repeatedly opens new paths for further research. I enthusiastically recommend this book.

St. Louis *Peter W. Martens*

Mischa Meier, Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta 2009. 443 p. ISBN 978-3-608-94377-1.

As the corpus of studies on the late Roman world grows, so grows the refinement with which certain periods are examined and the desire to find new angles and approaches. Traditionally, the spotlight has shone on the age of Justinian as a crucial period of activity and a turning point between the classical world and the Byzantine Empire. Recently, however, more attention has been paid to the reign of Anastasius, not only as the precursor to this golden age of Justinian, but also as an important phase in its own right. In his monograph, Meier seeks to position the Anastasian years as the decisive moment in the

transition between the Roman and the Byzantine Empires, and to depict the emperor as successfully juggling relations with the Sasanians in the east and the Ostrogoths in the west; complicated by schisms within the church and a poor economic outlook inherited from his predecessors. Meier, therefore, makes Anastasius' successful consolidation of the eastern Roman Empire (in comparison to the west) a key theme throughout the monograph. Another important theme which colours Meier's picture of the reign is the significance of the year 500 which, it was feared, would bring about the end of the world. Meier is particularly good at imagining what it would be like to live and rule at such a time (chapters I and II) and he explores the apocalyptic visions circulating about the emperor's death (chapters III and VIII).

Meier emphasises in his first chapter the necessity in a biography to set the subject firmly within the wider context, and his weaving of the personality and deeds of the emperor into a grander narrative of late fifth and sixth century history comes across especially clearly in chapter III.4 (the religious controversy), IV.1 (the economy) and V.1 (relations with Persia). His discussion of the theory and practice of the writing of biography is anchored firmly within the context of the history and development of biographies over the last two centuries, and he highlights the options in pursuing either a chronological or thematic approach to writing a life: he generally groups together themes but within a loose chronological framework. There are, of course, difficulties with both options, but there are occasions when the force of the argument is lessened or picture distorted when issues are split between several chapters. This is true of the doctrinal crisis where, since it affects so many aspects of policy over the whole span of the reign, it is natural that it should dominate a number of chapters; yet the arrangement of narrative in, for example, chapter III leaves the characterisation of Pope Gelasius split between the fourth and sixth sections. Descriptions and analyses of other key figures are also divided among various sections: such as Areobindus, whose potential as a serious rival to Anastasius perhaps loses a little force as a result (not withstanding Meier's excellent discussion in chapter VII.3). Similarly, there is no complete section outlining the global range of the imperial building programme: defensive works in the Balkans and the Long Walls appear in chapter IV while improvements to eastern defences are in chapter V, leaving no opportunity for discussion of a cohesive policy.

Meier hopes to appeal to both the academic and amateur audience. The weight of research, detailed analysis and careful footnoting obviously make the monograph particularly suitable for an academic audience. Equally, there is plenty to inform and entertain the interested lay reader: the series of contrasting vignettes from the "barbarian" and "civilised" worlds in chapter one, for example, which conjure up the essence of the year 500 make a good example of this accessibility. The imaginative geographical tour of the sites and processional routes in Constantinople which helps to bring the city to life is another case in point (chapter II.1).

After the first chapter (*Anastasios und Seine Welt*) which, along with some scene-setting, provides an outline of methodology (as discussed above), Meier

uses the second chapter (*Ringen um Stabilität: das Römische Reich im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*) as an entry point to his analysis of the period. He focuses on three major areas to illustrate the background: first, the city of Constantinople, its development as a Christian city and the relationship between patriarch and emperor; second, the contrasting fortunes of the east and west and the reasons why the former was able to survive when the latter succumbed; and third, politics and religion, both how the emperor became increasingly involved in the church affairs while spirituality became a factor of everyday life and imperial power itself was legitimised by the hand of God.

In the long third chapter (*Der Ungeliebte Kaiser (491–498)*), Meier starts by investigating the background and character of the emperor. His discussion of Anastasius' coronation contains a useful survey of Roman accessions stretching back to Tarquinius Superbus before focusing on the relative importance of the army, people, senate and church in the choice of emperor and ceremonial. Meier tries to look beyond the text of Peter the Patrician (the usual source for imperial accessions preserved in Constantine's *de Ceremoniis*) and imagine the actual stage-management of the event, the real role of Ariadne, and what happened to Longinus (Zeno's brother and intended successor). This section leads naturally on to the narrative and discussion of the Isaurian war: Meier highlights the positive propaganda which Anastasius' eventual victory in 498 brought him, particularly as celebrated in the literary sources.

Chapter III.4 forms the first of several sections concerning church affairs and the current doctrinal schisms. Here Meier introduces the problems facing Anastasius (how to maintain unity with the west whilst not alienating the eastern provinces in which lay the political, economic and cultural priorities of the empire, but between which there were, in any case, theological divisions). The political aspect of the doctrinal issues is set alongside the problematic relationship between the emperor and his patriarch, Euphemius, who embodied what would become a significant difficulty for the Byzantine Empire: the relative supremacy of emperor, pope, patriarch of Constantinople and other eastern patriarchs.

Focus turns, in the final two sections, to the western side of this delicate balance as Meier attempts to unravel the tangled relations between Theoderic, Anastasius, Euphemius and Gelasius and to explore the question of the nature of Theoderic's rule in Italy. A flavour of Rome under the Ostrogoths is conveyed through Meier's highlighting of the roles of the senators, Festus and Faustus, while the worsening of relations between the papacy and patriarchate of Constantinople caused by Gelasius is brought out by the detailed character study of this brilliant but uncompromising pope, illustrated by extensive references to the papal correspondence.

The fourth chapter (*Reformen im Innern, Absicherung nach Außen: Die Konsolidierung des Oströmischen Reiches (498–512)*) marks a change in direction to focus on domestic reforms during the middle years of the reign. Meier begins by explaining the necessity for financial reform and introducing the two key hallmarks of Anastasius' administration: first, his appointment of educated and experienced officials over those with the right connections;

second, that contrary to the later claim that the large amount of gold (320,000 pounds) left in the treasury at the end of his reign was due to his *"parca subtilitas"*, he managed to fight a costly war against the Persians, implement a building programme which included the improvement of defences, many churches and utilitarian projects, abolish a number of taxes (such as the *chrysargyron*) and remit taxes in provinces suffering damage either from war or natural disasters. Meier seeks to understand the processes of governance and to build up a picture of the men around Anastasius, but beyond studying the careers of a couple of high-profile officials, Polycarp and John the Paphlagonian, the paucity of evidence in the primary sources for the inner-workings of the court makes it difficult for Meier to make headway here (he has more success later in this section with Marinus, and in chapters V.4 and VII.3). For now, he offers a survey of the major reforms: the abolition of the *chrysargyon*, the introduction of the *comes sacri patrimonii*, the coinage reforms, changes to the *adaeratio* and the *coemptio*, the land tax, the Abydus Edict, and measures to regain control of trade routes by the recapture of Iotabe. Although some of this legislation is dealt with fairly succinctly, Meier does show well how these policies complemented each other. His most detailed study, however, is that of the introduction of the *vindices* which is thorough and convincing and not only offers an assessment of the role and effect of the *vindices*, drawing on a wide range of the primary sources and later studies, but also seeks to elucidate the career of Marinus (the instigator of the reform) in the context of Anastasius' court.

After the second and third sections dealing with the Bulgars (a new threat to the empire), the Long Walls (rehearsing the familiar problems of attribution and dating) and building works in the Balkans, Meier returns to domestic policy with a study of the rising phenomenon of faction riots. A characteristically full discussion of the background to this type of civil insurrection is provided, stretching back to the times of Juvenal. Meier explores the economic, political and religious causes, the relationship of the *plebs urbana* and emperor in Constantinople, and how the circus factions came to play such a defining role in this relationship. He provides an exhaustive list of the riots which took place in the major cities during Anastasius' reign, analyses the particular reasons for each, and discusses the emperor's measures to control them.

The fifth chapter (*Die Bewährungsprobe: Krieg gegen die Perser (502–506)*) deals with Anastasius' war with Persia, setting out the general context and the immediate triggers of the conflict before narrating the course of the war. One of the most interesting angles explored is the command structure and how Anastasius' generals behaved after the war. The career and eventual fate of the emperor's nephew who was the natural successor to the throne is obviously of interest. Even more so are the fortunes of the well-connected, wealthy and pro-Chalcedonian Areobindus who might well have been a threat to the emperor, especially at times of weakness such as the 512 riot. Prominence in this discussion is given to the powerful Anicia Juliana whose building of St Polyeuktos would later challenge the dominance of Justinian. The roles of Celer and Patricius, particularly with respect to their religious affiliations, are

also explored. The discussion of these generals, I think, really underlines the political skill with which the elderly emperor, lacking in military experience and adhering to an unpopular religious view, nevertheless held onto power and was even able to neutralise a serious attempt to remove him from the throne (the revolt of Vitalian) when there were a number of serious possible contenders. Meier might have brought out this point more, but his picture of how Anastasius' generals functioned in state and religious politics certainly helps to open a window onto the inner workings of late antique governance.

In the sixth chapter (*Ein Blick nach Westen (504–514)*), Meier turns back to the west, using the eventful year of 508 as a focal point to illustrate the various interlocking strands of military, political and religious policy pursued by Anastasius and Theoderic. The latter could not hope to threaten Constantinople but was keen for expansion in the west, trying to secure alliances with the Franks, Burgundians and Visigoths, and stamp his authority on the Balkans, while Anastasius could not hope to wrest Italy from the Ostrogoths but equally wished to dampen Theoderic's imperialist tendencies: hence his own attempts to woo the loyalty of the Franks and Burgundians. Religion, too, played a role here, with Anastasius, perhaps for once in matters of doctrine, holding the more attractive option for his orthodox allies than the Arian Goths. Meier's close analysis of the correspondence and language employed in the letters exchanged between the leading players helps to bring out the issues in this game of international political manoeuvring, and emphasises the importance of success. The second part of this chapter picks up from Chapter III.4 following the role of the popes in defining the relationship between Ostrogothic Italy and the eastern Roman Empire, significantly affected by the short reign of the conciliatory Anastasius II and ousting of Laurentius in favour of Symmachus, and his successor Hormisdas, who held the view that the primacy of Rome had been threatened by the *Henoticon* (the formulation of church policy by an emperor and a Constantinopolitan patriarch). This effectively meant the continuation of the Acacian schism which added to the difficult political relations between east and west and placed the senate in a difficult position.

Meier continues his study of religious politics in the seventh chapter (*Die Eskalation der Religiösen Konflikte (506–512)*), switching emphasis back to the east and introducing the influential miaphysites, Philoxenus and Severus. Rightly, emphasis is laid on the situation in Constantinople and the eastern empire in ca. 500 and the extent to which Anastasius was constrained by political realities. Meier's attention to the 512 riot, including his very detailed analysis of the primary source material which enables him to compile a day by day narrative of the riot, perhaps leads to an imbalance in his final assessment of Anastasius' handling of the religious crisis, giving a picture of an emperor struggling to maintain order in his own capital, surrounded by several potential successors. This image undermines his undoubted strength in forcing the deposition of four patriarchs (and two of them in the pro-Chalcedonian capital), the appointment of the extreme Severus to the patriarchate of Antioch, the formulation of his own *Typos* and so on.

What is impressive here is Meier's ability to stitch together a picture of the inner workings of court politics. He starts from the roles of individuals (such as Areobindus, Plato and Marinus) in the deposition of Macedonius, the 512 riot and the revolt of Vitalian, explores the similarities and differences between this civil conflict and that involving the Isaurians (where the unpopular Longinus was the alternative candidate for the throne), and alludes to the consequences (especially for the religious crisis) of the Persian war. Above all, he emphasises the significant role of Marinus, the architect of the *vindices* scheme: if this was behind Anastasius' notoriously successful financial management of fiscal policy, then this placed Marinus, potentially, in a very powerful position.

The last chapter (*Die letzten Jahre (512–518)*), before the concluding verdict on Anastasius, focuses on his final years and is necessarily dominated again by consideration of church affairs: the continued ebbing and flowing of the fortunes of the miaphysites and Chalcedonians, the revolt of Vitalian and the ongoing bargaining with the pope until the break with Rome in 517. After 515, which saw the death of the empress, Meier paints the final three years of Anastasius' reign as somewhat unsuccessful with incursions of the Sabir Huns and the Bulgars, and the realisation that the Acacian schism with Rome could not be healed while doctrinal unrest continued in the eastern provinces kept alive, as it was, by the rioting of zealous and violent monks. With the apocalyptic stories about his death, uncertainty over the succession, and the impending change of regime which would bring fresh initiatives as well as a reconciliation with Rome, Meier slightly gives the impression of an elderly emperor winding down: the usual pattern of most governments whose most innovative policies are achieved early on in a term of office. But we need not be so harsh on Anastasius as to attribute incompetence or failure in his last years: at the very least, he masterminded a successful military response to Vitalian's attack on his capital and maintained a spirited correspondence with the pope, achievements which might have been brought out more clearly by Meier.

The epilogue, however, is the place for Meier's final assessment of the reign of Anastasius, and not just of the emperor himself whom he praises for the financial stability he brought to the empire and his pragmatic religious policy, but also of the period itself, the transformation of *Imperium Romanum.* Of the three phases identified by Meier (largely defined by the chronological boundaries of the late 5$^{th}$/early 6$^{th}$ centuries, greater part of the 6$^{th}$ century, and the 7$^{th}$ century), Anastasius' reign falls into the first, a period of continuity and consolidation before the reforms of Justinian brought change and transformation. In this judgement, I see a refinement (for the better) of Meier's earlier argument suggesting that the decisive moment of change from the classical to the Byzantine world fell within the Anastasian years.

Despite minor concerns about the ordering of some of the material and the small quibbles of interpretation I have raised, this is a monograph which adds significantly to our appreciation of Anastasius, an emperor who has remained

in the shadow of Justinian until quite recently, and to our understanding of this period of late antique history.

London *Fiona Haarer*

Judith R. Ryder, The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones. A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society. *The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500,* 85. Leiden/Boston, Brill 2010. XV, 295 S. ISBN 978-90-04-18565-4.

Dieses Buch ist die Druckfassung einer an der Universität Oxford unter Anleitung von Elizabeth Jeffreys entstandenen Dissertation. Wie bereits der Titel andeutet, will die Verfasserin (R.) nicht einfach den bestehenden kürzeren Biographien[11] des bedeutenden spätbyzantinischen Staatsmannes und Literaten Demetrios Kydones (ca. 1324–1397[12]) eine ausführlichere hinzufügen, sondern es geht ihr darum, ihn als Politiker und Theologen vor dem Hintergrund der byzantinischen Gesellschaft seiner Zeit darzustellen, und sie beschränkt sich auf den ersten Teil seiner Karriere in den Jahren 1347–1373, die Phase seines Lebens, in der er in zweifacher Hinsicht den lateinischen Westen entdeckte: Er erkannte in der Scholastik das Muster einer klaren Methode philosophisch-theologischen Denkens und erhoffte sich von den christlichen Glaubenspartnern im Westen auch Hilfe gegen die politisch-militärische Bedrohung von Byzanz durch türkische Ethnien in Kleinasien, vor allem die Osmanen, die seit 1352 auch begannen, das europäische Territorium des Reiches zu erobern. Der Verwirklichung dieses Zieles glaubte sich Kydones nah, als er mit Kaiser Johannes V. Palaiologos im Herbst 1369 nach Rom reiste, wo dieser die Konversion zur römischen Kirche vollzog. Dieser Schritt fand in Byzanz, vor allem bei der orthodoxen Kirchenleitung, keine Zustimmung. Da

11 Die erste (nur bis 1375) ist verfasst von R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. I. De la naissance à l'année 1373. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica (OCP)* 36 (1970) 47–72. II. De 1373 à 1375. *OCP* 37 (1971) 5–18. Einen Überblick über das gesamte Leben des Kydones gibt F. Tinnefeld, Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, übersetzt und erläutert, Bd. I/1. *BGL,* 12. Stuttgart 1981, 4–62. Eine Kurzbiographie in russischer Sprache verfasste M. A. Poljakovskaja, Portrety vizantijskich intellektualov, tri očerka (Porträts byzantinischer Intellektueller, drei Skizzen). *Vizantijskaja biblioteka. Issledovanija.* [2]Sankt-Petersburg 1998, 19–151.

12 R. gibt noch, im Einklang mit der traditionellen Datierung, als Todesjahr "c. 1397" an (XIII). Doch ist das "c." zu tilgen, weil die Datierung auf Ende 1397 inzwischen gesichert ist durch Th. Ganchou, Dèmètrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397–1407) de nouveaux documents, in: Ch. A Maltezou/P. Schreiner (Hrsg.), Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di R.-J. Loenertz O. P. (Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000). *Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia/Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, Convegni*, 5. Venezia 2002, 435–493.

zudem die erhoffte abendländische Hilfe gegen die Türken ausblieb, fiel Kydones beim Kaiser in Ungnade, und seiner Bitte um Entlassung aus dem Staatsdienst[13] wurde, wenigstens vorübergehend, stattgegeben.[14]

Das Buch ist in drei Sektionen eingeteilt. Die erste ist dem byzantinischen und dem westlichen "intellectual background" des Kydones gewidmet, die zweite seinen politischen und religiösen Überzeugungen, wie er sie selbst in seinen Werken mitteilt; die dritte analysiert Leben und Werk des Kydones im gesellschaftlichen Kontext seiner Zeit.

Section 1, chapter 1 (Demetrius' Intellectual Background, 3–37) beginnt mit dem intellektuellen Klima, das seine Jugendjahre als "primary context" in der Heimatstadt Thessalonike prägte. R. skizziert die Stadt als blühendes Kulturzentrum im Rahmen der sog. palaiologischen Renaissance. Unter denen, die damals das geistige Klima der Stadt prägten, nennt sie die Personen, mit denen Kydones nachweislich in Kontakt stand, und einige andere Zeitgenossen, die ihn vermutlich beeinflussten. Sie vergisst auch nicht die Bibel und die antiken und patristischen Autoren des byzantinischen Bildungskanons, von dessen Spuren seine Schriften geprägt sind. Noch nicht lange hatte Kydones bereits in jungen Jahren (1347) eine verantwortliche Position in Konstantinopel am Hof von Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos erhalten, da gewann auch die abendländisch-lateinische Scholastik als "secondary context" Einfluss auf seine geistige Entwicklung. Er begann mit dem Studium des Lateinischen, weil am Hof des Kaisers wegen zahlreicher diplomatischer Kontakte zum Abendland Kenntnisse in der Sprache des Westens dringend benötigt wurden. Sein Lehrer war ein Dominikaner in der genuesischen Kolonie Pera bei Konstantinopel, der ihm ein wichtiges apologetisches Werk des Thomas von Aquin als Übungslektüre zur Verfügung stellte. In der Folgezeit wurde er als Übersetzer der Hauptwerke dieses bedeutenden Theologen und anderer scholastischer Texte immer mehr mit dieser ihn faszinierenden Denkmethode vertraut.

Section 2 (Ideas and Preoccupations, 41–128) stellt Kydones als denkende und agierende Person in seiner Zeit vor. Eingangs (Introduction, 42–48) nennt R. die zu diesem Zweck verwendeten Quellen, ausschließlich schriftliche Äußerungen des Kydones, die sehr wahrscheinlich nicht später als 1373 verfasst sind. Es sind ca. 120 seiner 450 Briefe, sechs Reden, vier Apologien (Schriften zur Verteidigung des eigenen Denkens und Handelns),[15] der philosophische

---

13 Die an Kaiser Johannes V. gerichtete Rede, in der Kydones um Entlassung nachsuchte (zitiert von R., 150–152), wurde ediert von R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance, I, *Studi e testi* 186. Città del Vaticano 1956, 10–23 und von ihm resümiert in *OCP* 37 (1971) 19–23. Sie liegt nun in deutscher Übersetzung vor in: F. Tinnefeld, Die Briefe des Demetrios Kydones. Themen und literarische Form. *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 11. Wiesbaden 2010, Anhang II, 265–287.

14 Dies lässt sich aus einigen Briefen des Kydones entnehmen. Siehe Tinnefeld, Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Bd. I/1. *BGL* 12. Stuttgart 1981, 26 f. Allerdings konnte der Kaiser auf längere Sicht nicht auf seine Mitarbeit verzichten (ebd. 30 f.).

15 Bemerkung zu R., 44 f.: Die traditionelle Datierung der Apologie I auf ca. 1363, von der R. ausgeht und aus der sie im weiteren Verlauf ihres Buches Schlüsse zieht (s. u.),

Traktat "De contemnenda morte" und vier Prooimien zu Urkunden Kaiser Johannes' V.[16] Auch den Traktat zur Verteidigung des Thomas von Aquin gegen Neilos Kabasilas nennt R. in diesem Zusammenhang, kann ihn aber, da er noch nicht ediert ist,[17] nicht weiter auswerten.

Nach der Vorstellung der Quellen folgt in section 2 die Auswertung unter den beiden Aspekten "The Political Sphere" (chapter 2) und "The Religious Sphere" (chapter 3). In chapter 2 (49–81) behandelt R. zuerst im innenpolitischen Rahmen das Amtsverständnis des Staatsmannes Kydones und seine Beziehung zu kaiserlichen Persönlichkeiten, dann im außenpolitischen Bereich (vornehmlich unter Verwendung seiner Rede *Pro subsidio Latinorum*) seine negative Sicht der Türken, die den Bestand des Reiches bedrohten, und seine Einschätzung der Bulgaren und Serben als ungeeignete Bundesgenossen im Kampf gegen die türkische Bedrohung. Negativ beurteilt er auch den Versuch Kaiser Johannes' V., die Ungarn als Bundesgenossen zu gewinnen, und noch weniger hält er die Mongolen dazu für geeignet. So bleiben als empfehlenswert nur die Lateiner übrig.

Das wesentlich umfangreichere chapter 3 (83–128) ist den religiösen Überzeugungen des Kydones gewidmet. Eingangs warnt R. davor, diese auf den einfachen Nenner zu bringen, er sei ein Antipalamit und ein Prolateiner gewesen, denn dies sei mit dem komplexen Charakter der religiösen Debatten im 14. Jh. nicht zu vereinbaren. Das Kapitel beginnt (83–103) mit Überlegungen zu den Grundlagen, auf denen die Theologie des Kydones beruhte. Gegen Ende der Apologie I definiert er, was einen Christen auszeichne; es sei der rechte und feste Glaube (ἀκριβὴς καὶ βέβαια πίστις) an Gott sowie ein Leben nach seinen Geboten. Glaube und Leben sollten sich gegenseitig harmonisch ergänzen, aber der Glaube, der sich an der göttlichen Offenbarung in der Heiligen Schrift, bei den Kirchenvätern und auf den Konzilien orientiere, sei den guten Werken und auch der natürlichen Vernunft überlegen. Das bedeutet aus der Sicht des Kydones aber nicht, dass die Vernunft überflüssig sei; sie könne z: B. dabei helfen, falsche Argumente gegen den rechten Glauben zu entkräften. Zum Verständnis seiner Denkmethode ist die Einsicht wichtig, dass er dem Text der Heiligen Schrift und den notwendigen Folgerungen, die sich aus diesem ergeben, gleichen Rang der Unfehlbarkeit zubilligt.

R. beendet chapter 3 mit Ausführungen zu "Specific Issues" (103–128). Am Anfang steht ein Vergleich zwischen den Kirchen von Rom und Konstantinopel in der Apologie I, der erwartungsgemäß zugunsten der römischen Kirche ausfällt. Es folgen Ausführungen zur Verteidigung des *Filioque* (Ausgang des

---

stellte N. Oikonomides in Frage und plädierte für 1373 als wahrscheinlichere Abfassungszeit. Näheres dazu in: E. Voordeckers/F. Tinnefeld (Hrsg.), Iohannis Cantacuzeni Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita. *CCSG,* 16. Turnhout/Leuven 1987, LXXI, Anm. 110.

16 Bemerkung zu R., 46, Anm. 36, und 274: Dem von mir edierten Text der vier Prooimien des Kydones zu Kaiserurkunden (*Byzantinoslavica* 44, 1983, 13–30, 178–195) sind keine Übersetzungen, wie R. annimmt, sondern nur Paraphrasen beigefügt.

17 Eine kritische Edition von D. Searby, Stockholm, ist in Vorbereitung.

Hl. Geistes auch vom Sohn gemäß der römischen Lehre) in den Apologien I–III und zur Widerlegung der palamitischen Theologie in Apologie III und IV. Ausführliche Kritik am Palamismus enthält auch der von R. nicht erwähnte Brief des Kydones an einen anonymen Freund, der ihm zum frühen Tod seines 1368 von Patriarch Philotheos und der ständigen Synode der orthodoxen Kirche verurteilten Bruders Prochoros kondoliert hatte.[18]

In section 3 (Historical Context and Implications), chapter 4 (133–168), untersucht R. zunächst die Verbreitung der Gedanken des Kydones in der byzantinischen Öffentlichkeit und beginnt (4.1.1) mit der Frage, was sich darüber aus der umfangreichen handschriftlichen Überlieferung seiner Werke entnehmen lasse. Sie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich aus der Überlieferung über die Verbreitung seiner Briefe wenig ergebe, denn sie verdankten, wie schon R.-J. Loenertz festgestellt habe, ihre Aufbewahrung vornehmlich dem persönlichen Interesse ihres Verfassers (133). Doch ist hier daran zu erinnern, dass Kaiser Manuel Briefe des Kydones sammelte und sie in ein Kopialbuch eintragen ließ.[19] Was aber die sechs Reden betrifft, deren fünf wichtigste Handschriften (Laurent. 59,24; Paris. gr. 1213; Coislin. gr. 315; Burneyan. 75 und Vat. gr. 486) nicht früher als auf die 90er Jahre des 14. Jh. datierbar sind, so sei nach Ansicht von R. kaum eine editorische Tätigkeit des Verfassers anzunehmen, denn weder zeige auch nur eine von ihnen autographe Elemente, noch seien sie als fest umrissenes Corpus überliefert. Da aber die hier tradierten Originalreden wesentlich früher gehalten als die genannten Handschriften geschrieben worden seien, seien sie sehr wahrscheinlich schon vor diesen erhaltenen Abschriften in heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Kopien tradiert worden. Die Apologien I–III hingegen seien nur autograph überliefert, was gegen ihre Zirkulation in der Öffentlichkeit spreche; allein Apologie IV sei in Vat. gr. 678 nicht autograph und zusammen mit Texten überliefert, die gegen Patriarch Philotheos gerichtet und offenbar durch mehrere Hände gegangen seien (135).

Auf der Suche nach "Further Evidence of Circulation" (4.1.2, 136–148) empfiehlt R. zunächst, den Inhalt der Briefe auf seine Bedeutung für die Vermutung ihrer Verbreitung in der Öffentlichkeit zu befragen. Dann gibt sie einen Überblick über die Gruppen von Personen, mit denen Kydones korrespondierte, um damit die Mindestreichweite (minimum range) seiner Korrespondenz zu sichern. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sie fest, es sei ein wesentlich größerer Wirkungskreis seiner Briefe als der direkt nachweisbare anzunehmen. Diese Beobachtung bezieht sich vor allem auf den Brauch der Byzantiner, private Briefe vor einem kleineren oder größeren Kreis von Interessierten (θέατρον) vorzulesen und zu diskutieren. Außerdem nennt sie aber auch nicht institutionalisierte Formen von "letter sharing", wie z. B. die einfa-

---

18 Edition: G. Mercati, Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone etc. *Studi e testi*, 56. Città del Vaticano 1931, 346–355. Incipit: Πολλὰ ἀγαθά σοι γένοιτο. Übersetzung und Kommentar: Tinnefeld, Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Bd. I/2. *BGL*, 16. Stuttgart 1982, 446–469 (Nr. 81 nach meiner Zählung). Dieser Brief bleibt bei R. auch unerwähnt in Abschnitt 6.1.3, 232–239, "Philotheos and Demetrius in the Late 1360s".

19 Tinnefeld, Demetrios Kydones (wie oben Fußnote 13) 222, aber auch R. selbst, 141.

che Weitergabe von Briefen an interessierte Freunde. Auch Briefe, die in die falschen Hände fielen, sind eine, wenn auch vom Autor nicht intendierte, Form der Zirkulation. Dies war besonders brisant, wenn es sich um delikate persönliche Angelegenheiten handelte, die der Autor nicht der Öffentlichkeit preisgeben wollte, eine Form der "leakage" (139) of personal informations (unerwünschtes Bekanntwerden von persönlichen Informationen), die in der elektronisch vernetzten Welt der Gegenwart heiß diskutiert wird. R. muss allerdings feststellen, dass Kydones einen Missbrauch persönlicher Inhalte seiner Briefe nirgends tadelt. Er tadelt aber wohl in Brief Nr. 384 (Loenertz) einen Freund, dass er seine Schrift über die Verkündigung an Maria, die er ihm ausdrücklich nur zur privaten Kenntnisnahme geschickt habe, einem Kreis von Interessenten, wenn auch wohlmeinend, vorgestellt habe (143).[20] Der persönliche Schaden, den Kydones in diesem Fall befürchtet, erklärt sich aus der vorwiegend negativen Einschätzung seiner eigenen Werke, die man zwar auch, aber nicht nur als rhetorischen Bescheidenheitstopos erklären kann. Im übrigen gibt Kydones mehrfach zu verstehen, dass er seine von der offiziellen Linie abweichenden theologischen Überzeugungen durchwegs offen diskutiert habe. Die bereits erwähnten provokativen Schriften gegen Patriarch Philotheos hatten zweifellos öffentlichen Charakter und sollten ein breiteres Publikum erreichen. Jedenfalls wurde die hier geäußerte Kritik Bestandteil öffentlicher Diskussion.

Nach diesen bemerkenswerten allgemeinen Beobachtungen über Kydones zur Verfügung stehende Möglichkeiten, seine Überzeugungen öffentlich zu verbreiten, behandelt R. in den folgenden Abschnitten dieses Thema mit speziellem Bezug auf politische (4.2) und religiöse Themen (4.3) sowie auf alltägliche Beziehungen zu seinen Zeitgenossen (4.4). Der Abschnitt "Political themes" beginnt mit dem öffentlichen Charakter seiner Beziehungen zu seinen kaiserlichen Patronen (4.2.1), und es folgt ausführlicher die bereits in Abschnitt 2.2 besprochene Außenpolitik (4.2.2). Der Abschnitt "Religious themes" (4.3) behandelt den öffentlichen Charakter seiner positiven Sicht der lateinischen Theologie, des Papsttums und des Filioque sowie seiner negativen Einstellung zum Palamismus und Hesychasmus. Bei dem letzteren Thema verdient die Beobachtung Interesse, dass Kydones erst seit dem kirchlichen Prozess gegen seinen Bruder Prochoros (1368) seine Kritik am Palamismus offen aussprach, obwohl er sicher schon viel früher die Energienlehre der Palamiten ablehnte (163–165). Hier ist also deutlich zwischen seiner anfänglich nur privaten und erst später öffentlichen Ablehnung zu unterscheiden. Im Abschnitt "Normative relations" (4.4) versucht R. zu zeigen, dass Kydones auch zu erklärten Gegnern wie Patriarch Philothos über längere Zeit „normale", der Norm entsprechende, Beziehungen unterhielt und keineswegs in ständigem Konflikt mit ihnen lag.

Chapter 5 (169–220) behandelt das Thema "Contextualising Demetrius' Pro-western Approach". Hier stellt sie die Annäherung des Kydones an den

---

20 R., 143. Vgl. Tinnefeld, Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Bd. IV. *BGL,* 60. Stuttgart 2003, 169–170.

lateinischen Westen in den Kontext des Versuchs von Kaiser Michael VIII., auf dem Konzil von Lyon 1274 durch seine Gesandten eine "Union" durchzusetzen, die in allen wichtigen Punkten nichts anderes als eine Konversion war. Noch weiter ging Johannes V., der 1369 in Rom auch formal eine uneingeschränkte Konversion zur Papstkirche vollzog. In beiden Fällen bestand ein politischer Grund für die Annäherung an den lateinischen Westen: die Gefährdung des byzantinischen Reiches durch auswärtige Mächte. Im Jahr 1274 war die Politik des Kaisers, eine Annexion von Byzanz durch Karl von Anjou zu verhindern, erfolgreich; der Franzose musste päpstlichem Druck nachgeben und seinen Anspruch auf das lateinische Kaisertum von Konstantinopel zurückziehen. 1369 erhoffte sich der byzantinische Kaiser von einer Konversion vergeblich Hilfe gegen die türkische Bedrohung. R. untersucht nun zunächst die allgemeinen Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und dem Papsttum bzw. den Lateinern in den Jahren 1324 bis 1370 (5.1, 171–184). Andronikos II. (1282–1328) nahm 1324–27 die seit längerer Zeit unterbrochenen Kontakte mit dem Papsttum wieder auf (172), und nicht nur sein Enkel Andronikos III. (1333/34; 1337–39 auch Verhandlungen über die Einberufung eines Unionskonzils), sondern auch dessen Vertrauter Johannes Kantakuzenos, der nach seinem frühem Tod 1341 seinen Anspruch auf den byzantinischen Kaiserthron gegen den minderjährigen Kaisersohn Johannes durchsetzte, führte die freundlichen Beziehungen zum Papsttum und die Gespräche über ein Konzil weiter. Johannes V., 1354 an die Macht gelangt, verhandelte seit 1355 mit Papst Innozenz VI. In einem Chrysobull vom 15. Dezember des Jahres zeigte er sich bereit, dem Papst weitgehend entgegenzukommen. Von einem Konzil war aber hier nicht mehr die Rede. Papst Innozenz antwortete im Juli 1356 wohlwollend, bedauerte aber im August in einem Schreiben an Patriarch Kallistos, von ihm keine zustimmende Äußerung zum kaiserlichen Brief erhalten zu haben, und empfahl ihm die freundliche Aufnahme seiner Gesandtschaft. Die Beziehungen zwischen Johannes V. und Papst Innozenz VI. gestalteten sich weiter friedlich, zumal der Kaiser sogar bereit erschien, erste Schritte auf einem Weg zur Konversion zu tun. Wahrscheinlich als Belohnung für dieses romfreundliche Verhalten war ein vom päpstlichen Legaten Petrus Thomas geleitetes Militärunternehmen gegen das von Türken besetzte Lampsakos am Ostufer des Hellesponts zu verstehen (182). Die Kontakte des Kaisers zum Papsttum wurden durch den Tod von Papst Innozenz (1362) unterbrochen, und es dauerte einige Zeit, bis sein Nachfolger Urban V. zum freundlichen Ton seines Vorgängers zurückgefunden hatte. Erst ab 1365 gestalteten sich die Beziehungen Kaiser Johannes' V. zum Westen wieder intensiver und gipfelten 1366 in dem erfolgreichen Versuch des "grünen Grafen" Amedeo[21] VI. von Savoyen, die 1354 von den Osmanen eroberte Stadt Kallipolis für Byzanz zurückzuge-

21 Die italienische Form des Namens Amadeus ist "Amedeo", nicht "Amadeo", wie R. durchweg schreibt. Doch sie verwendet damit die Schreibung, die sich weitgehend durchgesetzt hat. Man findet sie sogar im *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (72). Besagter Amedeo war ein Verwandter der Savoyardin Anna, der Mutter Kaiser Johannes' V.

winnen. Ein zweiter Höhepunkt der kaiserlichen Westkontakte war die schon erwähnte Konversion des Kaisers in Rom 1369.[22]

Nun geht R. zu der Frage über, welche Rolle Kydones vor diesem Zeithintergrund spielte (5.2, 184–205). Es ist bekannt, dass Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos mit seiner Familie befreundet war. Durch diesen Kontakt stand Kydones seit jungen Jahren in Verbindung mit den leitenden Kreisen der Orthodoxie. Als junger Mann im Dienst dieses Kaisers hatte er nach eigenem Bekunden Kontakte mit Gesandten aus dem Westen, unter denen sicher auch einige vom Papst kamen. R. ist zudem überzeugt, dass Kantakuzenos die Übersetzungstätigkeit des Kydones im Bereich der lateinischen Theologie nicht nur wohlwollend aufnahm, sondern sogar förderte. Interessiert an Gesprächen mit Vertretern der römischen Kirche, habe er auch gewünscht, ihre bedeutenden Theologen näher kennen zu lernen, ohne deswegen auch schon ein Anhänger dieser Kirche zu sein. Nicht weniger wichtig war die Vertrautheit des Kydones mit der Theologie der Lateiner auch für Johannes V., der ja, wie R. zeigt, auf Kontakte mit dem Papst aus dem genannten Grund größten Wert legte. So erklärt sich die Rückberufung des Kydones in den kaiserlichen Dienst einige Zeit nach der Abdankung des Kantakuzenos mit dem andauernden Interesse Johannes' V. an guten Kontakten zum Westen und zur römischen Kirche. R. diskutiert auch die Frage, ob Kydones eine Konversion zur römischen Kirche vollzog. Sie bejaht die Konversion, betont aber, dass es sich in diesem Fall nicht zugleich auch um eine Abwendung von der Orthodoxie handelte. Kydones habe vielmehr aus der Überzeugung gehandelt, "that both east and west should be part of one church, and that their intrinsic theologies coincided". In den Augen Johannes' V. aber sei es ein Glücksfall gewesen, einen orthodoxen, aber lateinerfreundlichen Staatsmann zu haben, der seiner prowestlichen Politik nützlich war. R. hält es sogar für möglich, dass Kydones sich in der Öffentlichkeit auch deshalb deutlich zu seiner „westlichen“ Gesinnung bekannte, um dem Kaiser zu gefallen, dessen Mutter Anna von Savoyen ja eine Lateinerin war und seine freundlichen Beziehungen zum Papsttum nur positiv sehen konnte. Die Konversion des Kydones war jedenfalls aus der Sicht des Kaisers, zumindest vor seiner Romreise, eher ein Aktivposten als eine unleidliche Zugabe. Die Schriften des Kydones spielten in den 60er Jahren in dieser Hinsicht eine propagandistische Rolle. So gibt Brief 93 (Loenertz), geschrieben im Sommer 1364 an Simon Atumanos, Auskunft über die freundlichen Kontakte Johannes' V. – unter dem Einfluss des Kydones – zu Papst Urban V., und Kydones stellt bedauernd fest, er beginne wie das Volk von Byzanz an der Zuverlässigkeit des Westens zu verzweifeln, enttäuscht, dass ein Kreuzzug großen Stils bislang nicht verwirklicht wurde. Gemäß R. will Kydones damit sagen, der Westen habe Byzanz Grund zur Hoffnung gegeben; nun müsse er auch diese Hoffnung einlösen. Auch Apologie I (in der von R. angenommenen traditionellen Datierung auf ca. 1363) ist nach Ansicht von R.

[22] Die Konversion des Kaisers, keineswegs ein unwichtiger Vorgang auch im Leben des Kydones, wird von R. in diesem Abschnitt (183 f.), aber auch schon vorher (169) nur sehr kurz gestreift; sie hätte eine ausführlichere Behandlung verdient.

weit mehr ein Instrument politischer Propaganda als ein autobiographisches und persönliches Dokument. Hier begründe Kydones seine Loyalität gegenüber dem Vaterland (πατρίς) Byzanz und seine Legitimierung, für die Kirche Christi zu sprechen. Daher sei diese Apologie nicht nur ein Versuch des Kydones, gewisse religiöse und intellektuelle Glaubensinhalte, die er vertrat, zu rechtfertigen und zu propagieren, sondern auch zu zeigen, dass man theologische Überzeugungen der römischen Kirche vertreten und dennoch ein loyaler Byzantiner sein könne.

R. beendet chapter 5 mit Überlegungen zur credibility (Glaubwürdigkeit oder besser Akzeptanz der prowestlichen Propaganda im Osten; 5.3, 205–220). Sie versucht zu zeigen, dass Griechen und Lateiner, im östlichen Mittelmeer geographisch eng miteinander verbunden, seit den 50er Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts einander auch als Christen näher kamen. Dies habe jedenfalls im Jahr 1359 der römische Inquisitor in der Romania[23] Philipp de Bindo Incontri beobachtet, und es müsse in enger Verbindung mit dem Fortschritt der Verhandlungen zwischen Byzanz und dem Papsttum gesehen werden. Die besagte Annäherung gelte nicht nur für eine intellektuelle Elite, sondern auch für weite Kreise der Bevölkerung, die mehr und mehr eingesehen habe, dass die Zeitumstände, vor allem die türkische Bedrohung, ein Zusammenwirken von Byzantinern und Abendländern erforderten. In diesem Kontext sei die prowestliche Gesinnung des Kydones keineswegs eine erhebliche Abweichung von der für weite Kreise geltenden Norm gewesen.

In chapter 6 (221–264) warnt R. im Zusammenhang mit ihrer soeben beschriebenen Sicht der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Rom davor, die Situation in Byzanz während der 1350er und 1360er Jahre nur aus der Sicht einer mehrheitlich vertretenen orthodoxen Einstellung zu verstehen und andere Strömungen als unerheblich zu marginalisieren. Es habe vielmehr eine ganze Reihe ideologischer und praktischer Reaktionen auf die beschriebene Situation gegeben, und die Orthodoxie dieser Zeitphase sei keineswegs eine klar abgegrenzte religiöse Einstellung ohne Abweichungen und Widersprüche gewesen. So sei es beispielsweise ein Faktum, dass der als entschiedener Antilateiner geltende Patriarch Philotheos doch auch ein gemeinsames Konzil der Ost- und Westkirche befürwortet habe. Es habe also keine konsequent orthodox geführte antiwestliche Mehrheit in Byzanz gegeben, sondern die politische und kulturelle Fragmentierung der Region habe auch Varianten und Nuancen des orthodoxen Selbstverständnisses zur Folge gehabt.

Vor allem in der soeben beschriebenen dritten und zugleich wichtigsten section 3 versucht R. also, dem vorliegenden Material zu einer Biographie des Kydones eine zeithistorische Dimension zu geben, und überschreitet damit die Grenzen eines eng gefassten Begriffsfeldes Biographie. Es geht ihr zwar auch darum, den Lebenslauf, die Person und das Werk des Kydones darzustellen, aber wichtiger ist ihr die Einordnung seiner Person und seiner Schriften in

---

23 *Romania* nannte sich das Lateinische Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel. Der Begriff wurde auch nach dem Ende dieses Reiches (1261) zur Bezeichnung des byzantinischen Reichsgebietes aus westlich-lateinischer Sicht verwendet.

ihren zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext. Das von ihr gewählte Gliederungsschema zwingt sie hier und da zu Wiederholungen. Sie macht es auch ihren Lesern nicht immer leicht, ihrer Argumentation zu folgen, vor allem in chapter 5 (zur Frage nach der westlichen Orientierung des Kydones), aber stärker wiegt das Positive, ihr schöpferischer Beitrag zu einer Deutung dieses prowestlichen Staatsmannes vor dem Hintergrund seiner Zeit.

Abschließend noch einige Details. In der Liste der zitierten primary texts (270–274) nennt R. bei den Werken und Übersetzungen des Kydones und anderer auch, wenn bereits vorhanden, die Edition des griechischen Textes. Ein solche wäre aber noch an folgenden Stellen nachzutragen: 1) Pseudo-Augustinian texts, *Soliloquia sive Monologia* (271).[24] 2) Aus Gui, Bernard, *Vita s. Thomae Aquinatis* (272) die Liste der Werke des Aquinaten in Kapitel 53 und 54.[25] 3) Pseudo-Augustinian texts, *De Fide ad Petrum* (Fulgentius of Ruspe).[26] 4) In der Liste der primary texts fehlt das von Kydones verfasste Werk *De patrum Latinorum auctoritate ad amicum quendam*, das R. an anderer Stelle erwähnt (33, Anm. 169) unter Verweis auf Tinnefeld, Kydones, Briefe, I/1, 1981, 63, 1.1.4. Damals war das Opusculum noch unediert, jetzt liegt eine Edition vor.[27] Zu einigen kleineren Versehen siehe Fußnote.[28]

München *Franz Tinnefeld*

24 A. Koltsiu-Niketa (Hrsg.), Δημητρίου Κυδώνη μετάφραση τοῦ ψευδοαυγουστινείου *"Soliloquia". Philosophi Byzantini*, 11. Athen 2005. Vgl. dazu J. A. Demetracopoulos, The *Sitz im Leben* of Demetrios Kydones' Translation of pseudo-Augustine's *Soliloquia.* Remarks on a Recent Edition. *Quaestio* 6 (2006) 191–258.

25 J. A. Demetracopoulos, Demetrius Cydones' Translation of Bernardus Guidonis' List of Thomas Aquinas' Writings and the Historical Roots of Byzantine Thomism, in: A. Speer/D. Wirmer (Hrsg.), 1308. Eine Topographie historischer Gleichzeitigkeit. *Miscellanea Mediaevalia. Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität Köln,* 35. Berlin 2010, 829–881.

26 A. Koltsiu-Niketa (Hrsg.), Φουλγεντίου πρὸς Πέτρον Περὶ Πίστεως. *Φιλοσοφικὴ καὶ θεολογικὴ βιβλιοθήκη,* 40. Athen 1999.

27 A. Koltziu-Niketa (Hrsg.), Τὸ κῦρος τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Φιλοσοφικὴ καὶ θεολογικὴ βιβλιοθήκη,* 42. Athen 2002. Edition nach dem *codex unicus* Vat. gr. 1879.

28 Der Fehler *Liber Sententiorum* statt *-arum* (sc. des Prosper) kommt dreimal vor (23, 271, 294)! Auf Seite 117 (6. Z. von unten) ist "that" zu tilgen. Ferner: correpondence statt correspondence (142 Mitte), ἀρχώντων statt ἀρχόντων (146, Anm. 68), Nikephoras statt Nikephoros (283). Es ist unklar, warum R. bei griechischen Namen auf -os durchweg diese Endung beibehält, aber den Namen "Demetrios" auf –us enden lässt, und dies nicht nur *passim* bei Kydones; siehe z. B. auch Palaiologos, Demetrius (286)!

Irfan Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century. Volume 2, Part 2: Economic, Social and Cultural History. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2009. XXIII, 391 p. With 1 halftone plate, 5 maps. ISBN 978-0-88402-347-0.

The volume under review is the seventh in a project that has occupied its author for approximately thirty years and will include an eighth: *Rome and the Arabs* and *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (both 1984), *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (1989), *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (= *BASIC,* Part I, vols. 1 and 2, Part II, vols. 1 and 2, 1995–2009), *Byzantium and Islam in the Seventh Century* (under preparation). The project is admirable for its epic proportions, the profound and variegated erudition necessary for its execution, and the internal consistency and clarity of its author's vision. As Arabists well know, the biggest problem in writing a history of the Arabs before Islam is the dearth of contemporary written sources produced by the Arabs themselves: we only have inscriptions[29] and a limited body of pre-Islamic poetry (which, in the form that we have it, is the product of philological activity in the Islamic period). Contextualizing the available written and archeological evidence depends on its contemporary Greek, Latin, and Syriac narrative sources. Following the great 19th century orientalist Theodore Nöldeke, Shahîd considers these more reliable than the Arabic sources of the Islamic period, which can be considerably later than the pre-Islamic events they describe (p. xv). Shahîd's approach is to closely examine every piece of evidence, squeeze it for any information it may yield (for which reason it may be repeatedly discussed in a number of different contexts),[30] accept later testimony only if it can be corroborated by pre-Islamic archeological or textual data, and supply what is missing from the sources by using a series of deductions and educated guesses. Inevitably, on a number of occasions Shahîd cannot provide a description, only an evocation of what pre-Islamic realities must have been like.

Given the use of Christianity by Byzantium for striking cultural, diplomatic, and military alliances, any investigation of its interaction with its Arab neighbors effectively produces a history of Christian Arabs before the rise of Islam. Shahîd explains that his aim is to offer a component necessary for an accurate understanding of the subsequent rise of Islam and the political, economic, and cultural outlook of the early Islamic period.[31] Implicitly, he offers a corrective to the narrative dominant in medieval Arabic (and much of modern) historiography that effectively equates Arabness with Islam and views Islam as the single most important factor in the creation of an urban Arab

---

29 The most recent systematic discussion of pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions in the Nabatean and Aramaic scripts, and six examples in the Arabic script, is Ch. J. Robin, La réforme de l'écriture arabe à l'époque du califat médinois. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006) 319–364; a seventh is discussed by Shahîd, *BASIC* II.2, 299 ff.

30 Explained in Shahîd, Rome and the Arabs xii.

31 Already in Shahîd, Rome and the Arabs xxix.

civilization and a written literary culture in Arabic, contrasting the Muslim civilization with the pre-Islamic "age of ignorance" (*al-jāhilīyya,* taken to be synonymous with "barbarity"). Accordingly, Shahîd in *BASIC* II.2 highlights the extensive zone of the Byzantine-Arab frontier dominated by Byzantium's sixth-century Christian Arab *foederati*, the Ghassānids, as possessing vibrant urban centers, a developed sedentary material culture, and a literature (both oral and written, including translations of biblical texts).

Compared with the 628 and 592 pages that Shahîd dedicated to the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, the sixth receives the lion's share with a total of 1891 pages. The reasons are multiple: comparatively, the sixth is a better documented century on both the Byzantine and the Arab side, especially as it partly covers the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad (born ca. 570), which also makes its developments particularly relevant to the rise of Islam. In addition, the Ghassānids lasted one-hundred-and-fifty years in Byzantium's service, the longest of any group of *foederati* in the first three Byzantine centuries (p. 61). Shahîd views this as "the first and last time in the course of two millennia that there evolved a mature Christian Arab culture" (p. 262), the Christian phase in the history of the Arabs and an intermediary station in their spiritual journey from paganism to Islam.

The volume under review comprises three parts labeled as economic, social and cultural history. Shahîd explains that the Ghassānids contributed to the booming sixth-century Byzantine economy with the security they offered (against the Bedouin nomads, the Lakhmid Arab allies of Persia and the Sassanian armies themselves) and their own trading activities along the caravan routes and at fairs; they facilitated the influx of Arabian gold to Byzantium and served as tax collectors on its behalf. Arabia was divided in two spheres of economic influence, Byzantine in the West and Persian in the East. In 520 A.D., the conquest of South Arabia by the Ethiopians made Western Arabia Christian and the Red Sea "a Christian lake" (p. 52), while the Jewish communities of the Hijāz were primarily inimical to Byzantium and friendly with Persia. In the period 570–630, the Persians occupied South Arabia, controlled its financial resources, and tried to displace Byzantine influence from the region. Shahîd claims direct involvement of Byzantium in Meccan politics and direct knowledge of Byzantium by the tribe of the Quraysh (p. 21) that controlled caravan traffic and the pre-Islamic pagan pilgrimage to Mecca, and in which the Prophet Muḥammad was born. 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwayrith, a Meccan of the Banū-Asad (the Quraysh clan to which Khadīja, Muḥammad's first wife, belonged), was an agent of Byzantium and wanted to become the Byzantine phylarch/king over Mecca (p. 21). The Ghassānids maintained a close relation with the Arabs of Medina (p. 22). The overall picture that Shahîd conveys implies that the Ghassānids in their lands and beyond performed equivalent economic and cultural functions as those traditionally ascribed to Mecca and Medina, the two major Arabian urban centers right before the rise

of Islam, which created the necessary conditions for Islam's development and expansion.[32]

Under "social history" Shahîd covers topics that modern scholarship sometimes labels as "folklore" (childhood and children's education, marriage, circumcision, the life of women and their role in death rituals, food, drink, clothes, medicine, music and song, dance, victory celebrations, votive and victory offerings, the horse, the hunt, banquets, recreation in the countryside). This approach draws inspiration from the work of the Greek Byzantinist Phaidon Koukoules (p. xvi), especially his multi-volume *Byzantine Life and Civilization (Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός,* Athens 1948–55). Combining the investigation of a medieval civilization with folklore is not unique to Byzantine studies. It has its roots in the broader nineteenth-century understanding of the Middle Ages as a breeding ground for modern European national identities, of which folklore is a constituent part. In the manner of Koukoules, Shahîd uses modern-day folklore to elucidate sixth-century practices attested in pre-Islamic poetry, such as the early-twentieth-century Palestinian custom of celebrating Christian holidays with a visit to a holy site and a picnic, which he applies to the decipherment of an otherwise obscure mention in pre-Islamic poetry, the *Yawm al-khurūj* (Day of the Exodus) (p. 112). This endeavor places him in a time-honored line of modern Christian Arab authors researching elements of folklore that can be traced back to the pre-Islamic period, such as the early twentieth-century Palestinian physician Tawfiq Kanaʿān (amulets, daemons, holy fools and codes of behavior pertinent to women); his Jerusalemite contemporaries Stephan Hanna Stephan (time, periodization of the agricultural cycle) and Elias Haddad (blood revenge, hospitality, pedagogy);[33] and, from the 1960 s onwards, the Lebanese Toufic Fahd (divination). If folklore is a constituent element of national identity, its exploration reaching back to the pre-Islamic period contributes to an articulation of Arabness that transcends the chronological and cultural boundaries of Islam and can therefore include a Christian Arab identity.

In the third part on "cultural history", Shahîd explores the Ghassānids as a sedentary power, their art and architecture, the monastery as a cultural center, the Arabic script, poetry, and oratory, and concludes with a chapter titled "The Ghassānid identity". As he explains, the Ghassānids were a sedentary tribe from the urbanized Arabian South, whence they migrated to Syria and became Byzantium's allies, helping to reassert imperial control along Byzantium's eastern frontier. In this capacity, they defended and controlled a discrete and significant territory extending from Sinai to Mesopotamia, which Shahîd terms "Ghassānland". Thanks to their prior urban and sedentary experience, they reinvigorated a region that had been neglected, reclaimed land from the desert, used hydraulic expertise for irrigation, and revitalized towns. This was a

---

32 The traditional view of a booming Meccan trade was revised in P. Crone, Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam (1987), but Shahîd does not follow Crone.

33 On the ethnographers of Kanaʿān's circle, see S. Tamari, Mountain Against the Sea. Berkeley, 2009, 93–112.

"united, efficiently run limitrophe" with at least four major urban centers: Jābiya, Jalliq, Ruṣāfa/Sergiopolis, Ḥuwwārin/Evaria. The frequent occurrence of the words *qaṣr* (castrum) and *dayr* (monastery) in toponymy, even recent, suggests that these formed the basis for continued later habitation and attests to the influence of the Roman/Christian Ghassānids in the region. Shahîd asserts that the urban nexus of the Umayyad period was not newly created but almost entirely depended on a pre-existing urban development effected by the Ghassānids. In this he follows a suggestion made by Rudolph Brunnow specifically about Mushattā more than a hundred years ago (p. 272) and calls on archeology to concentrate on the pertinent evidence.

Here and in the previous section, Shahîd paints a Ghassānid way of life similar yet distinct from the Byzantine one and specifically Arabic. For example, the Ghassānids used Greek for official purposes (p. 342), their elites received a Greek education (pp. 77–78, 86 and 113–15), their doctors were trained in Greek medicine, whether in Alexandria or Jundīshāpur (pp. 178–81), and they most probably incorporated Byzantine elements in their food (p. 129) and dress (p. 162–63). But they rejected favorite Byzantine pastimes such as the hippodrome, the amphitheater, the theater, and the baths (p. 63) and as a result they developed a distinctly Ghassānid type of urban environment in their cities. Among the components of Ghassānid identity (discerned as Roman, Christian, and Hellenic on an Arab foundation, pp. 338–46), he deems monophysite Christianity and Arabness as the most important. Shahîd credits the Ghassānids with playing a role in the development of the Arabic script (pp. 297–302). Their arrival from South Arabia revitalized Syria's Arabness that had been extinguished after the Romanization of the Nabbateans (p. 301). If Shahîd is right, the subsequent rapidity and permanence of the Muslim conquests is unthinkable without the Arab high culture created by the Ghassānids in Syria.

The material presented by Shahîd touches on a number of important issues that scholars in the future may want to reflect further on. For example, Shahîd briefly asks whether the Greek *agoranomos* and the Arabic *muḥtasib* represent a case of continuity from the Byzantine to the Islamic fiscal administration (p. 40) and whether the Ghassānids as tax collectors performed a function equivalent with the *commerciarius* in the oriens (p. 42). Analogies in Greek and Arabic literary tropes are also brought up: Shahîd analyzes a quatrain by the pre-Islamic poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī in which the outward handsomeness of a Ghassānid prince corresponds to moral probity (pp. 74–75). In this reviewer's opinion, this evidence suggests that Ghassānid society may have shared with its contemporary Graeco-Roman world attitudes towards physiognomony (the art of deducing an individual's moral character and predicting future behavior on the basis of outward appearance), a field of knowledge that demonstrably played an important role in public self-presentation. Shahîd also remarks on analogies between the descriptions of paradise in the Qur'ān and the material universe of Ghassānid palaces (pp. 135–37), which calls to mind a *topos* in Byzantine literature, namely the analogy between the Christian paradise and the imperial palace. Further (pp. 336–37), Shahîd points at

similarities between al-Nābigha's sensual description of a woman (traditionally identified as the Lakhmid queen Mutajarrida) and Psellos' eleventh-century description of his daughter's lips, neck, and stature which explicitly refers to Solomon's "Song of Songs". Shahîd uses these analogies to argue that al-Nābigha (a panegyrist for both the Christian Ghassānids and the pagan Lakhmids) employed the Bible, perhaps already available in Arabic translation, as a source of inspiration. Close correspondences in the structure and language of the "Song of Songs" and early twentieth century Palestinian folk songs were observed almost a century ago by Stephan Hanna Stephan.[34] This is favorable to Shahîd's acceptance of continuities between the world of pre-Islamic poetry and that of modern Arab folklore, especially if one views the "Song of Songs" as an ancient Semitic folk song, but argues against a biblical source of inspiration for a poet who spent most of his career in the service of pagan patrons.

An asset to the volume is Shahîd's philological expertise and extensive knowledge of Arabic poetry, a source that historians do not ordinarily mine for their purposes. A particularly welcome contribution is his elucidation of Greek terms in the Arabic language. This is an important venue for tracing cultural contact, especially during a period poor in other sources, but a topic on which the expertise of medieval Arabic philologists (on whose work modern etymological explanations also depend) was limited.

Shahîd's aim to define and describe Ghassānid identity (as well as pre-Islamic and Christian Arab identity in general, beginning with his 1984 volumes) has huge implications for conceiving a modern Arab identity. An equivalent is Robert Hoyland's considerably briefer and chronologically more expansive *Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001). Hoyland deploys a sequence of chapters similar to *BASIC* II.2 and arrives at almost the same conclusion as Shahîd (Arabness as a collective identity pre-dates Islam and does not depend on it), but his narrative does not reserve a role for Arabic Christianity.

Shahîd's interpretations may not meet with universal acceptance, primarily because they have to be teased out of a finite and fragmentary body of material evidence requiring several hypothetical reconstructions. But even those in disagreement would have to begin their criticism by extensively referring to Shahîd's volume.

Berkeley *Maria Mavroudi*

---

[34] S. H. Stephan, Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 2 (1922).

Diane H. Touliatos-Miles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered. Farnham, Surrey/Burlington, VT, Ashgate 2010. x, 632 p., 32 pl. ISBN 978-0-75-465168-0.

Il catalogo curato da Diane Touliatos-Miles descrive 242 codici musicali conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale di Grecia (= EBE), quasi tutti (240) manoscritti greci con notazione musicale bizantina, ad eccezione di due elementi costituiti da pagine e frammenti con notazione musicale occidentale su pentagramma, ascrivibili alla prima metà del XIX secolo (EBE 960 e 1946). I manoscritti greci sono datati o databili tra l'XI e il XIX secolo e sono rappresentativi di differenti tipi di notazione musicale, dalla notazione ecfonetica, che si riscontra esclusivamente nei Lezionari, o dalla notazione mediobizantina, adoperata invece per i libri di canto a partire dal XII secolo, fino alla notazione crisantina, ovvero al sistema musicale utilizzato ai giorni nostri. Si tratta, per lo più, di Akolouthiai e Sticherari, ma, accanto a queste più diffuse tipologie librarie, si annoverano anche Anthologia, Anastasimataria, Lezionari dei Vangeli, Irmologi, Mathemataria, e così via, oltre alla trattatistica musicale, con l'aggiunta infine di due trattati sui metri poetici greci. La mole e la varietà del materiale descritto sono dunque notevoli.

In una breve introduzione (pp. 1–7) la curatrice del catalogo illustra in termini generali le caratteristiche della collezione musicale dell'EBE, facendone emergere la reale consistenza, in relazione soprattutto ai dati ricavabili dal vecchio catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca curato da Ioannis e Alkibiadis Sakkelion (1892), nel quale, quasi 120 anni fa, erano menzionati solo 93 manoscritti musicali, molto sommariamente descritti sotto la generica etichetta di «musica ecclesiastica». In tale catalogo, inoltre, non potevano ovviamente figurare le nuove acquisizioni giunte all'EBE solamente in anni successivi alla sua pubblicazione, provenienti da varie istituzioni e monasteri di diverso ambito regionale. Anche i successivi progetti di aggiornamento e le iniziative di catalogazione dei materiali non rappresentati nel catalogo dei Sakkelion non avevano del resto apportato un sostanziale contributo per quanto riguarda la descrizione dei manoscritti musicali: antiche fonti musicali non erano state riconosciute come tali, altre, più tarde, non erano state correttamente identificate o datate o semplicemente analizzate in una prospettiva musicologica. Dopo aver con ciò motivato la necessità di compilare e pubblicare un catalogo descrittivo dell'intera collezione musicale dell'EBE, la curatrice prosegue presentando rapidamente alcune fra le più significative scoperte, da un punto di vista puramente testuale, fatte nel corso del lavoro di catalogazione (pp. 4–6).

Segue quindi la parte centrale del catalogo, che comprende le descrizioni dei 242 manoscritti musicali o d'interesse musicologico (pp. 10–578). Le schede descrittive degli elementi manoscritti non sono associate a una numerazione progressiva, ma si susseguono seguendo l'ordine dell'attuale segnatura del manoscritto (da EBE 741 a EBE 3469). Per ciascun esemplare il catalogo fornisce i dati essenziali, che danno una sintetica presentazione del manoscrit-

to: in evidenza sono poste la segnatura e un'indicazione sintetica del contenuto, di seguito, in carattere più piccolo, si riferisce in breve di materiale, dimensioni, numero dei fogli, classificazione della notazione musicale, data, provenienza. Si prosegue quindi con l'analisi del contenuto, grosso modo per ampie sezioni di testo, senza scendere nei particolari; per alcuni codici che la curatrice ritiene più interessanti perché più completi o più antichi, o ancora per le frequenti attribuzioni agli innografi delle composizioni trascritte, la descrizione testuale si fa però più dettagliata, quasi una sorta di indice dei contenuti (cf. ad es. i manoscritti EBE 883, 899, 2061, 2062, 2401, 2406). La descrizione per lo più si conclude con una serie di osservazioni e ulteriori informazioni sul manoscritto che la curatrice riunisce, senza ulteriori distinzioni, sotto la voce «Notes»; qui si trovano raccolte notizie e indicazioni di vario genere e natura, come ad es. il riferimento ai colori degli inchiostri utilizzati, ai numeri di righe per foglio o per colonna di scrittura, allo stato di conservazione del testimone, accenni alla decorazione, o vi si avverte – senza dare precisa e completa ripartizione degli interventi – di eventuali cambi di mano nella trascrizione del codice, e così via. Utili – seppure per espressa dichiarazione della curatrice né esaustivi né costantemente presenti ma semplicemente selettivi secondo un criterio di «rilevanza» – i riferimenti bibliografici collocati alla fine della scheda (cf. *infra*).

Alla fine del cospicuo blocco delle descrizioni si trovano due appendici. La prima, Appendix A (pp. 579–584), riunisce, in una sorta di specchietto riassuntivo, tutti i codici presi in esame suddividendoli in base alle tipologie librarie (Akolouthia, Anastasimatarion, Ancient Greek Treatises, ecc.), disposte in ordine alfabetico; per ciascun manoscritto sono indicati la segnatura e la data. La seconda, Appendix B (pp. 585–587), elenca i manoscritti musicali provenienti dalla Biblioteca del metochio del S. Sepolcro a Costantinopoli, acquisiti dall'EBE nell'ultimo ventennio del secolo scorso e ivi custoditi presso la stessa Divisione manoscritti. Si tratta di 107 manoscritti musicali greci che erano stati già catalogati da Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus nel 1899; di questi codici, ora parte della collezione musicale dell'EBE, la curatrice si limita a richiamare, per ogni manoscritto, la segnatura, la tipologia libraria, le dimensioni, il numero dei fogli, il tipo di notazione musicale che si riscontra e la data.

Infine, affrontando una tipologia particolare di manoscritti – quelli musicali –, la cui descrizione richiede sovente l'utilizzo di termini tecnici di carattere prevalentemente musicologico e liturgico, la curatrice ha ritenuto opportuno, per rendere accessibile il catalogo anche ai non specialisti, fornire un glossario (pp. 589–609) di alcuni termini specifici che ricorrono più di frequente nelle descrizioni.

Il catalogo si conclude con la Bibliografia (pp. 611–617) dei lavori citati nel volume e con un Indice (pp. 619–632) degli innografi e dei melurgi le cui opere sono trascritte nei codici presi in esame. A corredo del volume sono inserite 32 tavole fuori testo, di cui 12 a colori e 20 in bianco/nero, che riproducono fogli di una scelta dei manoscritti della collezione. Per agevolare il reperimento delle descrizioni la curatrice ha inserito, all'inizio del volume (pp. VI–VIII), un

sommario con il rinvio dalla segnatura del manoscritto alla pagina del catalogo in cui ha inizio ciascuna descrizione.

La pubblicazione di un catalogo descrittivo della collezione di manoscritti musicali custoditi presso l'EBE offre senza dubbio un nuovo, prezioso (anzi, d'ora in poi indispensabile) strumento di lavoro agli studiosi, soprattutto musicologi. Esso rende accessibile per la prima volta, con una presentazione ordinata e organica, il repertorio integrale delle fonti musicali dell'EBE, che era finora individuabile solo a fatica, dal momento che non esistevano, in precedenza, catalogazioni speciali di taglio musicologico o anche semplici inventariazioni della collezione musicale. La raccolta, senza dubbio notevole da un punto di vista quantitativo, annovera soprattutto materiale del XVIII e XIX secolo. Da un primo esame delle descrizioni, infatti, salta all'occhio innanzitutto il fatto che i manoscritti del periodo più antico sono in netta minoranza: i pochi più antichi, una dozzina circa, appartengono ai secoli XI–XII e consistono esclusivamente di Lezionari dei Vangeli con notazione musicale ecfonetica. Del tutto assenti, invece, testimonianze manoscritte anteriori al XII secolo fornite di notazione musicale antica di tipo melodico, quale ad es. la notazione paleobizantina. Antichi testimoni di tali tipologie notazionali non sono infatti pervenuti all'EBE neanche tramite la recente acquisizione della raccolta libraria del metochio costantinopolitano del S. Sepolcro.

Gli obiettivi che il nuovo catalogo si pone sono, per espressa dichiarazione della curatrice, molteplici: rendere più facilmente accessibile agli studiosi interessati un vasto patrimonio, di indiscutibile importanza e consistenza, sconosciuto o poco noto fuori dalla Grecia; favorire nuove e più approfondite ricerche, anche di tipo comparativo, su queste preziose fonti musicali e, più in generale, stimolare un maggiore interesse verso il settore e il repertorio della musica bizantina, ancora poco frequentati dagli studiosi. La stessa struttura del catalogo, che introduce sintetiche spiegazioni o traduzioni in inglese di rubriche e di osservazioni, dovrebbe, a detta della curatrice, facilitare la consultazione soprattutto da parte dei non «addetti ai lavori», siano essi bizantinisti o studiosi di musicologia alle prime armi. In particolare, la scelta della lingua inglese per spiegazioni, commenti e brevi traduzioni dal greco, accanto alla lingua greca utilizzata nella descrizione dei contenuti, e in special modo per la trascrizione delle rubriche, è motivata dalla volontà di rendere fruibile il catalogo a un maggior numero di studiosi, fra l'altro anche a chi ha scarsa familiarità con il greco antico e medievale, o a chi si occupa a vario titolo di manoscritti greci senza essere specialista di musica bizantina.

Il lavoro di catalogazione, in particolare a fronte di una massa molto ingente di materiale, comporta necessariamente un difficile lavoro preliminare di selezione delle categorie di dati da riportare e, al contrario, una serie di decisioni di metodo circa le informazioni che saranno invece da omettere. Le scelte operate dalla curatrice, docente di musicologia presso l'University of Missouri-St. Louis, nella descrizione dei codici dell'EBE tendono a mettere in risalto soprattutto gli aspetti testuali, a discapito di quelli puramente «materiali»; così sono spesso del tutto trascurate, o tutt'al più compaiono in maniera succinta in alcune descrizioni sotto la generica voce «Notes», le sintetiche

informazioni di carattere codicologico e paleografico (ad es. riferimenti a fascicolazione, rigatura, numero di righe per foglio o per colonna, legatura, ornamentazione, identificazione delle filigrane, descrizione della/e scrittura/e ecc.). Eccessivamente sommarie, per fare un esempio, risultano essere le schede descrittive di alcuni Lezionari dei Vangeli come i codici EBE 2645 e 2804, nelle quali la curatrice accenna *sic et simpliciter* alla presenza di «several illuminations» (pp. 492 e 511), senza che tale informazione lasci intuire la ricchezza decorativa di questi due manufatti, peraltro già descritta e, in modo esemplificativo, riprodotta nel catalogo dei manoscritti decorati dell'EBE curato da Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou e Christina Toufexi-Paschou (1978), al quale poteva essere opportuno, a questo punto, rinviare nella voce «Bibliography» delle schede; il catalogo è noto alla curatrice perché ad esso si rimanda, invece, per le schede dei Lezionari EBE 2166 e 2168, senza però indicare il numero delle scheda o quello delle pagine che contengono le descrizioni dei due codici. Troppo semplificate anche le descrizioni testuali degli stessi Lezionari per i quali, invece, avrebbe giovato il rinvio a uno strumento di riferimento (ad es. C.R. Gregory, Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes, I–III, Leipzig 1900–1909). Ma anche lo stesso schema di descrizione testuale non risulta costante, per successione dei dati e per grado di dettagliatezza e approfondimento, tra i diversi codici esaminati. Alcune delle scelte fatte – ma anche una attenzione non sempre costante nei confronti dei vari testimoni – hanno così portato alla realizzazione di descrizioni forse poco uniformi, più lunghe e ricche di dettagli per i manoscritti ritenuti più significativi (cf. *supra*), molto più sommarie per il resto dei codici, ovvero per la massima parte di essi. Così facendo la curatrice si prefigge certo l'obiettivo di seguire «the guidelines used by Manolis Chatzigiakoumis and Thomas J. Mathiesen in their Greek music catalogues, where most major sections are identified but not necessarily all rubrics» (p. 7). Ma alcune difformità stridono con particolare evidenza: un esempio significativo può essere la descrizione del manoscritto EBE 884, nella quale la curatrice elenca, in successione, solo alcuni degli innografi le cui composizioni sono trascritte nel codice preso in esame, operando già *a priori* una selezione in base alla mera notorietà dell'autore; ciascun nome riportato è preceduto dal rinvio al foglio del manoscritto sul quale si trova, accanto ad altri sticheri, anche quello attribuito all'innografo menzionato, così come verosimilmente si legge sul codice. In tal modo, però, gli innografi meno conosciuti e le composizioni meno note continuano a restare nell'ombra, così come resta inevitabilmente negletto il problema della correttezza delle attribuzioni degli inni.

Per una più proficua e agevole consultazione del catalogo sarebbe stata vivamente auspicabile l'indicizzazione degli *initia* almeno delle composizioni inedite, non identificate o poco note che si incontrano nei codici descritti; questo avrebbe messo ulteriormente in risalto le più interessanti peculiarità di alcuni esemplari della raccolta. D'altra parte sarebbe stata molto utile anche la compilazione di un indice alfabetico generale. Indici di questo tipo richiedono senz'altro un ulteriore, notevole sforzo ma migliorano di certo grandemente la fruibilità del catalogo stesso, tanto da essere ormai abitualmente inseriti in «cataloghi speciali» come il presente. Se, come è comprensibile, la curatrice (o

l'editore) non hanno ritenuto di poter affrontare il lavoro di una più dettagliata indicizzazione – che del resto avrebbe fatto allungare i tempi di pubblicazione, avrebbe fatto lievitare il numero di pagine del volume, e avrebbe fatto crescere ulteriormente l'impegno editoriale e i costi della stampa –, forse una economica soluzione di ripiego avrebbe potuto essere un supporto informatico (CD-Rom o altro) allegato al volume, che, contenendo il testo integrale del catalogo, avrebbe almeno reso possibile al lettore effettuare facilmente un'ampia serie di ricerche per parola-chiave.

La lettura continua del volume, scheda dopo scheda, induce ad ammirare la pazienza e la costanza della curatrice, che si è sottoposta, negli anni, a un duro *tour de force* catalografico. Come è ovvio in un lavoro di tale mole, emerge, è vero, qualche svista, ad esempio qualche discrepanza nella datazione dei codici, come nel caso del manoscritto EBE 899, che la studiosa attribuisce, all'inizio della descrizione, agli anni 1390–1410, mentre nella voce «Notes» lo definisce «a beautiful late 13th- to early 14th-century manuscript» (p. 71), e, poco più avanti, sottolinea la presenza di «works of an early 15th-century Cypriot composer, Nicholas Asan», che, sembra, compaiano per la prima volta proprio in questo codice. Anche la datazione dell'EBE 2540 andrebbe precisata, o meglio posticipata al secolo XIII anziché all'XI–XII secolo come nel presente catalogo. Qualche altra incongruenza d'ordine più generale emerge: a) nella descrizione del materiale, quando ad es. nelle schede EBE 2513, 2520, 2525, 2540, 2552, 2557, 2645, 2672, 2676, 2711, 2804, 3028, 3062, si segnala «bombycinus» come «type of paper» impiegato, trattandosi in realtà di pergamena; b) nella terminologia adoperata per descrivere la scrittura musicale, quando ad es. nella scheda EBE 2804 si definisce «early Ecphonetic» la notazione musicale presente nel Lezionario, mentre invece sembrerebbe trattarsi del «sistema classico», caratterizzato dall'uso ormai codificato dei segni ecfonetici, oppure quando nella scheda EBE 2513 si afferma che «The music is in an early Ecphonetic notation that is typical of the 11th–12th centuries, when the notation had not been fully developed but served as a mnemonic aid to the chanters» (p. 413), mentre secondo i recenti studi questo sistema musicale ha raggiunto uno stadio di maturazione già nell'XI secolo senza peraltro essere mai venuta meno, nell'apprendimento della cantillazione, la predominanza dell'oralità sulla notazione scritta; c) nella voce «Bibliography» delle schede, in cui le citazioni bibliografiche non compaiono sempre nella stessa forma, ma vengono talora abbreviate in modo differente (cf. ad es. pp. 258 e 260), e inoltre una stessa opera non viene sempre richiamata in tutte le schede in cui dovrebbe essere citata (ad es. per i Lezionari dei Vangeli non sono menzionati il repertorio di Kurt Aland e il catalogo di Marava-Chatzinikolaou/Toufexi-Paschou già indicato, nelle schede EBE 2513, 2520, 2525, 2540, 2552, 2557, 2645, 2672, 2676, 2711, 2804, 3028, 3062).

Si segnalano anche un uso disomogeneo delle lettere maiuscole e la presenza qua e là anche di non pochi refusi tipografici (κυρακῆ, μάϊος, ripetuti ovunque), in parte giustificati dalla stessa curatrice nella Prefazione sottolineando le difficoltà incontrate, in un lavoro protrattosi tanto a lungo nel tempo, nel convertire i files originali divenuti via via obsoleti e ormai illeggibili dai

moderni sistemi di *word processing*, e nell'uniformare i molteplici fonts utilizzati, negli anni, sui vari computers di cui si è servita.

Al di là di queste osservazioni di dettaglio – che non vogliono in alcun modo sminuire la portata e la bontà del lavoro svolto – e soprattutto a fronte del notevole numero di manoscritti esaminati, il catalogo qui recensito rimane comunque il frutto realmente apprezzabile di un impegno descrittivo lungo e affrontato con grande serietà, e un nuovo importante contributo alla mappatura dei manoscritti musicali greci conservati in Grecia. Da questo punto di vista vale la pena di osservare, infine, come questa iniziativa catalografica non si presenti come un lavoro isolato, ma si collochi invece all'interno di una recente tendenza degli studi musicologici bizantini – si pensi, ad esempio, alle recenti catalogazioni ad opera di D. K. Balageorgos / F. N. Kritikou, Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, Ἅγιον Σινᾶ. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογραφῶν κωδίκων …, τόμος α′, Ἀθήνα 2008; E. Giannopoulos, Catalogue of Manuscripts of Byzantine Chant, England, Athens 2008 – che mira finalmente a censire e catalogare in maniera esaustiva tutti i manoscritti legati allo studio e alla trasmissione della cultura musicale greca d'età bizantina e post-bizantina.

Messina / Roma *Donatella Bucca*

# III. ABTEILUNG

## BIBLIOGRAPHISCHE NOTIZEN UND MITTEILUNGEN

Gesamtredaktion: Albrecht Berger, Mareike Hubel, München
Die bibliographischen Notizen wurden bearbeitet von

**I. In den einzelnen Ländern:** Australien: *A. Moffatt* (Canberra), Belgien: *Caroline Macé* (Leuven), Bulgarien: *G. Nikolov* (Sofia), Deutschland: *A. Berger* (München), *M. Dennert* (Freiburg), *F. Tinnefeld* (München), Frankreich: *F. Ronconi* (Paris), Griechenland: *V. Foskolou*, *Ch. Gasparis*, *S. Kalopissi-Verti* (Athen), *S. Kotzabassi* (Thessalonike), *M. Leontsini*, *I. Telelis* (Athen), Großbritannien: *D. Stathakopoulos* (London), Italien: *L. Bianchi*, *F. D'Aiuto*, *A. Luzzi* (Rom), Österreich: *A. Rhoby* (Wien), Russland: *O. Etinhof*, *S. Ivanov* (Moskau), Schweden: *I. Nilsson* (Uppsala), Serbien: *B. Krsmanović, D. Dželebčić* (Belgrad), Spanien: *J. Signes Codoñer* (Madrid), Türkei: *E. Laflı* (İzmir), Ungarn: *E. Juhász* (Piliscaba), USA: *A. Cutler* (Pennsylvania), *W. Kaegi* (Chicago), *A. Kaldellis* (Columbus), *J. Schott* (Charlotte), Zypern: *M. Parani* (Nicosia).

**II. Nach Sachbereichen:** Jurisprudenz: *S. Troianos* (Athen), *F. Goria* (Turin), Liturgik: *E. Velkovska* (Rom), Medizin: *A. Touwaide* (Washington), Musik: *Ch. Troelsgård* (Kopenhagen), Numismatik: *C. Morrisson* (Paris), Paläographie und Kodikologie: *E. Gamillscheg* (Wien), Sigillographie: *W. Seibt* (Wien), Sprache und Lexikographie: *G. Karla* (Athen), *I. Manolessou* (Athen), Volkssprachliche Literatur: *M. Hinterberger* (Nikosia).

Die Notizen umfassen den byzantinischen Kulturkreis im Zeitraum ca. 330 bis ca. 1453, doch finden auch die angrenzenden Jahrhunderte noch eine gewisse Berücksichtigung, besonders in der Abt. 14 („Byzantinoslavica"), die in angemessener Auswahl Beiträge bis zum Jahr 1700 ca. aufnimmt. Allein die Bereiche 1 C, 12 B und 12 C werden in Auswahl bis in die Gegenwart fortgeführt. Zu räumlichen und inhaltlichen Begrenzungen sei auf das Vorwort zu BZ 84/85 (1991/92) verwiesen. Die Einteilung innerhalb der Bereiche folgt im allgemeinen dem alphabetischen Prinzip.

DOI 10.1515/BYZS.2011.011

# 1. PROFANLITERATUR

## A. HOCHSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Eideneier H.**, Περί ήθους: Gerlach και Ζυγομαλάς. – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα. (Nr. 1769) 13–20. – Berger. [1

**Ekler P.**, Propugnacula Christianitatis – studia humanitatis. Relations between Byzantium, Byzantine humanists active in Italy, and Hungary in the middle third of the 15th century. – **Földesi F.** (ed.), A star in the raven's shade. János Vitéz and the beginnings of humanism in Hungary. An exhibition at the National Széchényi Library. 14 March – 15 June, 2008. (Nr. 1731) 105–116. – Juhász. [2

**Falkenhausen V. von**, Auf der Suche nach den Juden in der byzantinischen Literatur. – **Neuwirth A./Stock G.** (Hrsg.), Europa im Nahen Osten – Der Nahe Osten in Europa. (Nr. 1758) 201–220. – Berger. [3

**Giannouli A.**, Paränese zwischen Enkomion und Psogos. Zur Gattungseinordnung byzantinischer Fürstenspiegel. – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008). (Nr. 1775) 119–128. – Rhoby. [4

**Grünbart M.**, Zusammenstellen vs. Zusammenstehlen. Zum Traditionsverständnis in der byzantinischen Kultur. – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008). (Nr. 1775) 129–136. – Rhoby. [5

**Mullett M.**, *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 279–282. – Abschließender Beitrag zum Sammelband „Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio", in dem sich die Verfasserin nochmals mit den verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der „Mimesis" in Byzanz auseinandersetzt. – Rhoby. [6

**Nilsson I.**, *The same story, but another. A reappraisal of literary imitation in Byzantium.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen*

*Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 195–208. – Rhoby. [7

**Odorico P.**, *Bizanţul, o literatură cate trebuie regândită / Byzantium, a literature that needs to be reconsidered. – Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* (Nr. 216) 11–22, 65–77. – Berger. [8

**Odorico P.**, *Bysans – att tänka nytt om en litteratur.* Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 27 (2009) 33–61. – Also published in Romanian and English in Stănculescu I. (ed.), Manuscrise bizantine in colecţii bucureştene (BZ 104, 2011, no. 216) 11–22 and 65–77. – Nilsson. [9

**Olajos T.**, *A bizánci irodalom.* – **Pál J.** (ed.), *Világirodalom* (Nr. 11) 208–230. – Juhász. [10

**Pál J.** (ed.), *Világirodalom* (Weltliteratur). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 2005. 1017 S. ISBN 963-05-8238-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 10. – Juhász. [11

**Reinsch D. R.**, *Der Autor ist tot – es lebe der Leser. Zur Neubewertung der imitatio in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 23–32. – Rhoby. [12

**Rhoby A.**, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken".* (Nr. 57). – Rhoby.

**Rhoby A./Schiffer E.**, *Einleitung.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 17–22. – Thematische Einführung zur Trias „Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio", Begriffserklärung. – Rhoby. [13

**Valiavitcharska V.**, *Byzantine oratical rhythm and the classical heritage.* JÖB 59 (2009) 213–227. – Rhoby. [14

**Wood Ph.**, *The invention of history in the later Roman world. The conversion of Isauria in The Life of Conon.* Anatolian Studies 59 (2009) 129–138. – Laflı. [15

## b. Literaturgattungen

### Philosophie

**Chiaradonna R./Trabattoni F.** (eds.), *Physics and philosophy of nature in Greek Neoplatonism.* Philosophia antiqua, 115. Leiden, Brill 2009. VI, 317 p. ISBN 978-90-04-17380-4. – Proceedings of the European Science Foundation explo-

ratory workshop (Il Ciocco, Castelvecchio Pascoli, June 22–24, 2006). Daraus angezeigt Nr. 148, 149, 150, 151. – Berger. [16

**Fodor N.**, *Weisheitsliteratur in Übersetzungen. Vom Westen nach Osten – letztendlich ein Kreis in dem europäischen Kulturkreis.* Acta Antiqua 47/1 (2007) 99–115. – The present study intends to deal with the Greek translation of two Latin collections of maxims attributed presumably to Maximos Planudes. The first writing is the Roman Greek version of Ovidius' poems, entitled Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris and Amores, reduced to sayings and rhetorical topoi. The second one is the translated version of Dicta Catonis in hexametric lines. The study follows the subsequent life of the original Latin texts up to the appearance of their translation. Afterwards it attempts to introduce the Greek versions in a nutshell, and on the basis of the analysis, to shed light on the motivation by which the Greek versions had come to being, also on their presumable function and their reception in a later period of time. In the case of the translation concerning the Ovidian text into Greek, it is not only the artistic motivation that is doubtful, but the identity of the author itself. This analysis intends to clarify this aspect as well, and as far as the radically revised text allows, to support the authorship of MP with further arguments. – Juhász. [17

**Joos-Gaugier Ch. L.**, *Pythagoras and Renaissance Europe. Finding heaven.* (Nr. 1549). – Touwaide.

**Ronchey S.**, *Ipazia. La vera storia.* Milano, RCS libri 2010. 319 p. ISBN 978-88-17-04565-0. – Berger. [18

**Steiris G.**, *«We engaged a master of philosophy like other teachers». John and Theodosius Zygomalas and some philosophical discussions in the second half of the 16th century.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 167–185. – Berger. [19

**Troncarelli F.**, *Boezio a Costantinopoli: testi, contesti, edizioni.* (Nr. 683). – D'Aiuto.

**Watts E.**, *Three generations of Christian philosophical biography.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 117–133. – Kaldellis. [20

**Gabbe M.**, *Themistius on concept acquisition and knowledge of essences.* (Nr. 161). – Berger.

## Rhetorik

**Bourbouhakis E. C.**, *Rhetoric and performance.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 175–187. – Stathakopoulos. [21

**Flower R.**, *The emperor's new past: re-enactment and inversion in Christian invectives against Constantius II.* – **Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.),

*Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* (Nr. 1740) 28–43. – Berger. [22

**Kaltsogianni E.**, *Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos.* (Nr. 130). – Rhoby.

**Kushch T. V.**, *The beauty of the city in Late Byzantine rhetoric.* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 173–181. – Berger. [23

**Mitsiou E.**, *Vier byzantinische rhetorische Texte auf westliche Herrscher.* – **Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665) 27–39. – Analyse der Darstellungen von Friedrich I. Barbarossa (Niketas Choniates), Friedrich II. von Hohenstaufen (Theodoros II. Laskaris), Hugo IV. von Lusignan (Nikephoros Gregoras) und Sigismund von Luxemburg (Isidoros von Kiev). – Rhoby. [24

**Nicolae S.**, *Sur les voies de la morale politique: circulation manuscrite des parénèses byzantines au XVe siècle.* Revue des études sud-est européennes 48 (2010) 147–158. – Berger. [25

**Paul N. L.**, *A warlord's wisdom: literacy and propaganda at the time of the First Crusade.* Speculum 85 (2010) 534–566. – Revisionist interpretation of Capetian reframing of Bohemond's participation in the First Crusade and his aims 1105–06. – Kaegi. [26

**Rognoni C.**, *Donazioni e ricompense: la retorica bizantina al servizio dcl potere normanno.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 203–217. – Berger. [27

**Schiffer E.**, *Bemerkungen zur Auseinandersetzung mit Progymnasmata in byzantinischen Lehrschriften zur Rhetorik.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 237–242. – Rhoby. [28

**Westberg D.**, *Celebrating with Words: Studies in the rhetorical works of the Gaza School.* Diss. Uppsala, Uppsala universitet 2010. 225 p. Abstract: http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:284211. – Nilsson. [29

## Epistolographie

**Jeffreys E.**, *Mimesis in an ecclesiastical context. The case of Iakovos Monachos.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 153–164. – Die Briefe des Iakobos Monachos, des spirituellen Unterweisers der Sebastokratorissa Eirene, sind größtenteils kompiliert. Der im Beitrag behandelte Brief Nr. 37 ist ein

extremes Beispiel: Er besteht bis auf wenige selbst komponierte Passagen aus Zitaten von Basileios von Kaisareia, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Gregorios von Nazianz, Prokopios von Gaza und Gregorios von Nyssa. Der von Jeffreys ins Englische übertragene Brief ist jetzt auch zugänglich in der Edition von E. und M. Jeffreys, Iacobi Monachi epistulae (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2137). – Rhoby. [30

**Kreuzsaler C./Palme B./Zdiarsky A.** (Hrsg.), *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten.* (Nr. 1744). – Rhoby.

**Maróth M.** (Hrsg.), *The correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great: an anonymous Greek novel in letters in Arabic translation.* Documenta et monographiae Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 5. Piliscsaba, Avicenna Közel-Kelet Kutatások Intézete 2006. 260 S. ISBN 978-963-863-5975-6. – Juhász. [31

**Papaioannou S.**, *Letter-Writing.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 188–199. – Stathakopoulos. [32

**Papathomas A.**, *Die griechischen Privat- und Geschäftsbriefe auf Papyrus aus der Spätantike und dem frühen Mittelalter (4.–8. Jh. n. Chr.).* – **Kreuzsaler C./ Palme B./Zdiarsky A.** (Hrsg.), *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten.* (Nr. 1744) 27–34. – Rhoby. [33

**Rhoby A.**, *The letter network of Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 125–152. – Berger. [34

**Giannopulos P. A.**, *Ο Ναυπλιεύς Θεόδωρος Νικαίας.* (Nr. 334). – Leontsini.

**Tuphexes N.**, *Οι Θεματοεπιστολαί του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά και η μετάβαση από τη βυζαντινή στην πρώιμη νεοελληνική παράδοση.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 305–340. 3 Abb. – Berger. [35

## Geschichtsschreibung

**Durak K.**, *Defining the 'Turk': mechanism of establishing contemporary meaning in the archaizing language of the Byzantines.* (Nr. 875). – Rhoby.

**Howard-Johnston J.**, *Witnesses to a world crisis: historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century.* Oxford, Oxford University Press 2010. XXXIV, 573 p. ISBN 978-0-19-920859-3. – Thirteen chapters on all the main sources for the period followed by three of narrative history. – Kaldellis. [36

**Juhász E.**, *Briefe im Geschichtswerk des Leon Diakonos.* – **Czeglédy A./Horváth L./Krähling E./Laczkó K./Ligeti D. Á./Mayer Gy.** (eds.), *Pietas non sola Romana. Studia memoriae Stephani Borzsák dedicata.* (Nr. 1656) 268–277. – Juhász. [37

**Kaldellis A.**, *The corpus of Byzantine Historiography: an interpretative essay.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 211–222. – Stathakopoulos. [38

**Kislinger E.**, *Vertauschte Notizen. Anna Komnene und die Chronologie der byzantinisch-normannischen Auseinandersetzungen 1081–1085.* (Nr. 637). – Rhoby.

**Makk F./Thoroczkay G.** (eds.), *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (Schriftliche Quellen der ungarischen Geschichte zwischen 1050 und 1116).Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, 22. Szeged, Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 2006. 469 S. ISBN 963-482-794-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 85, 108, 111, 133. – Juhász. [39

**Odorico P.**, *«Parce que je suis ignorant». Imitatio/variatio dans la chronique de Georges le Moine.* (Nr. 98). – Rhoby.

**Reinsch D. R.**, *Der Autor ist tot – es lebe der Leser. Zur Neubewertung der imitatio in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung.* (Nr. 12). – Rhoby.

**Széll G.**, *Az 5–6. századi világkrónikák forrásai* (Quellen der Weltchroniken im 5.–6. Jh.). – **Tóth I./Jutai P.** (eds.), *Enumeratio. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae III. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások* (Nr. 1785) 36–40. – Juhász. [40

**Tóth A. J.**, *Mítoszracionalizálás a bizánci krónikákban* (Rationalization of myths in Byzantine chronicles). – **Czeglédy A./Horváth L./Krähling E./Laczkó K./Ligeti D. Á./Mayer Gy.** (eds.), *Pietas non sola Romana. Studia memoriae Stephani Borzsák dedicata.* (Nr. 1656) 892–904. – The hidden meaning of myths was explained in antiquity either by allegory, in which the gods and heroes are personifications of natural phenomena or abstract concepts, or by rationalization, by claiming that the myths originally described historical events and should be freed from irrational details. In the chronicle of John Malalas, the rationalized myths contain many elements form actual politics and everyday life of his age. These anachronisms have frequently been attributed to the author's naivety or ignorance, but the reasons can be more complicated, and in some cases anachronisms are used deliberately for explaning. The gods of Greece becomes kings of Persia, Egypt and Assyria, while Greece vanished from the map. – Juhász. [41

## Philologie

**Tessier A.**, *Filologi bizantini di epoca Comnena.* Incontri triestini di filologia classica 3 (2003–2004 [2006]) 1–14. http://www2.units.it/polymnia/incts.php. – Opponendosi alla svalutazione dell'attività filologica d'età bizantina risalente a Maas P., Pasquali G. e più di recente alle valutazioni negative di Braswell B., sostiene che, ad esempio, filologi come Isacco Tzetzes ed Eustazio di Tessalonica erano in grado di intendere la responsione all'interno della struttura strofica di Pindaro. – D'Aiuto. [42

# Dichtung

**Aerts W. J.**, *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio im byzantinischen Alexandergedicht.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 33–44. – Rhoby. [43

**Afentoulidou-Leitgeb E.**, *Eine Dioptra-Adaptierung aus dem Kreis des Michael Kantakuzenos.* (Nr. 180). – Rhoby.

**Agosti G.**, *Cultura greca negli epigrammi epigrafici di età tardoantica.* – **Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti della giornata di studio in onore di Laura Casarsa, Trieste, 19 gennaio 2007.* (Nr. 1657) 3–18. – Dall'abstract: «Quasi sempre le 'citazioni' di auctoritates e i repentini innalzamenti di stile nelle epigrafi metriche tardoantiche erano concepiti in vista di una precisa opzione comunicativa … la παιδεία tradizionale è … uno status symbol degli esponenti delle classi elevate dell'impero, ma questa funzione 'rappresentativa' della cultura non appartiene solo alla classe politica e ai notabili cittadini. A livello privato, le famiglie che aspiravano ad elevarsi nella scala sociale e a veder riconosciuta la loro condizione, mostrano un uso del tutto analogo della cultura classica. Essa diviene un contrassegno prestigioso anche in epigrammi che elogiano professioni 'tecniche', fino a divenire l'aspetto prevalente in questo tipo di composizioni». – D'Aiuto. [44

**Agosti G.**, *Dal cielo alla terra: epigrammi epigrafici e filosofi nel tardoantico.* – **Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti del III convegno "Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità".* (Nr. 1717) 103–116. – D'Aiuto. [45

**Agosti G.**, *Immagini e poesia nella tarda antichità. Per uno studio dell'estetica visuale della poesia greca fra III e IV sec. d. C.* – **Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del convegno internazionale "Phantasia. Il pensiero per immagini degli antichi e dei moderni", Trieste, 28–30 aprile 2005.* (Nr. 1718) 351–374. 7 figg. – Dall'abstract: «La poesia greca della tarda antichità mostra una particolare attenzione agli aspetti visivi della parola poetica, dando un significato totalmente differente alla tradizione ecfrastica secolare e al paragone agonale fra pittura e poesia». – D'Aiuto. [46

**Agosti G.**, *Reliquie argonautiche nella tarda antichità: un oracolo fra Cizico e Atene.* – **Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti del III convegno "Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità".* (Nr. 1717) 17–36. – L'episodio dedicato a Cizico nelle Argonautiche orfiche (sec. V d.C.?) è riletto alla luce delle tradizioni riprese da fonti soprattutto cronistiche bizantine (in primis Giovanni di Antiochia, Malala, Giovanni di Nikiu) e di un'iscrizione dell'isola di Icaria (IG XII 6,2,1265): «L'accurata trattazione dell'episodio di Cizico nel poema» va letta «come il tentativo (…) di intervenire nella lotta per i simboli e di contrapporsi alla cristianizzazione delle reliquie del culto di Rea [scil. il tempio di Rea che sarebbe stato cristianizzato sotto Zenone], ben

conoscendo il ruolo centrale che esse avevano nella riappropriazione mitica del passato di Bisanzio. È anche possibile che il poema fosse stato pensato proprio per un'audience costantinopolitana». – D'Aiuto. [47

**Agosti G.**, *Sul ruolo e la valutazione dei 'minori' nella poesia greca tardoantica.* – **Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del II convegno: Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità, Trieste, 27–28 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1716) 209–223. – Contesta la generale svalutazione della poesia tardoantica; rileva alcune linee di fondo della poesia post-nonniana; si concentra su alcuni esempi, in particolare su Dioscoro. – D'Aiuto. [48

**Conca F./Marzi M./Zanetto G.**, *Antologia Palatina, 1: Libri I–VII.* Classici UTET: Classici greci. Autori della tarda antichità e dell'età bizantina. Torino, UTET 2005. 975 p. ISBN 88-02-06192-0. – Traduzione italiana annotata, con testo greco a fronte. – D'Aiuto. [49

**Constantine P./Hadas R./Keeley E./Van Dyck K.** (eds.), *The Greek poets: Homer to the present.* New York/London, Norton 2010. XXXIII, 692 p. ISBN 978-0-393-06083-6. – Contains, on p. 267–350, snippets from over thirty poets of the Byzantine period. – Kaldellis. [50

**Demoen K.**, *Phrasis poikilê. Imitatio and variatio in the Poetry Book of Christophoros Mitylenaios.* (Nr. 89). – Rhoby.

**Elizbarashvili E.**, *The formation of a hero in Digenes Akrites.* GRBS 50 (2010) 437–460. – "An allegorical reading of the epic, focused on Christian archetypes and saints' lives, shows Digenes' adventures as stages of religious enlightenment and purification." – Kaldellis. [51

**Kulhánková M.**, *Die byzantinische Betteldichtung. Verbindung des Klassischen mit dem Volkstümlichen.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 175–180. – Hinterberger. [52

**Livanos C.**, *Trends and developments in the Byzantine poetic tradition.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 200–210. – Stathakopoulos. [53

**Marciniak P.**, *A dramatic afterlife: the Byzantines on ancient drama and its authors.* Classica et Mediaevalia 60 (2009) 311–326. – Nilsson. [54

**Pietsch-Braounou E.**, *Ein Aspekt der Rezeption der Anthologia Palatina in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes auf Bilder.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 217–230. – Rhoby. [55

**Puccia M.**, *L'anonimo Carme di Supplica a Giorgio di Antiochia e l'elaborazione dell'idea imperiale alla corte di Ruggero II.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura

di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 231–262. – Berger. [56

**Rhoby A.**, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken".* Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung, 2. Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 23. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 539 S. Zahlr. s/w- und Farbabb. ISBN 978-3-7001-6824-9. – Zweiter Band im Rahmen des Projekts „Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung". Edition, Übersetzung, Analyse, Diskussion und kulturhistorische Einordnung von 273 Epigrammen, die auf Ikonen, Reliquiaren, Textil usw. überliefert sind. – Rhoby. [57

**Rhoby A.**, *Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren im Codex Marcianus graecus 524.* Medioevo greco 10 (2010) 167–204. – Propone l'identificazione (con Giorgio Scilitze, con il Manganeios Prodromos, con Teodoro Balsamone) di alcuni degli autori di epigrammi tramandati in forma anonima dal celebre Marc. gr. Z.524; inoltre, raggruppa nel medesimo codice serie di epigrammi anonimi le cui analogie testuali inducono a ipotizzare comunanza d'autore. – D'Aiuto. [58

**Ryder E. C.**, *An epigram for Saint Anastasia Pharmakolitria commissioned by the Panhypersebaste Irene Palaiologina.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 265–270. – Berger. [59

**Schievenin R.**, *Egersimos: risvegli e resurrezioni.* (Nr. 142). – D'Aiuto.

**Schönauer S.**, *Zu Spielarten der mimesis in der profanen Dichtung der Kassia.* (Nr. 122). – Rhoby.

**Stefec R.**, *Anmerkungen zu einigen handschriftlich überlieferten Epigrammen in epigraphischer Auszeichnungsmajuskel.* JÖB 59 (2009) 203–212. – Parergon zu dem in Vorbereitung befindlichen 4. Band im Rahmen des Projekts „Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung" (Epigramme, die in Handschriften quasi inschriftlich verwendet werden, z. B. Beischriften von Miniaturen, usw.). – Rhoby. [60

**Wilkinson K. W.**, *Some neologisms in the epigrams of Palladas.* GRBS 50 (2010) 295–308. – Based on the premise, convincingly argued elsewhere by the author, that Palladas lived during the reign of Constantine. – Kaldellis. [61

## c. Fortleben antiker Autoren

**Garriga C.**, *Una congettura dimenticata di Demetrio Triclinio ad Aesch. Eum. 819.* (Nr. 91). – Luzzi.

**Marton J.**, *A görög irodalom újraéledése az első humanista fordításokban* (Die Wiederbelebung der griechischen Literatur in den ersten Humanistenübersetzungen). Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 71–88. – For the rebirth of Greek culture during the Renaissance, new Latin translations of the Greek classics played a crucial role. In this study, the modern translation method of Leonardo Bruni is interpreted by its historical-philological background in the view of the contemporary intellectual schools, and discusses the possible reasons for which certain Greek authors and works were chosen for translation. – Juhász. [62

**Arnzen R.** (ed.), *Averroes, On Aristotle's 'Metaphysics'. An annotated translation of the so-called 'Epitome'.* Scientia Graeco-Arabica, 5. Union Académique Internationale, Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Academiarum Consociatarum auspiciis et consilio editum, Averrois Opera, Series A: Averroes Arabicus, 35. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2010. 378 p. ISBN 978-3-11-022001-8. – First English translation of ibn Rushd' Epitome of Aristotle's Metaphysics made on the basis of the 1946 edition (Hyderabat) and 8 of the 17 Arabic manuscripts that contain the work and have not been previously taken into consideration so far for the edition of the text. The translation is followed by notes of commentaries including both explanation of key Arabic texts and cross-references to Aristotle's works. A fundamental contribution making it possible to know this work while waiting for the new critical edition the author has been working on, but could not complete because of the impossibility to get access to all manuscripts. – Touwaide. [63

**Bandini M.**, *Lo Ierone di Senofonte nel Quattrocento. Leonardo Bruni e Antonio da Pescia.* Res publica litterarum 28, n.s. 8 (2005) 108–123. – D'Aiuto. [64

**Bevegni C.**, *La Varia historia di Claudio Eliano in Occidente nel XV secolo.* Studi Umanistici Piceni 27 (2007) 293–306. – Per la fortuna del testo, da Guarino e Perotti a Ermolao Barbaro il Giovane e Poliziano, fino alla princeps di Camillo Peruschi del 1545. – D'Aiuto. [65

**Bianchi N.**, *Una testimonianza trascurata su Senofonte Efesio: Gregorio di Corinto.* Quaderni di storia 35 [70] (2009) 219–248. – Discute un accenno al romanzo nell'In Herm. meth. di Gregorio di Corinto. – D'Aiuto. [66

**Papathomopulos M.** (Hrsg.), *Κάτωνος γνῶμαι παραινετικαὶ δίστιχοι ἃς μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον Μάξιμος Μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανούδης.* Λόγος Ἑλληνικός, 2. Athena, Aletheia 2009. 144 p. ISBN 978-960-899-819-3. – Berger. [67

**Daneloni A.**, *Storia umanistica di un frammento di Eupoli.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 199–215. – «La riscoperta, in Occidente, dei pochi brani superstiti dei Δῆμοι di Eupoli conobbe una delle sue più remote e significative tappe già nella seconda metà del sec. XV, nel laboratorio filologico del Poliziano». D. propone di identificare nel manoscritto della Medicea privata ora Laur. Plut. 60,9 l'Aristide dai cui scolii l'umanista recuperò il frammento, incrociandone il testo con la testimonianza di Plin. epist. 1,20,17–18, letto nei Laur. Ashb. 98 e S. Marco 284. Il testo del frammento, incluso nei

Miscellanea polizianei, fu ristampato poi nell'Aldina del 1498 degli Opera omnia del Poliziano, ma con ritocchi dovuti forse a Marco Musuro. – D'Aiuto. [68

**Pagliaroli S.**, *L'Erodoto del Valla.* – **Santoro M.** (a cura di), *Valla e Napoli. Il dibattito filologico in età umanistica. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Ravello, 22–23 settembre 2005.* (Nr. 1780) 113–128. – D'Aiuto. [69

**Speranzi D.**, *Un lettore di Erodoto. Lapo da Castiglionchio il Giovane e il Laur. Conv. soppr. 207.* (Nr. 240). – D'Aiuto.

**Fodor N.**, *Die Heroiden in Byzanz durch die Übersetzung von Maximos Planudes.* Acta Antiqua 50/1 (2010) 103–115. – On the translation of the Heroides and its reception in the Byzantine world and later in Western Europe. Concludes that the letters of Ovid were adapted to the Byzantine curriculum and used as sample texts in the progymnasmata method. – Juhász. [70

**Anastassiou A.**, *Unbekannte hippokratische Aphorismen bei Theophilos Protospatharios' De Urinis?* (Nr. 1559). – Tinnefeld.

**Silvano L.** (a cura di), *Angelo Poliziano, Appunti per un corso sull'Odissea.* (Nr. 266). – Berger.

**Cupane C.**, *Die Homer-Rezeption in Byzanz.* – **Latacz J./Greub Th./Blome P./Wieczorek A.** (Hrsg.), *Homer. Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst.* (Nr. 1746) 251–258. – Berger. [71

**Kokoszko M./Gibel-Buszewska A.**, *The term Kandaulos/Kandylos in the Lexicon of Photius and the Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem of Eustathius of Thessalonica.* (Nr. 762). – Berger.

**Romaniello M.**, *La presenza di Iperide nella XVIII declamazione libaniana.* (Nr. 129). – D'Aiuto.

**Tchertnetska N./Handley E./Austin C./Horváth L.**, *New readings in the fragment of Hyperides' Against Timandros from the Archimedes palimpsest.* ZPE 162 (2007) 1–4. – Juhász. [72

**Horváth L.**, *Note to Hyperides in Timandrum.* Acta Antiqua 48/1–2 (2008) 121–123. – Revised critical edition of Hyperides in Timandrum from the Archimedes Palimpsest. – Juhász. [73

**Faulkner A.**, *St Gregory of Nazianzus and the classical tradition. The Poemata Arcana qua Hymns.* (Nr. 452). – Tinnefeld.

**Luzzatto M. J.**, *Emendare Platone nell'antichità. Il caso del Vaticanus gr. 1.* Quaderni di storia 34 [68] (2008) 29–87. 2 fig. – Sui noti marginalia del Platone vaticano, riletti anche in rapporto con l'apografo, la cui regia si deve a Planude, Laur. Plut. 59,1. Quelle apposte in margine al Vaticanus nel sec. XI (mano O4) non sarebbero note di nuova collazione, ma copia d'un'attività diortotica probabilmente tardoantica. Si propone una nuova interpretazione delle for-

mule indicanti natura e fonte della lezione, che rinvierebbero a sigle dell'antigrafo fraintese dal postillatore mediobizantino: in particolare, la formula più nota agli studiosi, che menziona il celebre τ(οῦ) π(ατ)ρι(άρ)χ(ου) τὸ βι(βλίον), si dovrebbe invece intendere come deformazione di τ(οῦ) π(ατ)ρικ(ίου) τὸ βι(βλίον), con riferimento al titolo di patrizio di cui il possessore dell'esemplare era insignito. Secondo L., questi sarebbe il Menas patrizio d'età giustinianea noto dal dialogo De scientia politica: del resto, l'epigramma in lode di un Menas celebrato come studioso di Platone, tràdito dal Par. gr. 1116, poteva essere trascritto proprio sul frontespizio della lussuosa «edizione» platonica di Menas che sarebbe richiamata nelle postille al Vat. gr. 1. Delle altre due formule introduttive delle postille, ἀπ' ὀρθώ(σεως) andrebbe interpretato come corruzione di Ἀ(ριστοφάνους) διόρθω(σις) o simile (= Aristofane di Bisanzio); ἀλλ(α)χ(οῦ) invece traviserebbe Ἀττ(ι)κ(ός) o ἀττ(ι)κ(όν), ora con riferimento al filosofo medioplatonico Attico, ora a indicare una voce attica esclusiva di Platone, ora (più spesso) con rinvio agli autorevoli «esemplari attici» di Platone citati anche da Galeno. Causa degli errori: la veloce maiuscola corsiva inclinata di glossa dell'ipotizzato modello tardoantico (il codice di Menas). – D'Aiuto. [74

**Marcotte D.**, *La Periegesi di Dionigi tra Bisanzio e l'Italia nel sec. XII.* Quaderni di storia 35 [69] (2009) 89–104. 3 fig. – Ribadisce – in un quadro di apprezzamento forse troppo entusiastico per la conoscenza dei classici nell'Italia meridionale – l'attribuzione del Par. Suppl. gr. 388 (X sec.) ad ambito italogreco, in forza delle glosse interlineari latine in carolina; l'ultimo correttore (XII sec.) del codice è identificato con l'autore di tali glosse: egli si sarebbe servito della collazione con un altro esemplare dell'opera, il Guelf. Gud. gr. 46 (XI sec.). Ma M. non conosce le diverse conclusioni cui era giunto il lavoro, apparso nel 2006, di Ronconi F., «Il codice Parigino Suppl. gr. 388 e Mosè del Brolo da Bergamo» (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2251). – D'Aiuto. [75

**Megna P.**, *Per la storia della 'princeps' di Omero. Demetrio Calcondila e il 'De Homero' dello pseudo Plutarco.* (Nr. 235). – D'Aiuto.

**Miletti L.**, *Gatti, donnole ed altri animali. Erodoto ed Eliano nel Cornu copiae di Perotti.* Studi Umanistici Piceni 27 (2007) 61–79. – Contestualizza le citazioni dai due autori antichi nella loro tradizione manoscritta medievale. – D'Aiuto. [76

**Papanicolaou M.**, *Teodoro Gaza e Plutarco.* (Nr. 237). – D'Aiuto.

**Paradiso A.**, *Aliatte a Priene?* Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica 137/3–4 (2009) 257–264. – Il lemma α 1423 Adler di Suda dedicato al sovrano lidio Aliatte e ai suoi successori presenta forti affinità testuali con FGrHist 90 F 63–65 Jacoby (Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis delle Storie di Nicolao Damasceno), ma l'informazione circa l'assedio di Priene da parte di Aliatte, che è tramandata nella parte conclusiva del lemma, deriva, al contrario, da Diogene Laerzio. – Luzzi. [77

**Kavvadas N. Ch.**, *Die Natur des Schlechten bei Proklos. Eine Platoninterpretation und ihre Rezeption durch Dionysios Areopagites.* (Nr. 147). – Berger.

**Steel C.**, *The divine Earth: Proclus on Timaeus 40 bc.* (Nr. 150). – Berger.

**Vancamp B.**, *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Platons Menon.* (Nr. 225). – Berger.

**Reinhardt U.**, *Eustazio, Benedetto Lampridio e Giulio Romano. La scena centrale del soffitto nella Sala di Troia nel Palazzo Ducale di Mantova.* Studi Umanistici Piceni 27 (2007) 233–250. 9 ill. – Reinterpreta l'iconografia della scena alla luce di un passo dei Cypria riportato nel commento all'Iliade di Eustazio, opera «che a Lampridio era sicuramente nota per via del suo insegnante Laskaris». – D'Aiuto. [78

**Rollo A.**, *Bartolomeo Aragazzi, Poggio e i 'Paradoxa' di Cicerone.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 51–68. XII tav. f.t. – Ricostruisce «un episodio – che si pone all'inizio della storia della diffusione dell'opera nell'Italia umanistica – della vicenda del restauro dei graeca nei Paradoxa»: l'Aragazzi sembra esser stato autore di una retroversione dei sei «paradossi» dal latino in greco (ms. Wroclaw, Bibl. Univ., Akc. 1949 Kn. 60, di mano dell'Aragazzi stesso, ma anche, d'altra mano e con qualche modifica, Matrit. 10161), per restaurarne il corrotto testo greco offerto dalla tradizione medievale di Cicerone a lui disponibile. Una diversa (e più scaltrita linguisticamente) retroversione dal latino, fatta in seguito da Poggio Bracciolini (che potrebbe non essere estraneo al primo tentativo dell'Aragazzi) molto probabilmente grazie all'aiuto di Rinuccio Aretino, è testimoniata nei codici Vat. gr. 877 e Laur. 50,31. L'individuazione del ruolo di Poggio getta ombre sull'ipotesi di Reifferscheid A. secondo cui Poggio stesso avrebbe scoperto il Cicerone Laur. S. Marco 257 già nel 1417: avendo a disposizione tale codice Poggio non avrebbe avuto necessità di retroversioni. – D'Aiuto. [79

**Saffrey H. D./Segonds A.-Ph.**, *Ficin sur le De mysteriis de Jamblique.* Humanistica 1 (2006) 117–124. – D'Aiuto. [80

**Schreiner P.**, *Aspekte der Tradierung der antiken griechischen Literatur in Byzanz.* Quaderni di storia 35 [70] (2009) 103–117. – Sorvolo sulla storia della tradizione dei testi classici a Bisanzio, dalle origini fin dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli. – D'Aiuto. [81

**Berkes L.**, *Egy fejezet Lukianos bizánci utóéletéből: a pseudo-lukianosi Timarion* (Aus dem byzantinischen Nachleben von Lukian: der pseudolukianische Timarion). – **Tóth I./Jutai P.** (eds.), *Enumeratio. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae III. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások* (Nr. 1785) 51–55. – Juhász. [82

**Valiavitcharska V.**, *Byzantine oratical rhythm and the classical heritage.* (Nr. 14). – Rhoby.

**Venezia L.**, *Reliquie callimachee in Esichio.* (Nr. 100). – Luzzi.

## d. Byzantinische Autoren (Ausgaben, Übersetzungen, Sekundärliteratur)

### Ioannes Aktuarios

**Diamandopoulos A.**, *Joannes Zacharias Actuarius. A witness of late Byzantine uroscopy, closely linked with Thessaloniki.* (Nr. 1563). – Telelis.

### Agathias

**Kapitánffy I.**, *A korabizánci epigrammaköltészet (Agathias Kyklosának nyitóverse)* (Die frühbyzantinische Epigrammdichtung. Das Anfangsgedicht im Kyklos des Agathias). Antik Tanulmányok 49/1–2 (2005) 197–207. – Analysis of the structure and the opening poem of the Cycle by István Kapitánffy (1932–1997), explaining, among other things, why Agathias omitted the homoerotic epigrams (paidika) and the epigrams of St Gregory Nazianzen and Palladas from the anthology, and presenting a new hypothesis concerning the year the Cycle was published (c. 567). – Juhász. [83

**Zsupán E.**, *Agathias: De bello Gothorum, Budapest, OSzK, Cod. Lat. 413.* (Nr. 226). – Juhász.

### Alexandergedicht

**Aerts W. J.**, *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio im byzantinischen Alexandergedicht.* (Nr. 43). – Rhoby.

### Alexandros von Aphrodisias

**Ieraci Bio A. M.**, *"Galeno e lo Ps. Alessandro di Afrodisia in due Lyseis di Giovanni Argiropulo".* (Nr. 1572). – Touwaide.

### Ammianus Marcellinus

**Roth R.**, *Pyrrhic paradigms: Ennius, Livy, and Ammianus Marcellinus.* Hermes 138 (2010) 171–195. – Von den früheren römischen Historikern sind es Ennius im 6. Buch seiner Annales und Livius, die den Einfall des Molosserkönigs Pyrrhus von Epirus nach Italien im Jahr 280 v.Chr. behandeln, aber die Darstellung des Livius ist verloren. In den erhaltenen Büchern seines Geschichtswerks finden sich jedoch häufig exemplarische Anspielungen auf dieses Ereignis. Es war erst wieder Ammianus, der Livius in dieser Praxis folgte. – Tinnefeld. [84

## Anna Komnene

**Kislinger E.**, *Vertauschte Notizen. Anna Komnene und die Chronologie der byzantinisch-normannischen Auseinandersetzungen 1081–1085.* (Nr. 637). – Rhoby.

**Ljubarskij Ja. N.** (transl.), *Алексиада* (Alexias). St. Petersburg, Aletheia 2010. 772 p. ISBN 978-5-91419-301-7. – Amended republication of the 1996 Russian translation. – Ivanov. [85

**Olajos T.** (Übers.), *Anna Komnéné.* – **Makk F./Thoroczkay G.** (eds.), *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (Nr. 39) 324–336. – Juhász. [86

## Anonym

**Stok F.**, *Niccolò Sagundino traduttore dell'Oraculum de Isthmo.* Studi Umanistici Piceni 28 (2008) 227–238. – D'Aiuto. [87

## Anthologia Graeca

**Olajos T.**, *A contribution to the issue of post-Justinian political propaganda.* (Nr. 615). – Juhász.

## Anthologia Palatina

**Pietsch-Braounou E.**, *Ein Aspekt der Rezeption der Anthologia Palatina in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes auf Bilder.* (Nr. 55). – Rhoby.

## Basileios von Ohrid

**Gentile Messina R.**, *Basilius Achridenus. Epitafio per l'imperatrice alamanna. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento.* Pubblicazioni del Centro studi sull'antico cristianesimo. [Catania,] Centro di studi sull'antico cristianesimo dell'Università di Catania 2008. XXII,183 p. ISBN 978-88-903522-2-5. – Seconda edizione, rivista e ampliata, di quella originaria del 2003. – Luzzi. [88

## Chorikios von Gaza

**Corcella A.**, *Coricio di Gaza, Discorso funebre per Procopio.* – **Amato E.** (a cura di), *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza.* (Nr. 152) 507–527. – Berger. [89

## Christophoros Mitylenaios

**Demoen K.**, *Phrasis poikilê. Imitatio and variatio in the Poetry Book of Christophoros Mitylenaios.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 103–118. – Rhoby. [90

## Demetrios Kydones

**Ryder J. R.**, *The career and writings of Demetrius Kydones. A study of fourteenth-century Byzantine politics, religion and society.* The Medieval Mediterranean, 85. Leiden, Brill 2010. XV, 295 S. ISBN 978-90-0418-565-4. – Tinnefeld. [91

## Demetrios Triklinios

**Garriga C.**, *Una congettura dimenticata di Demetrio Triclinio ad Aesch. Eum. 819.* Lexis 26 (2009) 381–383. – La congettura τί γένωμαι al testo eschileo non è moderna, bensì risale al Triclinio: si legge infatti nel ms. Neapolitanus II F 31, vergato dal filologo bizantino. – Luzzi. [92

## Dionysios (Musiktheoretiker)

**Terzes Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Διονυσίου <Τέχνη μουσική>. Εἰσαγωγή – κείμενο – μετάφραση – σχόλια. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση.* Βιβλιοθήκη Α. Μανούση, 11. Athenai, Κέντρον Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Γραμματείας 2010. XXV, 193*, 315 S. ISBN 978-960-404-175-6. – Berger. [93

## Dioskoros von Aphrodito

**Agosti G.**, *Sul ruolo e la valutazione dei ‘minori’ nella poesia greca tardoantica.* (Nr. 48). – D’Aiuto.

## Dioysios Areopagites

**Kavvadas N. Ch.**, *Die Natur des Schlechten bei Proklos. Eine Platoninterpretation und ihre Rezeption durch Dionysios Areopagites.* (Nr. 147). – Berger.

## Eunapios

**Pujante D.**, *La importancia del pensamiento religioso de los retóricos paganos en las Vidas de Filósofos y Sofistas de Eunapio.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 541–549. – Signes. [94

## Eusebios von Kaisareia

**Farkas Z.**, *Teleios logos. Eusebius-tanulmányok* (Teleios logos. Eusebius-Studien). Apollo Könyvtár, 25. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 2005. 186 S. – Juhász. [95

## Eustathios von Thessalonike

**Kokoszko M./Gibel-Buszewska A.**, *The term Kandaulos/Kandylos in the Lexicon of Photius and the Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem of Eustathius of Thessalonica.* (Nr. 762). – Berger.

## Gennadios Scholarios

**Rhoby A.**, *Wortschatz als Indiz für literarische Nachahmung? Das Beispiel des Gennadios Scholarios.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 231–236. – Rhoby. [96

## Georgios Gemistos Plethon

**Nikolaou S. N.**, *Πληθωνικά.* Thessalonike, Banias 2005. 275 p. ISBN 960-288-130-0. – Ristampa di articoli apparsi in diverse sedi. – D'Aiuto. [97

## Georgios Hamartolos

**Stankov R.**, *Древнеболгарский перевод Хроники Георгия Амартола в древнерусской письменной традиции* (The Old Bulgarian translation of the George Hamartolos Chronicon in the Old Russian literary tradition). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 45–103. With English summary. – The linguistic analysis reveals new data about Old Bulgarian origin of the first translation of George Hamartolos' Chronicon. – Nikolov. [98

## Georgios Monachos

**Odorico P.**, *«Parce que je suis ignorant». Imitatio/variatio dans la chronique de Georges le Moine.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 209–216. – Rhoby. [99

## Georgios Pachymeres

**Failler A.**, *Origine et authenticité des titres dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymérès.* REB 66 (2008) 95–123. – Alors que les éditeurs admettent l'authenticité du titre général, de l'intitulé des chapitres et des partitions de l'Histoire de Georges Pachymérès, l'analyse grammaticale, lexicale et structurelle de l'ouvrage semble démontrer que ces facteurs paratextuels remontent à un rédacteur postérieur. – Ronconi. [100

## Georgios Skylitzes

**Rhoby A.**, *Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren im Codex Marcianus graecus 524.* (Nr. 58). – D'Aiuto.

## Gregorios von Korinthos

**Bianchi N.**, *Una testimonianza trascurata su Senofonte Efesio: Gregorio di Corinto.* (Nr. 66). – D'Aiuto.

**Martínez Manzano T.**, *Otro códice oriental en la biblioteca de Lianoro Lianori.* (Nr. 234). – D'Aiuto.

## Hesychios

**Venezia L.**, *Reliquie callimachee in Esichio.* Acme 62/3 (2009) 289–306. – «Le glosse esichiane, se utilizzate con giudizio e tenuto conto delle imprecisioni che non di rado contengono, possono condurre a una più ricca e profonda comprensione di alcuni passi callimachei. Questo fruttuoso interscambio può forse funzionare anche in senso inverso», come nel caso delle glosse δ 1749 e η 581. – Luzzi. [101

## Ioannes Apokaukos

**Pazaras N. Th.**, *Άγιος Δημήτριος ο «Απόκαυκος»: Μια νέα ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση.* (Nr. 1195). – Kotzabassi.

## Ioannes Klimakos

**Zsupán E.**, *Iohannes Scholasticus Climacus: Scala Paradisi – Ad Pastorem, Budapest, OSzK, Cod. Lat. 344.* – **Földesi F.** (ed.), *Csillag a holló árnyékában. Vitéz János és a humanizmus kezdetei Magyarországon (kiállítási katalógus).* (Nr. 1732) Nr. 35. – Juhász. [102

## Ioannes Lydos

**Feissel D.**, *Traduire Lydos. Notes en marge de la nouvelle édition de Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures de l'État romain.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 339–357. – Macé. [103

**Tóth A. J.**, *Ióannés Lydos és a történelem megújítása* (Ioannes Lydos und die Erneuerung der Geschichte). Orpheus Noster 1/1 (2009) 75–82. – In order to explain the changes in the history and functioning of the Roman magistracies, John Lydus introduces, in his Work De Magistratibus, a theory founded on the ideas of neoplatonic philosophy, in which history is a cyclic process by which new institutions 'emanate' from older ones, move away and finally return to them by means of a restoration initiated by the emperors. The hierarchical structure of contemporary administration is explained by similar reasonings. – Juhász. [104

## Ioannes Malalas

**Mariev S.**, *Über das Verhältnis von Cod. Par. gr. 1630 zu den Traditionen des Johannes Malalas und des Johannes von Antiochien.* JÖB 59 (2009) 177–190. – Rhoby. [105

## Ioannes Philoponos

**Share M.** (trans.), *Philoponus: Against Proclus on the eternity of the world 9–11.* Ancient Commentators on Aristotle. London, Duckworth 2010. 168 p. ISBN 978-0-71563-859-0. – Schott. [106

## Ioannes Skylitzes

**Kiapidu Ei. S.**, *Ἡ Σύνοψη Ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰωάννη Σκυλίτζη καὶ οἱ πηγές της (811–1057): Συμβολὴ στὴ βυζαντινὴ ἱστοριογραφία κατὰ τὸν ΙΑʹ αἰῶνα.* Μελέτες Βυζαντινῆς Γραμματείας, 9. Athena, Κανάκη 2010. 591 p. ISBN 960-673-612-1. – A monograph on Ioannes Skylitzes' Synopsis Historiarum and its synthesis on the basis of the 10th and 11th c. Byzantine historiography. Should be reviewed. – Telelis. [107

**Mansouri M. T.**, *The Arabs through Skylitzes' miniatures.* Mediterranean World 20 (2010) 235–250. 22 coloured figs. – Berger. [108

**Olajos T.** (Übers.), *Ióannés Skylitzés.* – **Makk F./Thoroczkay G.** (eds.), *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (Nr. 39) 197–198. – Juhász. [109

**Wortley J.** (transl.), *John Skylitzes, A Synopsis of Byzantine history 811–1057.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2010. xxxiii, 491 p. ISBN 978-0-521-

76705-7. – Einführung von J.-C. Cheynet und B. Flusin, Anmerkungen von J.-C. Cheynet. – Berger. [110

## Ioannes Tzetzes

**Leone L. P. M.**, *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae.* Galatina, Congedo 2007. LXXXIII, 696 p. ISBN 978-88-808-6754-8. – Nuova edizione, che rappresenta una revisione dell'edizione critica pubblicata da L. nel 1968. – D'Aiuto. [111

## Ioannes Zonaras

**Olajos T.** (Übers.), *Ióannés Zonaras.* – **Makk F./Thoroczkay G.** (eds.), *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (Nr. 39) 293–294. – Juhász. [112

## Ioannes von Antiocheia

**Mariev S.** (Hrsg.), *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia.* CFHB, 47. Berlin, De Gruyter 2008. X, 56*, 599 S. ISBN 978-3-11-020402-5. – Zugleich Münchner Dissertation von 2005, kritische Ausgabe mit englischer Übersetzung. – Berger. [113

**Mariev S.**, *Über das Verhältnis von Cod. Par. gr. 1630 zu den Traditionen des Johannes Malalas und des Johannes von Antiochien.* (Nr. 104). – Rhoby.

**Roberto U.**, *The circus factions and the death of the tyrant: John of Antioch on the fate of the Emperor Phocas.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 55–77. – Berger. [114

## Isaakios Argyros

**Kuzenkov P.**, *Correction of the Easter computus: heresy or necessity? Fourteenth century Byzantine forerunners of the Gregorian reform.* (Nr. 1550). – D'Aiuto.

## Iulianos

**Benoist S.**, *Identité du prince et discours impérial: le cas de Julien.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 109–117. – Macé. [115

**Carrié J.-M./Lagacherie O.**, *«Martin, J. (†), Julien dit L'apostat, écrits autobiographiques»: Présentation du dossier.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 9–11. – Macé. [116

**Conti S.**, *Da eroe a dio: la concezione teocratica del potere in Giuliano.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 119–126. – Macé. [117

**De Vita M. C.**, *Un «agone di discorsi». Genesi e Timeo a confronto nel trattato di Giuliano «Contro i Galilei».* Κοινωνία 32 (2008) 89–120. – D'Aiuto. [118

**K. Csízy K.**, *Über die Relation zwischen den Tugenden eines Priesters und eines Herrschers. Die Brieffragmente 89 A und 89B von Julian dem Abtrünnigen.* Acta Antiqua 50/1 (2010) 79–87. – This study investigates on the basis of the Neo-Platonist Philosopher's, Emperor Julian's letter-fragment (89a et 89b, 363 AC) the relationship of virtues between a priest and a king or "imperator" of the Roman Empire. This letter can be considered as a manifestation of Julian's political and religious reform, which is based on Neo-Platonic and Christian idea. This theory relates to traditional polytheistic religion, in which the principal virtues are piety, philanthropy and utility. – Juhász. [119

**Martin J.** (†), *Julien dit L'apostat, écrits autobiographiques.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 17–78. – Macé. [120

**Quiroga A.**, *Julian's Misopogon and the subversion of rhetoric.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 127–135. – Macé. [121

**Redondo Moyano E.**, *Religión, retórica y política: el discurso Al Rey Helios de Juliano.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 577–584. – Signes. [122

## Kassia

**Schönauer S.**, *Zu Spielarten der mimesis in der profanen Dichtung der Kassia.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 243–252. – Rhoby. [123

## Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos

**Kutubalas P.**, *Δύο δημηγορίες τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' Πορφυρογεννήτου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸ στὸ πλαίσιο τῶν ἀραβο-βυζαντινῶν συγκρούσεων.* Journal of Oriental and African Studies 18 (2009) 115–137. – Presentation of two orations attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus pronounced in 950 and in 958 before conflicts against the Arabs. The inspiration of the soldiers is attempted by means of the Byzantine ideology. – Telelis. [124

**Featherstone J. M.**, *Theophanes Continuatus VI and De Cerimoniis I, 96.* (Nr. 167). – Berger.

**Flusin B.**, *Le triomphe des images et la nouvelle définition de l'orthodoxie. À propos d'un chapitre du De cerimoniis (I. 37).* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 4–20. – I due distinti protocolli riferiti in De cerim. I, 37 per la festa

dell'Ortodossia – riferibili il più antico, secondo F., al regno di Leone VI (entro l'an. 899), il secondo al tempo di Costantino VII (verso il 950) – documentano un progressivo alleggerimento, legato a motivazioni pratiche e a normali variazioni diacroniche, del ruolo dell'imperatore nella cerimonia stessa; né in essi si trovano tratti che autorizzino a pensare a elementi di una simbolica «penitenza imperiale», nella riconciliazione con la Chiesa dell'843. Parallelamente F. segue il processo per cui la festa stessa, e il suo Synodikon, generalizzano la loro portata, inizialmente legata alla sola Chiesa costantinopolitana più che alla Chiesa universale (visto che, come ricorda F., lo stesso «Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie renvoie à la décision d'un synode constantinopolitain, celui de 843, le VIIe concile oecuménique ne servant qu'indirectement de référence»). – D'Aiuto. [125

**Manini M.**, *Liber de Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae: prosopografia e sepolture imperiali.* Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica, 13. Spoleto, CISAM 2009. XIX, 382 p. XII tav. f.t. ISBN 978-88-7988-419-8. – «La prosopografia del cosiddetto Liber de Caerimoniis (…) pone la necessità di verificare nel trattato (…) il suo valore di fonte storiografica». Il volume è arricchito da un appendice (286–321) sulle sepolture imperiali, con il catalogo dei sarcofagi imperiali costantinopolitani. – D'Aiuto. [126

**Sidere Ch.** (ed., transl. & comm.), *Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ′ Πορφυρογέννητος. Βίος Βασιλείου: Ἡ βιογραφία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Βασιλείου Α′ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἀπὸ τὸν ἐστεμμένο ἔγγονό του.* Κείμενα Βυζαντινής Ιστοριογραφίας, 19. Athena, Κανάκη 2010. 535 p. maps. ISBN 960-7420-99-2. – The original text of Vita Basilii (Bekker ed.) is edited with Greek translation in facing pages. In the introduction S. presents data on the biography and ergography of Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, the manuscripts and editions of the text and its literary style. – Telelis. [127

**Szovák K.**, *A birodalom kormányzása* (De administrando imperio). – **Szlávik T.** (ed.), *Művek lexikona I.* (Nr. 1808) 270–272. – Juhász. [128

**Živković T.**, *Sources de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète concernant le passé le plus ancien des Serbes et des Croates.* (Nr. 601). – Leontsini.

## Leon VI.

**Dennis G. T.** (ed. and trans.), *Leo VI, Taktika.* Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 12. Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 49. Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks 2010. 656 p. ISBN 978-0-88402-359-3. – Kaegi. [129

## Libanios

**Romaniello M.**, *La presenza di Iperide nella XVIII declamazione libaniana.* Quaderni di storia 34 [68] (2008) 123–130. – D'Aiuto. [130

## Manganeios Prodromos

**Rhoby A.**, *Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren im Codex Marcianus graecus 524.* (Nr. 58). – D'Aiuto.

## Manuel Gabalas (Matthaios von Ephesos)

**Kaltsogianni E.**, *Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos.* JÖB 59 (2009) 107–126. – Mustergültige kritische (Erst)edition des nur im Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 174 überlieferten Textes. Die Zeichensetzung der Handschrift wird größtenteils berücksichtigt. – Rhoby. [131

## Manuel Palaiologos

**Soto Ayala R.**, *Manuel II Paleólogo: emperador y escritor (1350–1425).* Byzantion Nea Hellas 28 (2009) 69–86. – Signes. [132

Manuel Philes

**Bazzani M.**, *A poem of Manuel Philes to Makarios Chrysokephalos?* BZ 104 (2011) 55–69. – Berger. [133

**Pietsch-Braounou E.**, *Ein Aspekt der Rezeption der Anthologia Palatina in Epigrammen des Manuel Philes auf Bilder.* (Nr. 55). – Rhoby.

## Maximos Planudes

**Fodor N.**, *Die Heroiden in Byzanz durch die Übersetzung von Maximos Planudes.* (Nr. 70). – Juhász.

**Papathomopulos M.** (Hrsg.), *Κάτωνος γνῶμαι παραινετικαὶ δίστιχοι ἃς μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον Μάξιμος Μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανούδης.* (Nr. 67). – Berger.

## Michael Attaleiates

**Olajos T.** (Übers.), *Mikhaél Attaleiatés.* – **Makk F./Thoroczkay G.** (eds.), *Írott források az 1050–1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (Nr. 39) 126–130. – Juhász. [134

## Michael Psellos

**Farkas Z.**, *Epigrammata Pselli.* Acta Antiqua 50/1 (2010) 97–102. – The paper examines Westerink's edition of Psellos' poems, their place in the sequence of his work and their authenticity. A new approach to some of these poems is

discussed as well, i.e. the question of treating poems this far considered to be separate items (epigr. 34 a–e) as one single poem of six lines. – Juhász. [135

**Farkas Z.**, *Literary criticism in Psellus' Short history.* Acta Antiqua 48/1–2 (2008) 187–192. – If on the evidence of the manuscript we accept it as a fact that the Historia Syntomos (HS) was written by Psellus, we are presented with two historical works (HS and Chronographia) written by the same author (Psellus) in the same genre (historia) in two different styles (middle and simple style), which the Byzantine reader or the modern scholar can read and interpret as one historical work. In his HS Psellus briefly and superficially describes the style of Leo the Wise and of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and in connection with the latter he observes that rhetorical devices can be and are used in texts that are not written in the literary language. Though this statement might seem obvious for us, it did not appear so for a Byzantine rhetor. – Juhász. [136

**Farkas Z.**, *Historia syntomos.* – **Bangha I./Mészáros T.** (eds.), *A Danubio ad usque Gangen. Klasszika-filológiai, indológiai és magyar kultúrtörténeti tanulmányok a 80 éves Vekerdi József köszöntésére* (Nr. 1697) 129–136. – Juhász. [137

**Kolovou F.**, *Der Mythos im imitatio-Konzept des Michael Psellos.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 165–173. – Rhoby. [138

**Riedinger J.-C.**, *Remarques sur le texte de la Chronographie de Michel Psellos (2).* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 205–253. – Après les remarques concernant le texte de la Chronographie de Michel Psellos proposées dans REB 63 (2005), 110 passages des livres VI–VII sont analysés. – Ronconi. [139

**Schäffer Gy.**, *A ῥητορικὴ τέχνη fogalma Michaél Psellosnál.* – **Mészáros T./Jutai P.** (eds.), *ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΣ. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae II. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások* (Nr. 1753) 143–147. – Juhász. [140

## Nikephoros Gregoras

**Kuzenkov P.**, *Correction of the Easter computus: heresy or necessity? Fourteenth century Byzantine forerunners of the Gregorian reform.* (Nr. 1550). – D'Aiuto.

## Niketas Choniates

**Littlewood A.**, *Quotidian imagery in the History of Niketas Choniates.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 181–188. – Rhoby. [141

## Nikolaos Kabasilas

**Congourdeau M.** (trad.), *La correspondance de Nicolas Cabasilas.* Collection Fragments. Paris, Belles Lettres 2010. XXIV, 233 p. ISBN 978-2-251-74209-0. – Zweisprachige Edition mit dem griechischen Text der Ausgabe von P. Enepekides (1953). – Berger. [142

## Nonnos von Panopolis

**Schievenin R.**, *Egersimos: risvegli e resurrezioni.* – **Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti del III convegno "Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità".* (Nr. 1717) 219–232. – Dall'abstract: «La ripresa di una iunctura teocritea (ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον) da parte di Nonno di Panopoli (e poi da Eustazio) per la resurrezione di Cristo, e la contemporanea ripresa di ἐγέρσιμον da parte di Marziano Capella con altra valenza, successivamente interpretato dai commentatori medievali in senso scritturale, rivela una tessera del confronto polemico tra autori schierati su fronti opposti per cultura e religione». – D'Aiuto. [143

## Oreibasios

**Kalantzes G./Tsiames K.**, *Ορειβάσιος και Παύλος Αιγινήτης. Δύο βυζαντινοί ιατροί, πρωτοπόροι στην πλαστική χειρουργική.* (Nr. 1573). – Telelis.

**López Pérez M.**, *Ginecología y patología sexual femenina en las Colecciones Médicas de Oribasio.* (Nr. 1578). – Touwaide.

## Palladas

**Pontani A.**, *Ancora su Pallada, AP IX 528, ovvero il bilinguismo alla prova.* – **Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti della giornata di studio in onore di Laura Casarsa, Trieste, 19 gennaio 2007.* (Nr. 1657) 175–210. – Intende «dare sostanza ad osservazioni e a dubbi già avanzati da altri: … rendere cioè degna di attenta considerazione l'interpretazione dell'epigramma che al v. 3 dà a follis il valore di mantice e ritiene che Pallada … alluda in termini ironici a un fenomeno di musealizzazione della statuaria pagana patrocinato da cristiani di rango, di cui fonti scritte e archeologia danno molteplici testimonianze in età tardoantica». – D'Aiuto. [144

## Paulos von Aigina

**Gurunluoglu R./Gurunluoglu A.**, *Paul of Aegina: landmark in surgical progress.* (Nr. 1571). – Telelis.

**Kalantzes G./Tsiames K.**, *Ορειβάσιος και Παύλος Αιγινήτης. Δύο βυζαντινοί ιατροί, πρωτοπόροι στην πλαστική χειρουργική.* (Nr. 1573). – Telelis.

**Lherminier G.**, *"Un épisode de l'histoire du texte de Paul d'Egine au XIVe siècle: les deux copies de Pierre Télémaque"* (Nr. 1577). – Touwaide.

## Philippos Monotropos

**Afentoulidou-Leitgeb E.**, *Eine Dioptra-Adaptierung aus dem Kreis des Michael Kantakuzenos.* (Nr. 180). – Rhoby.

## Philotheos Kokkinos

**Talbot A.-M.**, *The miracles of Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 236–247. – Stathakopoulos. [145

## Photios

**Illés I. Á.**, *Phótios kivonata a knidosi Ktésias Persika c. művéből. (Bevezetés és fordítás)* (Photios' Auszug der Persica des Ktesias von Knidos. Einleitung und Übersetzung). Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 169–187. – Juhász. [146

**Kokoszko M./Gibel-Buszewska A.**, *The term Kandaulos/Kandylos in the Lexicon of Photius and the Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem of Eustathius of Thessalonica.* (Nr. 762). – Berger.

**Tosi R.**, *Il Fozio di Richard Porson e gli studi lessicografici.* (Nr. 1648). – Luzzi.

## Proklos

**Kalligas P.** (Übers.), *Πρόκλου Ἡ ἱερατικὴ τέχνη. Οἱ ὕμνοι.* Βιβλιοθήκη ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, 50. Athena, Stigme 2009. 75 S. ISBN 978-960-269-219-6. – Berger. [147

**Kavvadas N. Ch.**, *Die Natur des Schlechten bei Proklos. Eine Platoninterpretation und ihre Rezeption durch Dionysios Areopagites.* Quellen und Studien zur Philosophie, 93. Berlin, De Gruyter 2009. XIV, 207 S. ISBN 978-3-11-021230-3. – Berger. [148

**Opsomer J.**, *The integration of Aristotelian physics in a Neoplatonic context: Proclus on movers and divisibility.* – **Chiaradonna R./Trabattoni F.** (eds.), *Physics and philosophy of nature in Greek Neoplatonism.* (Nr. 16) 189–229. – Berger. [149

**Russi C.**, *Causality and sensual objects: a comparison between Plotinus and Proclus.* – **Chiaradonna R./Trabattoni F.** (eds.), *Physics and philosophy of nature in Greek Neoplatonism.* (Nr. 16) 145–171. – Berger. [150

**Steel C.**, *The divine Earth: Proclus on Timaeus 40 bc.* – **Chiaradonna R./Trabattoni F.** (eds.), *Physics and philosophy of nature in Greek Neoplatonism.* (Nr. 16) 259–281. – Berger. [151

**Van Riel G.**, *Proclus on matter and physical necessity.* – **Chiaradonna R./Trabattoni F.** (eds.), *Physics and philosophy of nature in Greek Neoplatonism.* (Nr. 16) 231–257. – Berger. [152

## Prokopios von Gaza

**Amato E.** (a cura di), *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza.* Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso 2010. Hellenica, 35. X, 697 p. ISBN 978-88-6724-233-7. – Sammelband zu den Schriften des Prokopios von Gaza, mit Beiträgen von E. Amato, G. Ventrella und F. Ciccolella, mit dem griechisch-italienischen Text von elf rhetorischen Werken und der Briefe. Einzeln daraus angezeigt Nr. 88, 153, 154. – Berger. [153

**Bäbler B.**, *Prokop von Gaza: Der Gemäldezyklus* – **Amato E.** (a cura di), *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza.* (Nr. 152) 560–618. – Berger. [154

**Bäbler B./Schomberg A.**, *Prokop: Die Kunstuhr.* – **Amato E.** (a cura di), *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza.* (Nr. 152) 528–559. – Berger. [155

## Prokopios von Kaisareia

**Arcuri R.**, *La Calabria nella Guerra gotica di Procopio di Cesarea. Evoluzione storica, funzione strategica e ruolo economico del territorio brettio nel VI secolo.* (Nr. 603). – D'Aiuto.

**Cherf W.**, *Procopius' De Aedificiis 4.2.122 and the Oíte-Kallídhromos frontier barrier.* (Nr. 814). – Berger.

**Foresi A.**, *Tivoli nella guerra gotica secondo Procopio di Cesarea. Interpretazioni e problemi storiografici.* Atti e memorie della Società tiburtina di storia e d'arte 80 (2007) 19–22. – Sul ruolo attribuito da Procopio alla città tiburtina nel conflitto greco-gotico, soprattutto «nelle operazioni connesse alla conquista di Roma». – Luzzi. [156

**Greatrex G.**, *Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the siege of Amida and its aftermath (502–6).* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 227–251. – Berger. [157

## Silvestros Syropulos

**Zanemonets A.** (transl.), *Воспоминания о Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе (1438–1439) в 12 частях* (The memoirs of the council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438–1439, in 12 chapters). St. Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Olega Abyško 2010. 352 p. ISBN 978-5-903525-49-2. – The commentaries are minimal. – Ivanov. [158

## Simplikios

**Martínez Nieto R. B.**, *Novedades en los estudios de transmisión textual de Empédocles: Los comentarios de Simplicio.* – **Fornis C./Gallego J./López Barja P./Valdés M.** (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social. Homenaje a Domingo Plácido.* (Nr. 1684) 721–730. – Signes. [159

## Sokrates Scholastikos

**Farkas Z.**, *Socrates Scholasticus on Greek Paideia.* Acta Antiqua 45/2–3 (2005) 187–192. – Socrates claimed that the study of pagan Greek philosophy is actually desirable, since familiarity with it enables the Christians to argue against the pagans more effectively. – Juhász. [160

## Suda

**Paradiso A.**, *Aliatte a Priene?* (Nr. 77). – Luzzi.

**Tosi R.**, *Il Fozio di Richard Porson e gli studi lessicografici.* (Nr. 1648). – Luzzi.

## Synesios von Kyrene

**Dronke P.**, *Silence sacré et silence profane dans la poésie médiévale.* Micrologus 18 (2010) = Il silenzio 59–73. – Si cita qui a proposito della breve analisi offerta da D. del primo inno di Sinesio di Cirene. – Luzzi. [161

## Themistios

**Gabbe M.**, *Themistius on concept acquisition and knowledge of essences.* Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie 92 (2010) 215–235. – Berger. [162

**Heather P.**, *Liar in winter: Themistius and Theodosius.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 185–213. – Kaldellis. [163

**Pérez Sánchez D./Rodríguez Gervás M.**, *Las imágenes de poder entre Oriente y Occidente. La figura de Teodosio en Temistio y Pacato.* – **Fornis C./Gallego J./**

**López Barja P./Valdés M.** (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social. Homenaje a Domingo Plácido.* (Nr. 1684) 359–373. – Signes. [164

## Theodoros Balsamon

**Rhoby A.**, *Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren im Codex Marcianus graecus 524.* (Nr. 58). – D'Aiuto.

## Theodoros Metochites

**Polemis I.**, *Theodore Metochites' Byzantios as a testimony to the Cosmological Discussions of the Early Palaeologan Period.* REB 66 (2008) 241–246. – Les ressemblances conceptuelles entre l'ouvrage inédit de Théodore Métochitès Byzantios (une laudatio de la ville de Constantinople) et un traité cosmologique, lui aussi inédit, de Nicéphore Choumnos, rendraient probable que le premier ait utilisé le second. – Ronconi. [165

## Theophanes

**Balogh L.**, *Notes on the western Turks in the work of Theophanes Confessor.* Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 58 (2005) 187–195. – Juhász. [166

## Theophanes Continuatus

**Featherstone J. M.**, *Theophanes Continuatus VI and De Cerimoniis I, 96.* BZ 104 (2011) 115–123. – Berger. [167

**Ljubarskij Ja. N.** (transl.), *Жизнеописания византийских царей* (Biographies of Byzantine emperors). St. Petersburg, Aletheia 2009. 400 p. ISBN 978-5-91419-146-4. – Slightly amended republication of Ja. N. Ljubarskij's translation of 1992. – Ivanov. [168

## Theophilos (Arzt)

**Anastassiou A.**, *Unbekannte hippokratische Aphorismen bei Theophilos Protospatharios' De Urinis?* (Nr. 1559). – Tinnefeld.

## Zosimos (Rhetor)

**Geiger J.**, *Ascalon as a Hellenic intellectual center in the fifth and sixth centuries.* Cathedra 138 (December 2010) 43–56. In Hebrew with English summary, p. 193. – An overview of intellectual activity of people whose city of origin was Ascalon, and especially of the rhetor Zosimus, author of commentaries and biographical introductions on classical orators. – Laniado. [169

## B. VOLKSSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen und Literaturgattungen

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Cupane C.**, *Jenseits des Schattens der Alten? Zum Umgang mit der Tradition in der volkssprachlichen Erzählliteratur.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 93–102. – Hinterberger. [171

**Kechagioglu G./Papaleontiu L.**, *Ιστορία της νεότερης κυπριακής λογοτεχνίας.* Δημοσιεύματα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών, 51. Leukosia, Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 2010. 960 S. ISBN 978-9963-0-8120-2. – Darin die beiden ersten Kapitel über die Zeit der Kreuzfahrer (12. Jh. – 1489) und der Venezianer (1489–1571). – Berger. [170

**Kulhánková M.**, *Die byzantinische Betteldichtung. Verbindung des Klassischen mit dem Volkstümlichen.* (Nr. 52). – Hinterberger.

### b. Einzelwerke

#### Chronik von Morea

**Laumitze S.**, *Κ. Π. Καβάφη· Γιὰ τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μωρέως.* Ἰταλοελληνικά 9–10 (2008) 147–156. – Edizione princeps, con commento, di annotazioni di Konstantinos Kavafis all'edizione Schmitt (1906) della Cronaca di Morea. – D'Aiuto. [172

#### Digenes Akrites

**Castillo Didier M.**, *El Cid y Diyenís: ¿héroes de novela o de epopeya?* Byzantion Nea Hellas 28 (2009) 167–183. – Signes. [175

**Muhammad T. M.**, *The conversion from Islam to Christianity as viewed by the author of Digenes Akrites.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 121–149. – Signes. [174

**Théologitis H.-A.**, *La solitude du héros, les scènes de la guerre. Variations sur les thèmes dans le Digénis Akritas.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 261–272. – Hinterberger. [173

### Kosmas Hieromonachos

**Colinet A.** (éd.), *Recettes alchimiques (Par. Gr. 2419; Holkhamicus 109). Cosmas le Hiéromoine Chrysopée.* (Nr. 1553). – Berger.

### Spaneas

**Anagnostopulos G. S.**, *Ὁ Σπανέας.* Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση μὲ βάση ὅλα τὰ χειρόγραφα. Athena, Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων 2010. 334 S. ISBN 978-960-8351-52-3. – Hinterberger. [176

### Vintzentzos Kornaros

**Henrich G. S.**, *«O Vichiendios o Cornaros». Οἱ κρυπτοσφραγίδες Ἐρωτοκρίτου καὶ Θυσίας.* Hellenika 60 (2010) 193–210. – Hinterberger. [177

### c. Postbyzantinische Literatur

**Euthymiu M.**, *Το θέατρο στην περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας.* – **Kralle I.** (Hrsg.), *Θέατρο και κοινωνία στη διαδρομή της ελληνικής ιστορίας. Μελέτες από μια ημερίδα προς τιμήν της Άννας Ραμού-Χαψιάδη.* (Nr. 1685) 185–190. – Berger. [178

**Papadia-Lala A.**, *Χώρος, χρόνος και ιστορικότητα στα έργα του Κρητικού Θεάτρου.* – **Kralle I.** (Hrsg.), *Θέατρο και κοινωνία στη διαδρομή της ελληνικής ιστορίας. Μελέτες από μια ημερίδα προς τιμήν της Άννας Ραμού-Χαψιάδη.* (Nr. 1685) 167–183. – Berger. [179

**Afentoulidou-Leitgeb E.**, *Eine Dioptra-Adaptierung aus dem Kreis des Michael Kantakuzenos.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 45–56. – Untersuchung einer aus dem 16. Jh. stammenden und im Cod. Athon. Dionysiou 178 erhaltenen Adaptierung der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos – Rhoby. [180

## C. FORTLEBEN BYZANTINISCHER STOFFE UND MODERNE LITERARISCHE VERARBEITUNG

**Bodin H.**, *Bysans som gränsland i Julia Kristevas roman Murder in Byzantium* (Byzantium as borderland in Julia Kristeva's novel Murder in Byzantium). Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 27 (2009) 5–17. – With English abstract on p. 17. – Nilsson. [181

**Bodin H.**, *Byzantine literature for Europe? From Karelia to Istanbul with the Swedish modernist poet Gunnar Ekelöf.* – **D'haen T./Goerlandt I.** (eds.), *Literature for Europe?* (Nr. 1726) 363–385. – Nilsson. [182

**Bodin H.**, *Det levande nuet. Om perception och enargeia i bysantinska och svenska ekfraser ägnade ortodoxa ikoner och kyrkorum* (The living present. On perception and enargeia in Byzantine and Swedish ekphraseis of Orthodox icons and church space). Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap 2008/2 (2008) 53–66. – Nilsson. [183

**Bodin H.**, *Seeking Byzantium on the borders of narration, identity, space and time in Julia Kristeva's novel Murder in Byzantium.* Nordlit 24 (2009) 31–43. Available online at: http://uit.no/humfak/publikasjonar/41?SubjectId=1197&From=0. – Nilsson. [184

**Cazzulo M.**, *Ironia ed emozione in alcune poesie bizantine di Kavafis.* Ἰταλοελληνικά 9–10 (2008) 23–35. – D'Aiuto. [185

**Lomas Salmonte F. J.**, *De la vida de San Antonio de Atanasio a La tentation de saint Antoine de Gustave Flaubert.* – **Fornis C./Gallego J./López Barja P./Valdés M.** (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social. Homenaje a Domingo Plácido.* (Nr. 1684) 1707–1738. – Signes. [186

**Lönnroth L.**, *Mansslukerskan i Miklagård: Kejsarinnan Zoe i fornisländsk sagatradition* (The man-eating mama of Miklagard. Empress Zoe in Old Norse saga tradition). Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 26 (2008) 5–20. – With English abstract on p. 20. Published in English in Piltz E./Åström P., Kairos. Studies in art history and literature in honour of professor Gunilla Åksertröm-Hougen, Jonsered 1998, 37–49. – Nilsson. [187

**Oikonomou T.**, *Benedict XVI's reference to the words of Manuel II Palaiologos and his accusations of Islam.* Journal of Oriental and African Studies 15 (2006) 310–312. – An interview to the Greek daily newspaper Kathimerini of N. Nicoloudis on pope Benedict XVI's reference of a statement made by Manuel II Palaiologos on the "negative" nature of Islam. Due to a misinterpretation of Manuel's statement the pope's reference was a distortion with negative implications for Greeks, presenting them in an unfavorable manner in the eyes of fanatical Muslims. – Telelis. [188

**Ronchey S./Braccini T.**, *Il romanzo di Costantinopoli. Guida letteraria alla Roma d'Oriente.* (Nr. 912). – Berger.

**Skutelas R. G.**, *Στα τείχη της Κωνσταντινούπολης. Ιστορικό μυθιστόρημα* (On the walls of Constantinople. Historical novel). Athena, Λεξίτυπον 2009. 243 p. ISBN 978-960-682-353-4. – Telelis. [189

**Zorzi N.**, *Niceta Coniata fonte dell'Enrico, ovvero Bisanzio acquistato (1635) di Lucrezia Marinella.* – **Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del convegno internazionale "Phantasia. Il pensiero per immagini degli antichi e dei moderni", Trieste, 28–30 aprile 2005.* (Nr. 1718) 415–428. – La conoscenza di Niceta Coniata, riflessa nel

poema epico-cavalleresco dell'autrice veneziana (1571–1653) che fu pubblicato a Venezia nel 1635, passa attraverso i volgarizzamenti dell'opera. – D'Aiuto. [190

# 2. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK, PAPYROLOGIE

## A. PALÄOGRAPHIE UND KODIKOLOGIE

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Arnesano D.**, *Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni.* – **Spedicato M.** (a cura di), *Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta.* (Nr. 1680) 25–80. – D'Aiuto. [191

**Bagnall S.**, *Early Christian books in Egypt.* Princeton, N. J. [e. a.], Princeton University Press 2009. XV, 109 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-691-14026-1. – Berger. [192

**Bianconi D.**, *Umanesimi d'Oriente e d'Occidente: Massimo Planude e Francesco Petrarca.* Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche IX s., 19 (2008) 435–466. – Sul contributo della civiltà di Bisanzio all'Umanesimo, con ipotesi circa la trasmissione da Oriente a Occidente – per il tramite dei manoscritti stessi, e degli eruditi e copisti emigrati in Italia – di pratiche collettive di studio, lettura e confezione di codici entro «circoli di scrittura» (secondo un'espressione di G. Cavallo). – D'Aiuto. [193

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Die griechische Handschrift.* – **Fingernagel A.** (Hrsg.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Interkultureller Dialog in alten Schriften.* (Nr. 1730) 15–28. – Rhoby. [194

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Filigran-Konstruktionen. Zur Bedeutung der Wasserzeichen für das Studium griechischer Kopisten.* – **Haltrich M./Stieglecker M.** (Hrsg.), *Code(x). Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Alois Haidinger.* (Nr. 1664) 24–26. – Beispiele für die Verbesserung der Datierung von Handschriften durch die Analyse der Wasserzeichen; genannt werden Belege aus der Mitte des 15. Jh.s und aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh.s. – Gamillscheg. [195

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Manuscripta graeca. Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Buches in Mittelalter und Renaissance.* (Nr. 1662). – Gamillscheg.

**Gastgeber Ch.**, *Bizánci görög szövegek kiadása – a magyar bizantinológia új kezdete* (Edition griechisch-byzantinischer Texte. Der Neustart byzantinischer Studien in Ungarn). Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 138–140. – Juhász. [196

**Grusková J.**, *Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Palimpsesten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Codices Historici, Codices Philosophici et Philo-*

*logici, Codices Iuridici.* Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 20. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 263 S. 72 Taf. ISBN 978-3-7001-6802-7. – Mustergültige Untersuchung zu den Palimpsesten der Handschrift Vind. hist. gr. 10 und 73, Vind. phil. gr. 158 und 286 und Vind. iur. gr. 18. – Rhoby. [197

**Juhász E.**, *A HypereiDoc Editor.* Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 141–47. – Bericht über Entwicklung und Funktionsweise des HypereiDoc Editor, einer in Ungarn entwickelten Software zur Ausgabe von Texten. – Juhász. [198

**Stefec R.**, *Anmerkungen zu einigen handschriftlich überlieferten Epigrammen in epigraphischer Auszeichnungsmajuskel.* (Nr. 60). – Rhoby.

**Zorzi M.**, *Manuscripts concerning Cyprus in the Library of Saint Mark and other Venetian libraries.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 243–263. – Parani. [199

## b. Kataloge, Tafel- und Facsimile-Ausgaben, Einzeluntersuchungen zu Handschriften und Bibliotheksgeschichte

**Arnesano D**, *Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Recenti scoperte e attribuzioni (2005–2008).* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 63–101. ill. – Velkovska. [200

**Cortesi M./Fiaschi S.** (ed.), *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa: secoli XV–XVI.* Editione nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale 5. (2 vols.) Firenze, SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo 2008. lxxviii, 1846 p. ISBN 978-88-8450-323-7. – Berger. [201

**Delbó K.**, *A Florilegium Vindobonense.* Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 162–164. – Juhász. [202

**Djurova A.**, *Един неизвестен стихирар от края на X в. (предварителни бележки)* (Un stichéraire inedit de la fin du Xe siècle. Notes préliminaires). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 177–188. Texte en bulgare avec résumé en français. – Fonds 165ok, inventaire 4, unite Rizov 3, dans le catalogue des Archives (Bulgarie). «Nous aimerions ajouter en guise de conclusion qu'une partie des stichères est attribuée à des auteurs du monastère de Stoudios ou à des hymnographe liés à Constantinople, ce qui est également le cas de la décoration élégante, ramenant le Rizov 3 au scriptorium du monastère de Stoudios.» – Nikolov. [203

**D'Agostino M.**, *Considerazioni sulla cronologia di alcuni codici non datati di Giovanni Santamaura.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 103–120. ill. – Velkovska. [204

**Formentin M. R.**, *La biblioteca dei Farnese: dediche, commissioni, acquisizioni.* – **Faraguna M. /Vedaldi Iasbez V.** (a cura di), *Δύνασθαι διδάσκειν. Studi in onore di Filippo Càssola per il suo ottantesimo compleanno.* (Nr. 1658) 249–259. – D'Aiuto. [205

**Gastgeber Ch.**, *Das Florilegium Vindobonense des Codex Philologicus Graecus 169. Parerga codicologica.* Acta Antiqua 50/1 (2010) 125–141. – The article deals with an anthology of classical poetry transmitted in Codex Philologicus Graecus 169 of the Austrian National Library, a typical product of a scholars' circle of the 14th century, focussing on the codicological examination and the different hands involved. The work is part of a bilateral research project between the Eötvös József Collegium, the University of Piliscsaba and the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. – Juhász. [206

**Gastgeber Ch.**, *Ioannes und Theodosios Zygomalas – Stefan Gerlach – Martin Crusius. Der Sammelcodex Chart. A 386 der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha zwischen Konstantinopel und Tübingen.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 39–124. – Berger. [207

**Giancaspro M./Cavallo G./Touwaide A./Tselikas A.**, *Διοσκουρίδης. Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς. Ὁ ἑλληνικὸς κώδικας 1 τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Νεαπόλεως = Dioscurides. De materia medica.* (Nr. 1224). – D'Aiuto.

**Horváth L.**, *Az új Hypereidés. A kiadás előmunkálatai* (Der neue Hypereides. Die Vorarbeiten der Ausgabe). Antik Tanulmányok 51/1 (2007) 145–183. – Juhász. [208

**Horváth L.**, *The Hyperides Corvina.* – **E. Kovács P./Szovák K.** (eds.), *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in late medieval Hungarian history.* (Nr. 1794) 1–30. – Juhász. [209

**Jackson D.**, *The Colbert Greek Library from 1676–1678.* Codices Manuscripti 73/74 (2010) 43–57. – Rekonstruktion der Erwerbung griechischer Handschriften durch Colbert an Hand der Inventare; ein Teil der Manuskripte wurde in Zypern erworben und dann nach Paris gebracht. – Gamillscheg. [210

**Juhász E.**, *A Florilegium Vindobonense fényképen közölt lapjának átírása* (Die Transkription einer fotografierten Seite des Florilegium Vindobonense). Antik Tanulmányok 54/1 (2010) 165–167. – Juhász. [211

**Kaklamanos D. A.**, *Κατάλογος αγιολογικών χειρογράφων της βιβλιοθήκης της Ζαγοράς.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 411–428. – Kotzabassi. [212

**Katsaros B.**, *Έργα του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά σε λανθάνον χειρόγραφο από τη μονή Προδρόμου Σερρών στη Σόφια (κωδ. Dujčev gr. 353).* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 207–253. – Berger. [213

**Kotzabassi S./Ševčenko N.P./Skemer D.C.**, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, sixth to nineteenth century. A descriptive catalogue.* Princeton, Department of Art and Archeology / Program of Hellenic Studies, Princeton University Press 2010. XXIX, 304 p. 279 tav. color. ISBN 978-0-691-14387-3. – Catalogo analitico, illustrato con gran numero di tavole a colori di ottima qualità, dei manoscritti (molti dei quali miniati) conservati alla Princeton University Library (45 mss.), alla Scheide Library (5 mss.), al Princeton University Art Museum (12 mss.) e al Princeton Theological Seminary (1 ms.). In appendice (277–278), più rapide notizie sui «Byzantine Documents and Greek Ecclesiastical Records in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collection, Princeton University Library». Lo splendido volume, curato sotto tutti gli aspetti e particolarmente attento alla descrizione della decorazione, è completato da dettagliati indici (279–304). – D'Aiuto. [214

**Krausmüller D.**, *Abbots and monks in eleventh-century Stoudios. An analysis of rituals of installation and their depictions in illuminated manuscripts.* (Nr. 387). – Ronconi.

**Losacco M.**, *I manoscritti greci della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio a Bologna.* – **Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del II convegno: Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità, Trieste, 27–28 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1716) 39–53. ill. – D'Aiuto. [215

**Luzzatto M. J.**, *Emendare Platone nell'antichità. Il caso del Vaticanus gr. 1.* (Nr. 74). – D'Aiuto.

*Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* Bucureşti, Institutul cultural român 2009. 115 S., ungezählter farbiger Tafelteil. ISBN978-973-577-595-7. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 8, 236, 807, 1229, 1817. – Berger. [216

**Marcotte D.**, *La Periegesi di Dionigi tra Bisanzio e l'Italia nel sec. XII.* (Nr. 75). – D'Aiuto.

**Martínez Manzano T.**, *Ubicación cronológica y stemmática de un manuscrito de Demóstenes.* Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos 20 (2010) 201–214. 4 Taf. – Über Salmanticensis 224, den die Verf. in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jh.s datiert. – Signes. [217

**Martínez Manzano T.**, *Avatares de un Temistio.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 419–429. Mit 3 Taf. – Über Salmanticensis 232 mit Werken der antiken Redner, kopiert im 14. Jh. – Signes. [218

**Németh A.**, *A Mynas-kódex és a Corvina Könyvtár* (The Mynas codex and the Bibliotheca Corviniana). Magyar Könyvszemle 126 (2010) 158–192. – Analysis of the Mynas codex Par. suppl. gr. 607, a composite manuscript discovered in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos in 1843. It consists of four originally independent parts united by a renaissance binding, which was manufactured in Buda shortly before 1520. The mid-10th c. main part (ff. 16–103) was used in

Rome around 1470 by the copyist Demetrios Triboles. Wrongly combined double leaves, some of them from a mid-15 c. deluxe copy of Lysias (ff. 104–129), testifie to the unbound state of some Greek manuscripts in Buda. This explanation is supported by the identical hand of the quire numbers in the four Greek manuscripts bound in Buda in the 1480 s (Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 4; suppl. gr. 177; hist. gr. 16; Leipzig, Univ. Rep. I. 17). – Juhász. [219

**Ötvös Zs.**, *A Renaissance vocabularium by Janus Pannonius? (ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45)* Acta Antiqua 48/1–2 (2008) 237–246. – The manuscript ÖNB Suppl. Gr. No. 45 was attributed to Janus Pannonius until recently. The article discusses the authorship of the vocabularium, the arrangement of the world list, the glossary notes by different Latin and Greek hands, and tries to reconstruct the history of the codex. – Juhász. [220

**Ötvös Zs.**, *Kutatási beszámoló az ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45 jelzetű humanista vocabulariumról* (Forschungsbericht über das Vokabularium eines Humanisten: ÖNB Suppl. Gr. 45). Antik Tanulmányok 52/2 (2008) 245–253. – Juhász. [221

**Philothée du Sinaï**, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinaï.* Monastère Sainte-Catherine et Fondation du Mont Sinaï. Athènes 2008. LXVIII, 676 p. maps, facsim., ills. ISBN 960-857-398-7. – Catalogue of the recently discovered Syriac manuscripts of S. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai. The volume is introduced by S. Damianos with a bilingual text (French-Greek). – Telelis. [222

**Re M.**, *Il «Codice della regina Costanza»: vicende di un manoscritto.* – **Re M./ Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 219–229. – Berger. [223

**Shanidze M./Aleksidze Z.**, *Κατάλογος γεωργιανῶν χειρογράφων εὑρεθέντων κατὰ τὸ 1975 εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν μονὴν τοῦ Θεοβαδίστου ὄρους Σινᾶ Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης* (Catalogue of Georgian manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai). Athens, Greek Ministry of Culture and Mount Sinai Foundation 2005. 665 p. ills. ISBN 960-857-396-3. – Telelis. [224

**Vancamp B.**, *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Platons Menon.* Palingenesia, 97. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner 2010. 115 S. ISBN 978-3-515-09811-3. – Berger. [225

**Zsupán E.**, *Agathias: De bello Gothorum, Budapest, OSzK, Cod. Lat. 413. – Királylányok messzi földről. Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban (kiállítási katalógus).* (Nr. 1741) 466. – Juhász. [226

**Zsupán E.**, *Bevezető gondolatok a görög nyelvű corvinák problematikájához* (Vorüberlegungen zu den Problemen der griechischen Corvinen). Agora 2009/3, 26–39. – Juhász. [227

## c. Kopisten, Verleger, Sammler

**Bandini M.**, *Codici greci di Nicolò Leonico Tomeo all'Escorial e a Cambridge.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 479–485. – Accanto alla collezione dell'amico Pietro Bembo, per la quale sembrano essere passati molti dei libri del Tomeo finora identificati, un'altra raccolta che ha beneficiato della dispersione dei suoi libri è quella di Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, passata poi all'Escorial: per questa via B. identifica un caratteristico marginale del Tomeo nella celebre Ciropedia Scor. T.III.14, evidentemente appartenutagli. Segnala inoltre la mano del Tomeo anche nel codice di Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Ms. Dd.4.16 (inter alia: Aristotele, Basilio di Cesarea, Senofonte). – D'Aiuto. [228

**Bandini M.**, *Lo Ierone di Senofonte nel Quattrocento. Leonardo Bruni e Antonio da Pescia.* (Nr. 64). – D'Aiuto.

**Daneloni A.**, *Storia umanistica di un frammento di Eupoli.* (Nr. 68). – D'Aiuto.

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Beobachtungen zur Biographie des Kopisten Symeon Kabasilas.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 21–38. 7 Abb. – Berger. [229

**Gaspari A.**, *Francesco Zanetti stampatore, copista e instaurator di manoscritti greci.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 155–175. – Velkovska. [230

**Könczöl-Kiss E.**, *Andreas Darmarios egy brüsszeli kézirata (Scholia in Philostrati Imagines, MS 11276 Bruxelles)* (Eine Handschrift des Andreas Darmarios in Brüssel. Scholia in Philostrati Imagines, MS 11276 Bruxelles). Antik Tanulmányok 51/1 (2007) 139–143. – Juhász. [231

**Kolovou F./Schneider U. J.** (Hrsg.), *Tischendorf und die Suche nach der ältesten Bibel.* Schriften aus der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, 21. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 2011. 68 S. ISBN 978-3-86583-561-1. – Berger. [232

**Kotzageorgis Ph. P.**, *A Greek woman copyist from the 16th century: Euphrosyne of Xanthi.* REB 66 (2008) 233–240. – Hypothèse d'identification de la copiste Εὐφροσύνη (dont la seule trace est constituée par la souscription, publiée en 1921, d'un manuscrit perdu de 1559), avec une femme homonyme citée dans un document ottoman de 1574 qui avait développé des liens avec les cercles monastiques de la région de Xanthi, même si elle n'était pas une moniale. – Ronconi. [233

**Martínez Manzano T.**, *Otro códice oriental en la biblioteca de Lianoro Lianori.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 474–479. – Sul Salmanticensis 233 (vari testi poetici e grammaticali): la sua attuale configurazione si deve al Lianori, che lo acquisì in Italia e lo arricchì di altri testi non solo di sua mano, ma anche con l'aiuto di un anonimo copista (siglato Ly) vicino alla cerchia del Bessarione. L'ultimo fascicolo, d'origine orientale ma aggiunto al codice dal Lianori, contiene tre brevi testi grammaticali inediti, uno dei quali,

espressamente attribuito a <Gregorio> di Corinto e sinora ignoto, presenta una dedica all'imperatore Leone VI che potrebbe indurre ad anticipare il floruit di Gregorio alla prima metà del sec. X. – D'Aiuto. [234

**Megna P.**, *Per la storia della 'princeps' di Omero. Demetrio Calcondila e il 'De Homero' dello pseudo Plutarco.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 217–278. tav. xxvi–xxxii f.t. – L'operetta pseudo-plutarchea è il primo fra i testi dei Moralia a esser stato stampato, a corredo dell'editio princeps fiorentina (1488–1489) dei poemi omerici: in alcune correzioni e integrazioni su questo testo pseudo-plutarcheo nel Par. gr. 1671 M. riconosce la mano dell'editore, Demetrio Calcondila (oltre a interventi di Giano Lascari); a Calcondila attribuisce inoltre correzioni al Laur. Plut. 32,4 e la copia del Laur. Plut. 56,25, latori del medesimo testo, proponendo un'articolata ricostruzione delle fasi della costituzione del testo poi da lui stampato. – D'Aiuto. [235

**Olar O.**, *Profeţie şi istorie. Note asupra câtorva manuscrise călătoare prin Ţările Române (Matei al Mirelor şi Paisie Ligaridi) / Prophesy and history. Note on manuscripts in circulation in the Romanian principalities (Mathew of Myra and Paisios Ligaridis). – Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* (Nr. 216) 35–46, 85–95. – Berger. [236

**Pagliaroli S.**, *L'Erodoto del Valla.* (Nr. 69). – D'Aiuto.

**Papanicolaou M.**, *Teodoro Gaza e Plutarco.* Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storice e filologiche IX s. 18 (2007) 363–428. X tav. – Raccoglie, nel percorso di vita e di studi del Gaza, le tracce della sua preferenza per Plutarco fra tutti gli altri autori greci: fra l'altro, rivendica alla mano di Gaza le Vite di Nicia e Crasso nel Vat. gr. 1006; precisa che la diffusione a stampa della notizia della preferenza per Plutarco risale, prima che allo Xylander (1532–1576), a Jacques Amyot (1513–1593) e ancor prima ad Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva d'Aragona (1458–1529), il quale si basava per questo sull'auctoritas del suo precettore Juan Pardo († post 1512), i cui contatti col Gaza risalgono al periodo da questi trascorso a Napoli (dal 1455) nella cerchia di dotti della corte aragonese. – D'Aiuto. [237

**Rinaldi M.**, *Per un nuovo inventario della biblioteca di Giovanni Pontano.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008) [2009] 163–197. tav. xxiii–xxv f.t. – Analisi basata sulla riedizione dell'inventario dei manoscritti (molti dei quali greci) e degli stampati donati nel 1505 dalla figlia dell'umanista, Eugenia, alla biblioteca del convento di S. Domenico Maggiore a Napoli: le identificazioni con manoscritti oggi conservati in diverse biblioteche salgono a sedici. Inoltre, R. fa il punto sui codici attribuibili alla collezione del Pontano per altra via, ovvero per note di possesso o su base paleografica. I manoscritti greci a lui rconducibili per vari motivi, o che esibiscono la sua mano greca, sono: Neapol. gr. III.D.30; Par. gr. 1814; Vat. Barb. gr. 541; Vind. Phil. gr. 66, 75, 134, 152, 231, e Theol. gr. 188. – D'Aiuto. [238

**Rollo A.**, *Bartolomeo Aragazzi, Poggio e i 'Paradoxa' di Cicerone.* (Nr. 79). – D'Aiuto.

**Speranzi D.**, *L'anonymus δ–καί, copista del Corpus Aristotelicum. Un'ipotesi di identificazione.* Quaderni di storia 35 [69] (2009) 105–121. 2 fig. – Propone l'identificazione con lo spartano Alessio Celadeno (1440 ca. – 1517). – D'Aiuto. [239

**Speranzi D.**, *Un lettore di Erodoto. Lapo da Castiglionchio il Giovane e il Laur. Conv. soppr. 207.* Studi medievali e umanistici 5–6 (2007–2008 [2009]) 441–446. – Riconosce nel codice erodoteo fiorentino brevi postille di Lapo, analoghe a quelle da lui apposte sul Tucidide Laur. Conv. Soppr. 179, già identificate da Rollo A., «Sulle tracce di Antonio Corbinelli» (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2465). – D'Aiuto. [240

**Vendruscolo F.**, *Codici dell'Argiropulo tra gli Utinenses Graeci.* – **Cristante L./ Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti della giornata di studio in onore di Laura Casarsa, Trieste, 19 gennaio 2007.* (Nr. 1657) 289–297. – Dall'abstract: «Dieci degli Utinenses Graeci, per metà codici umanistici, contenenti testi o commenti aristotelici, per l'altra metà bizantini (datati dal X al XIV secolo) di contenuto patristico o ascetico, rimontano a una singola collezione libraria del primo '500, quella dell'illustre cardinale veneziano e patriarca di Aquileia Domenico Grimani …: di questi almeno otto (Utinn. 254, 255, 256II, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263) si trovavano già associati nella vasta biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, che dopo la sua morte fu acquistata, nel 1498 dal Grimani. È possibile che i tre codici aristotelici (264, 265, 266) … fossero accomunati fin dall''origine' umanistica, presso … Giovanni Argiropulo». – D'Aiuto. [241

## d. Materielle Buchkultur

**Németh A./Boreczki A.**, *Apollonius és Berwelpus: Egy későantik regény az Ottó-korban (Az OSzK Cod. Lat. 4-es töredéke)* (Apollonius and Berwelpus: a late antique romance in the Ottonian period [National Széchényi Library, cod. Lat. 4]). – **Nemerkényi E.** (ed.), *Magistrae discipuli: tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére.* (Nr. 1676) 25–50. – The Apollonius fragment of the National Széchényi Library (cod. Lat. 4) from the early 11th c. is valuable for its secular image cycle that seems a faithful rendering of its Late Antique model. – Juhász. [242

**Kadas S.**, *Τα εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους. Α. Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών, Β. Εικονογραφικό ευρετήριο.* (Nr. 1226). – Kotzabassi.

## B. DIPLOMATIK

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Balletto L.**, *Ricordi genovesi di atti notarili redatti a Famagosta intorno alla metà del trecento.* Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 37–74. – Parani. [243

**Farkas Z.**, *A Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima kiadási elveiről* (Editing principles and the Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima). Történelmi Szemle 52/1 (2010) 133–142. – The author proposes the reconsideration of some old principles in editing Latin and Greek (Byzantine) charters from the Middle Ages. – Juhász. [244

### b. Sammelwerke

### Urkundeneditionen und Einzelurkunden

**Aristeidu Ai. Ch.**, *Άλλα δύο χειρόγραφα της πρώτης βενετικής Έκθεσης για την Κύπρο.* Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 237–284. – Parani. [245

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Hohe Politik und Alltägliches im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 145–152. – Berger. [246

**Kalusios D.**, *Ἕνα συνοδικὸ γράμμα τοῦ Νείλου Λαρίσης ὑπὲρ τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν (Νοέμβριος 1381).* Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο 57 (2010) 145–158. – Publication of a synodal letter of November 1381 that addressed Neilos, bishop of Larissa, to the hegumen and the monks of the monastery of Theotokos τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν in Trikala aiming to defend the land property of the monastery against intruding landowners. – Telelis. [247

**Lamprinos K. E.**, *Michiel Gradenigo. Νοτάριος στη δουκική γραμματεία του Χάνδακα. Libro 1593–1617.* Αθήνα, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Κέντρον Ερεύνης του Μεσαιωνικού και Νέου Ελληνισμού 2010. 392 p, ISBN 978-960-404-159-6. – The edition of Michiel Gradenigo's notarial protocol, containing 184 deeds, signed in Candia from 1593 to 1617. The deeds are in italian with a summary in greek and are relating to various matters. The volume contains an extent introduction (in greek) of 121 pages about the interesting life of Michiel Gradenigo, the notary practice in sixteenth and seventeenth century Crete, the ducal notary as a profession, the customers of such a notary and the society and the economic activities in Candia, as derived from the protocol. There are also an index of persons, places, terms and special words, a thematic index and a summary of the introduction in Italian. – Gasparis. [248

**Papademetriu-Dukas N.**, *Acta Vatopedii (μέσα 15ου–τέλη 17ου αι.).* Θρακική Βιβλιοθήκη, 12. Komotene, Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης 2010. 295 S.

Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-960-89159-1-6. – Edition von 48 zwischen den Jahren 1467 und 1690 ausgestellten (vornehmlich Patriarchal-)Urkunden, die im Archiv des Klosters Vatopedi aufbewahrt werden. Die Beschreibung jeder Urkunde umfasst auch bibliographische, prosopographische und topographische Angaben. – Troianos. [249

**Rognoni C.**, *Il monastero di San Bartolomeo tou Silipingou in valle Tuccio (secolo XII): due documenti inediti dell'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli.* Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 75 (2008–2009) 69–93. 2 tav. – «I due documenti, che vengono qui presentati, conservati a Toledo presso l'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, «fondo Messina», costituiscono la sola attestazione diretta finora conosciuta relativa a questa fondazione che, nel 1216, è citata tra i cenobi calabresi dipendenti dal San Salvatore di Messina». – Luzzi. [250

**Schabel Ch./Richard J.** (eds.), *Bullarium Cyprium. Vol I: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1196–1261, vol. 2: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1261–1314.* (Nr. 594). – Berger.

## C. PAPYROLOGIE

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Clackson S.**, *Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the papyri.* (Nr. 258). – Berger.

**Kreuzsaler C./Palme B./Zdiarsky A.** (Hrsg.), *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten.* (Nr. 1744). – Rhoby.

**Papaconstantinou A.**, *Administering the early Islamic empire: insights from the papyri.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 57–74. – Morrisson/Berger. [251

**Papathomas A.**, *Die griechischen Privat- und Geschäftsbriefe auf Papyrus aus der Spätantike und dem frühen Mittelalter (4.–8. Jh. n. Chr.).* (Nr. 33). – Rhoby.

**Sijpestein P. M.**, *Multilingual archives and documents in post-conquest Egypt.* (Nr. 265). – Berger.

### b. Sammelwerke

### Urkundeneditionen und Einzelurkunden

**Boud'hors A.**, *Toujours honneur au grec? Apropos d'un papyrus gréco-copte de la region thebaine.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 179–188. – Berger. [252

**Cromwell J.**, *Aristophanes son of Johannes: an eighth-century bilingual scribe? A study of graphic bilingualism.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual*

*experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ʻAbbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 221–232. – Berger. [253

**Morelli F.**, *ʻAmr e Martina: la reggenza di un'imperatrice o l'amministrazione araba d'Egitto.* (Nr. 642). – Berger.

**Perrone S.**, *Addenda lexicis da un papiro dell'Università di Genova.* (Nr. 272). – Luzzi.

**Richter T. S.**, *Language choice in the Qurra dossier.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ʻAbbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 189–220. – Berger. [254

# 3. SPRACHE, METRIK, MUSIK

## A. SPRACHE

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Brixhe C.**, *Quelle koiné en Macédoine au début de notre ère. Le test de Leukopétra.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 61–68. – Manolessou. [255

**Bubenik V.**, *Hellenistic Koine in contact with Latin and Semitic languages during the Roman period. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 32–54. – Karla. [256

**Cizek A.**, *Das Schulgriechische der mittellateinischen Lexikographen und Grammatiker. Ein Sonderfall von sprachlicher aemulatio.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 81–91. – Rhoby. [257

**Clackson S.**, *Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the papyri.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ʻAbbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 73–104. – Postum herausgegeben von A. Papaconstantinou. – Berger. [258

**Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2009. 512 p. ISBN 978-0-5218-7581-3. – Teilweise bereits angezeigt BZ 103, 2009, Nr. 4045. / The relevant articles are listed as nos. 264, 866. – Berger/Kaegi. [259

**Falkenhausen V. von**, *Una Babele di lingue: a chi l'ultima parola? Plurilinguismo sacro e profano nel regno normanno-svevo.* Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 76 (2010) 13–35. – Berger. [260

**Guillou A.**, *La lingua greca nella Sicilia della prima metà del secolo dodicesimo.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 155–163. – Berger. [261

**Karbunes Ch.**, *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας: συγκρίσεις, απολογισμός και προοπτικές με γνώμονα τη νέα ελληνική. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 303–313. – Karla. [262

**Ralle A./Demela E.**, *Η πορεία προς την προθηματοποίηση: διαχρονικά δεδομένα από την ελληνική και τη διαλεκτική της ποικιλία. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 516–528. – Manolessou. [263

**Richter S.**, *Greek, Coptic, and the 'language of the Hijra': rise and decline of the Coptic language in late antique and medieval Egypt.* – **Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* (Nr. 259) 401–446. – Kaegi. [264

**Sijpestein P. M.**, *Multilingual archives and documents in post-conquest Egypt.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 105–124. – Berger. [265

**Silvano L.** (a cura di), *Angelo Poliziano, Appunti per un corso sull'Odissea.* Hellenica, 37. Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso 2010. CXXII, 384 p. – Berger. [266

**Terkuraphe M.**, *Γλώσσες στη βενετική Κύπρο.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 145–156. – Parani. [267

**Theodoridis D.**, *Ein Doppelvers Sultān Walads neu gelesen.* BZ 104 (2011) 183–191. – Berger. [268

**Torallas Tovar S.**, *Linguistic identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt.* – **Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbãsids.* (Nr. 1804) 17–43. – Berger. [269

## b. Lexik, Lexika, Grammatiken

**Cizek A.**, *Das Schulgriechische der mittellateinischen Lexikographen und Grammatiker. Ein Sonderfall von sprachlicher aemulatio.* (Nr. 257). – Rhoby.

**Manolessou I.**, *Modern Greek dialectology and the grammar of medieval Greek.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 16–23. – Karla. [270

**Mosino F.**, *Il «Brebion» (Ed. Guillou) come mappa degli insediamenti rurali nella Calabria meridionale di età classica (sec. V a.C.).* Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 75 (2008–2009) 5–6. – M. ritiene l'uso del termine χωρίον caratteristico dell'età classica, in contrapposizione al χωριόν mediogreco, e la conservazione di tale supposto arcaismo nel Brebion reggino di sec. XI deriverebbe, secondo l'ipotesi da lui proposta, «dagli insediamenti rurali nella Calabria in età classica (sec. V a.C.)». Occorre però notare che delle circa 7000 occorrenze registrate nel TLG on line del termine χωρίον, pressappoco la metà sono attestate in età medievale, mentre solo 9 sono ivi, in totale, le occorrenze della parola con l'accento sull'ultima sillaba, e tutte posteriori al secolo XI, il che dimostra che il termine χωρίον continuò ad essere impiegato costantemente anche in epoca medievale, mentre la variante con l'accento sull'ultima sillaba, oltre che rara, deve essere considerata tardiva e comunque posteriore all'epoca di composizione del Brebion. – Luzzi. [271

**Perrone S.**, *Addenda lexicis da un papiro dell'Università di Genova.* Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica 137/3–4 (2009) 444–447. – P. segnala la presenza in un frammento di papiro dell'Università di Genova (inv. DR 2 d), contenente «un documento, forse una registrazione di spese per la macinatura, databile alla prima età bizantina (?)», di tre termini, al dativo, sconosciuti ai lessici (μορφωλογειτη, θεριακοποιω e κοσκινογραφω), indicanti qualifiche professionali. – Luzzi. [272

**Rhoby A.**, *Wortschatz als Indiz für literarische Nachahmung? Das Beispiel des Gennadios Scholarios.* (Nr. 95). – Rhoby.

**Ruiz Montero C.**, *La Vida de Esopo (Rec. G.): Niveles de lengua y aspectos de estilo.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 605–612. – Karla. [273

**Tosi R.**, *Il Fozio di Richard Porson e gli studi lessicografici.* (Nr. 1648). – Luzzi.

**Trapp E.**, *Zum Wortschatz des Neophytos Enkleistos.* (Nr. 480). – Rhoby.

## c. Morphologie, Syntax

**Fykias I.**, *Some remarks on the diachronic syntax of ίνα, ότι and the finite complement clauses of Greek. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 208–218. – Manolessou. [274

**Karantzola E./Papaioannu A.**, *Ορθογραφικά ανωνύμων και επωνύμων κειμένων (16ος–17ος αι.) – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of*

*Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 289–302. – Karla. [275

**Kyranudes P.**, *Μορφολογία των τουρκικών δανείων της ελληνικής γλώσσας.* Thessalonike, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών 2009. 624 S. ISBN 978-960-231-134-4 – Karla. [276

**Liosis N.**, *Counterfactuality in the Tsakonian dialect: a contribution to the history of 'ήθελα' and 'ήμουν'.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 106–119. – Karla. [277

**Philos P.**, *Τυπολογικές παρατηρήσεις στα δάνεια της ελληνικής (αρχαίας και νεότερης). – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 643–654. – Manolessou. [278

**Solti D. E.**, *Το ρηματικό σύστημα στις Θεματοεπιστολές του Θεοδοσίου Ζυγομαλά.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 153–166. – Berger. [279

**Tsolakides S.**, *Η διαχρονική εξέλιξη των στερητικών μεταρηματικών σχηματισμώς σε -τος στη μεσαιωνική και νέα ελληνική. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 630–642. – Karla. [280

## e. Dialekte

**Arvaniti A.**, *A (brief) overview of Cypriot phonetics and phonology. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* (Nr. 1770) 107–124. – Manolessou. [281

**Bassea-Bezantakou Ch.**, *Research Center for Modern Greek Dialects – Historical Dictionary.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 10–15. – Manolessou. [282

**Charalampakes Ch.**, *Ετυμολογικά και ορθογραφικά των Ελληνικών ιδιώματων της Νότιας Ιταλίας.* Ἰταλοελληνικά 9–10 (2008) 265–274. – D'Aiuto. [283

**Christodulu N.**, *Η ανάπτυξη συμφώνου στις κυπριακές συνιζήσεις.* – **Boskos A./ Gutsos D.** (eds.), *Η ελληνική γλώσσα στην Κύπρο από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα.* (Nr. 1712) 87–105. – Karla. [284

**Giannulopulu G.**, *Diminutive suffixes in Modern Greek dialects.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 69–73. – Manolessou. [285

**Katsogiannu M.**, *Τα λεξικά της Κυπριακής: ιστορία και τυπολογία.* – **Boskos A./Gutsos D.** (eds.), *Η ελληνική γλώσσα στην Κύπρο από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα.* (Nr. 1712) 174–191. – Karla. [286

**Manolessu I.**, *Κυπριακή Γραμματική Γ΄: Ρήματα.* – **Boskos A./Gutsos D.** (eds.), *Η ελληνική γλώσσα στην Κύπρο από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα.* (Nr. 1712) 68–86. – Karla. [287

**Pantelides N.**, *Μαρτυρίες για τη διαχρονία των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων: Η περίπτωση της Πελοποννήσου.* Studies in Greek Linguistics 30 (2010) 463–476. – Karla. [288

**Patapiu N.**, *Κανονισμοί του διαμερίσματος Καρπασίας. Ένα νέο μνημείο της κυπριακής διαλέκτου του 1563.* Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών 8 (2007 [2008]) 23–28. – Parani. [289

**Spadaro G.**, *Testimonianze dialettali di origine greca classica e bizantina.* Ἰταλοελληνικά 9–10 (2008) 223–232. – D'Aiuto. [290

**Teffeteller A.**, *Object clitics in the Modern Greek dialects of Asia Minor: diachronic and dialectal variation in the encoding of argument.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 186–196. – Manolessou. [291

**Tsolakides S.**, *Αντιγεγονοτικές περιφράσεις με το ήθελα + απρφ. στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους.* – **Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* (Nr. 1772) 224–231. – Karla. [292

**Violi F.**, *Gli elementi conservativi del grecocalabro e le differenze più importanti tra le parlate di Bova, Gallicianò e Roghudi.* Ἰταλοελληνικά 9–10 (2008) 275–290. – D'Aiuto. [293

## B. METRIK

**Rhoby A.**, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken".* (Nr. 57). – Rhoby.

## C. MUSIK

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Kujumdžieva S.**, *Още веднъж за музиката през ранната старобългарска епоха (Преразглеждайки изворите от IX до XII в.)* (Nr. 1821). – Nikolov.

**Papachristopulos I.**, *Das Verhältnis von Textinhalt und Musikgestaltung im griechischen Kirchengesang – dargestellt am Beispiel des durch die Methode der*

*Drei Lehrer überlieferten Karmittwoch-Troparions der Kassiane („Herr, als die in viele Sünden verfallene Frau“) in der Vertonung von Petros Lampadarios.* Acta Musicologica 81/2 (2009) 301–352. – In his extensive analysis of a late-eighteenth-century-composition as notated according to the ‘New Method’ of the early nineteenth century, the author maintains a strict terminological differentiation between references to sources and matters relating to the historically defined ‘Byzantine chant’ (i.e. from before 1453) and those of the later ‘Greek Church Music’. – Troelsgård. [294

**Terzes Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Διονυσίου <Τέχνη μουσική>. Εἰσαγωγή – κείμενο – μετάφραση – σχόλια. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση.* (Nr. 92). – Berger.

## b. Sammlungen und Editionen von Musikhandschriften

**Alexandrescu O./Suceava D.**, *Catalogul manuscriselor muzicale de tradiţie bizantină din secolul al XVII-lea. Fondul grecesc din biblioteca Academiei Române. Vol. I.* Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală 2010. 273 p. ISBN 978-973-42-0580-6. – Berger. [295

**Bucca D.**, *La musica bizantina e l’Abbazia di Grottaferrata.* – **Burgarella F.** (a cura di), *San Nilo di Rossano e l’Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini.* (Nr. 525) 235–249. – A brief, illustrated introduction to holdings of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine musical manuscripts in the monastic library at Grottaferrata. – Troelsgård. [296

**Stathes G.**, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Μετέωρα. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων ἑλληνικῆς ψαλτικῆς τέχνης, βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας τῶν Ἱερῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων.* Athena, Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Ἵδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας 2005. 584 p. ISBN 960-883-521-6. – Descriptive catalogue of Byzantine and post-Byzantine psaltic manuscripts kept in the libraries of monasteries of Meteora. – Telelis. [297

**Touliatos-Miles D. H.**, *A descriptive catalogue of the musical manuscript collection of the National Library of Greece. Byzantine chant and other music repertory recovered.* Farnham, Ashgate Publishing Limited 2010. xi, 632 p., 32 plates (whereof 12 in colour), glossary, appendices (including a list of musical manuscripts of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulche at Istanbul, deposited in the National Library of Greece), and indices of names and terms (in Greek). ISBN 978-0-7546-5168-0. – The catalogue gives for each of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical manuscripts in the collection of the National Library of Greece information on writing material, size, no. of folios, style of musical notation, date, and contents. For each manuscript various comments on the state of preservation etc. are added together with bibliographic references. – Besprechung s. oben S. 236–241. – Troelsgård. [298

## c. Einzeluntersuchungen

**Dimitrova M.**, *Some observations on the Slavic sources for Theta Notation.* Scripta & e-Scripta 3–4 (2005–2006) 225–237. – The use of the rudimentary Byzantine melodic notation, the so-called 'theta-notation' (Raasted 1962), is studied through comparison between Slavic and Byzantine musical manuscripts. The author points to some peculiarities in the application of this notation in the so-called 'Dragan Menaion' (MS Zographou, I.ε.9) of the 13th c. – Troelsgård. [299

**Erevnidis P.**, *The geography of music, cross-cultural comparison and a mid-thirteenth-century event described by the Byzantine theorist George Pachymeres.* – **Haggh-Huglo B./Dobszay L.** (eds.), *Cantus planus. Papers read at the 13th meeting of the IMS study group CANTUS PLANUS, Niederaltaich/Germany, 2006, Aug. 29–Sept. 4.* (Nr. 1735) 203–218. – Compares the tradition of musical theory in Byzantium and the West. – Troelsgård. [300

**Floros C./Moran N.** (eds.), *The origins of Russian music. Introduction to the Kondakarian notation.* Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang 2009. XX, 311 p., num. musical examples. ISBN 978-3-631-59553-4. – Revised, translated and furnished with an extra chapter on relationships between Latin, Byzantine and Slavonic chant. Moran's chapter has earlier been published in German as "Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem lateinischen, byzantinischen und slavischen Kirchengesang im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Das Cherubikon für Gründdonnerstag ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΥ ΣΟΥ", Ostkirchliche Studien 56 (2007), 155–169, and Floros' original publication was „Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation", Musik des Ostens III, Kassel 1965, 7–71, and IV, Kassel 1967, 12–44. – Troelsgård. [301

**Fotescu Tauwinkl C.**, *Innografia şi cântul liturgic în tradiţia siriacă. Scurtă cercetare privind originea, caractrerul şi ineracţiunea acestora cu tradiţia bizantină* (Hymnography and liturgical chant in the Syriac tradition. Preliminary research on their origin, characteristics and interaction with the Byzantine tradition). Studia Universitatis Babes Bolyai Theologia Catholica 2 (2009) 115–130. – Explores the beginnings of hymnography and liturgical music in the Syriac tradition, focussing interactions with early Byzantium. – Troelsgård. [302

**Harrandt A.**, *Die Lehrtätigkeit von Egon Wellesz am Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien.* – **Bungardt J./Helfgott M./Rathgeber E./Urbanek N.** (eds.), *Wiener Musikgeschichte: Annäherungen–Analysen–Ausblicke. Festschrift für Hartmut Krones.* (Nr. 1670) 611–624. – Describes a.o. sources concerning Egon Wellesz's teaching and research in Byzantine Chant at the University of Vienna. – Troelsgård. [303

**Kiilerich B.**, *The mosaic of the female musicians from Mariamin, Syria.* (Nr. 1077). – Berger.

**Koço E.**, *Byzantine Albania and the vocal ison "question": the preservation of an ancient tradition in the arbëresh ecclesiastical and secular musical practice.* Acta Studia Albanica 2 (2008) 133–143. – Focuses on the possible preservation of elements of medieval Byzantine chant in the oral chant tradition cultivated by the Albanian-speaking minority adhering to the Byzantine rite in South Italy. – Troelsgård. [304

# 4. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

## A. KIRCHENGESCHICHTE

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Athanassiadi P. N.**, *Vers la pensée unique. La montée de l'intolérance dans l'Antiquité tardive.* Histoire, 102. Paris, Belles Lettres 2010. 179 p. ISBN 978-2-251-38100-8. – Berger. [305

**Döpmann H.-D.**, *Die orthodoxen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Trierer Abhandlungen zur Slavistik, 9. Frankfurt/M., Peter Lang 2010. 364 S. ISBN 978-3-631-60449-6. – 2., überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage. – Berger. [306

**Gallina M.**, *L'ortodossia in armi? Liturgia imperiale e militarizzazione della società religiosa nell'impero bizantino.* (Nr. 694). – D'Aiuto.

**Isele B.**, *Kampf um Kirchen. Religiöse Gewalt, heiliger Raum und christliche Topographie in Alexandria und Konstantinopel (4. Jh).* JbAC Ergänzungsband, Kleine Reihe, 4. Münster, Aschendorff 2010. VI, 267 S. ISBN 978-3-402-10910-6. – Dissertation Münster 2006. – Berger. [307

**Karahan A.**, *Balans i briljans: bilden av Guds kosmos i Bysans heliga bilder* (Brilliant balance: the image of God's cosmos in the holy images of Byzantium). Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 26 (2008) 33–52. 7 color ills. With English abstract on p. 51–52. – Nilsson. [308

**Karahan A.**, *Bysans heliga bilder: en patristikens semiotik* (The holy images of Byzantium: a semiotics of patristics)? Laere og liv 1 (2008) 18–25. – Nilsson. [309

**Lidov A. M.**, *Святой Лик – Святое Письмо – Святые Врата: образ-парадигма «благословенного града» в христианской иеротопии* (Holy Face – Holy Script – Holy Gate: an Image-Paradigm of the "Blessed City" in Christian Hierotopy). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 84–106. With English summary. – Etinhof. [310

**Lidov A. M.**, *Сравнительная иеротопия* (The comparative hierotopy). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 5–12. With English summary. – Etinhof. [311

**Milanova A.**, *Амвон от Созопол от края на XI-началото на XII в. Към проблема за средновизантийските амвони* (Nr. 921). – Nikolov.

**Moschos D. N.**, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τὸν 4ο αἰώνα. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 344–367. – Troianos. [312

**Moulet B.**, *Du rapport d'autorité et de domination entre évêques et moines à Byzance (8e–11e siècles).* REB 66 (2008) 39–69. – Analyse très documentée du rapport entre le corps épiscopal et le monde monastique à Byzance, entre le VIIIe et le XIe s., concernant quatre aspects fondamentaux: la carrière ecclésiastique des évêques (souvent marquée par un passage au monastère); la soumission canonique des moines au pouvoir épiscopal; l'inversion du rapport d'autorité; le contrôle du sacré. – Ronconi. [313

**Richard F.**, *Le sens du mot «christianitas» dans le Code Théodosien.* (Nr. 1497). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Sinigalia T.**, *Medieval relics in the perspective of the 21st century.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 88–103. – Berger. [314

**Tuerk J.**, *Иеротопия: нарративность и магические амулеты* (Hierotopy. Narrative and magical amulets). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 84–106. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [315

## b. Kirchenorganisation, Missionen, Kirchliche Geographie

**Anagnostakes I.**, *Μετονομασίες-μετοικεσίες: Η περίπτωση της βυζαντινής Κορώνης* (Nr. 723). – Leontsini.

**Apostolopulos D. G.**, *Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ὁ νοτάριός του Θεοσόσιος Ζυγομαλᾶς στὰ χρόνια 1564–1565.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 187–195. – Berger. [316

**Artopulos I. G.**, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὸν Νικήτα Παφλαγόνα.* (Nr. 844). – Leontsini.

**Basileiades Ch.**, *Το αυτοκέφαλο της Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου. Κανονική κατοχύρωση και ιστορική εξέλιξη.* Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών 8 (2007 [2008]) 13–22. – Parani. [317

**Cappozzo M.**, *Il cristianesimo nel Medio Egitto.* Todi, Tau 2007. 255 p. ISBN 978-88-6244-010-3. – D'Aiuto. [318

*Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* Studi e materiali di Storia delle religioni, 75/1. Roma, Morcelliana 2009. 355 p. ISBN 978-88-372-2347-2. – Si vedano in particolare i contributi segnalati qui come no. 322, 354, 356, 360, 377. – Bianchi. [319

**Delikare A.**, *Ζητήματα ιστορικής γεωγραφίας των Βαλκανίων. Ι. Η Επισκοπή Αχρίδου και η μητρόπολη Μορ(ρ)αχριδών.* Hellenika 60 (2010) 151–191. – Kotzabassi. [320

**Delikari A.**, *Parthikopolis und sein Bistum.* – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 428–440. Mit bulgarischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Stadt wird vom 2. bis zum 10. Jh. erwähnt. Die Untersuchung lokalisiert die Stadt bei der heutigen Stadt Sandanski (Südwestbulgarien). Parthikopolis war ein Bistum im Gebiet des Metropoliten von Thessaloniki. Bekannt sind vier seiner Bischöfe. – Nikolov. [321

**Guichard L.**, *L'élaboration du statut juridique des clercs et des églises d'après les lois constantiniennes du Code Théodosien XVI, 2.* (Nr. 1486). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

**Jordanov I.**, *Новооткрит печат на Стефан, митрополит на Йоанопол (70-те години на X в.)* (Nr. 1440). – Nikolov.

**Oppermann M.**, *Das frühe Christentum an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres und im anschließenden Binnenland.* (Nr. 809). – Berger.

**Orselli A. M.**, *I processi di cristianizzazione della città tardoantica. Discussioni in corso. – Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319) 315–333. – Larga parte dell'articolo si sofferma su Costantinopoli, in relazione all'organizzazione degli spazi determinata dalla presenza di tombe di santi all'interno della città, e, insieme, all'utilizzazione politica delle reliquie; ed in relazione, anche, alla diffusa riutilizzazione e valorizzazione in prospettiva cristiana di spazi pagani abbandonati, ad esempio come abitazioni monastiche. – Bianchi. [322

**Paize-Apostolopulu M.**, *Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς, ἔξαρχος καθολικὸς καὶ ἔξαρχος πατριαρχικός. Οἱ ὅροι καὶ ἡ σημασία τους.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 269–278. – Berger. [323

**Polgár Sz.**, *Kereszténység Kelet-Európában: a Krímben és a ruszok között* (Christentum in Osteuropa: auf der Krim und in Russland). – **Balogh L./Kovács Sz.** (eds.), *Térítés – megtérés. A világvallások terjedése Kelet-Európa népei között* (Nr. 1790) 129–140. – Juhász. [324

**Stone A. F.**, *The missionaries of Manuel I.* REB 66 (2008) 253–257. – Les témoignages de Nicolas Mouzalon et d'Eustathe de Thessalonique permettent

d’affirmer – ensemble avec plusieurs autres sources contemporaines – que les empereurs Alexis I et Manuel I Comnènes promouvaient la conversion des Seljukides par un collège de missionnaires opérant en Asie Mineure sous la direction d’un didaskalos tôn ethnôn. – Ronconi. [325

**Tachiaos A.-E. N.**, *Cirillo e Metodio di Tessalonica. Le radici cristiane della cultura slava.* Milano, Jaca Book 2005. 253 p. ISBN 88-16-40650-X. – Edizione italiana a cura di Garzaniti M. – D’Aiuto. [326

**Vinogradov A. Ju.**, *«Миновала уже зима языческого безумия…» Церковь и церкви Херсона в IV веке по данным литературных источников и эпиграфики* (“The winter of pagan madness is gone”. Church and churches of Cherson in the 4th century according to literary evidence and epigraphy). Moscow, Russkij Fond Sodejstvija Obrazovaniju i nauke 2010. 224 p. ISBN 978-5-91244-033-5. – Ivanov. [327

## c. Innere Entwicklung der Reichskirche

### Allgemein

**Belayche N.**, *«Ritus» et «cultus» ou «superstitio»? Comment les lois du Code Théodosien parlent des pratiques religieuses traditionelles.* (Nr. 1475). – Goria/ D’Aiuto.

**Flusin B.**, *Le triomphe des images et la nouvelle définition de l’orthodoxie. À propos d’un chapitre du De cerimoniis (I. 37).* (Nr. 124). – D’Aiuto.

**Giannopulos P. A.**, *Η περιστασιακή επισκοπή Ναυπλίου κατά τον Θ′ και Ι′ αιώνα.* Ναυπλιακά Ανάλεκτα 3 (1998) 20–42. – The independence of Nauplion from the diocese of Argos, though temporary, between 867 and 877, and a second time in the end of 10th c., was connected to the development of the region and to the interferences of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the local ecclesiastical affairs. – Leontsini. [328

**Girardet K.**, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen.* Millennium-Studien, 27. Berlin, De Gruyter 2010. IX, 213 S. 29 Abb. 978-3-11-022789-5. – Berger. [329

**Greatrex G.** (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and war in Late Antiquity.* (Nr. 598). – Berger.

**Kiilerich B.**, *Billedets væsen. Reflektioner over den Byzantinske billedstrid.* (Nr. 891). – Berger.

**Lauritzen F.**, *Against the enemies of tradition. Alexios Studites and the Synodikon of Orthodoxy.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 41–48. – Sul patriarca di Costantinopoli (1025–1043) Alessio Studita, e sulla sua redazione del Syn-

odikon dell'Ortodossia, contenente un anatema contro coloro che sono contrari alla tradizione: «A study of the cultural background of this anathema reveals the general policy of the Patriarch in the second quarter of the eleventh century». – D'Aiuto. [330

**Magdalino P.**, *Orthodoxy and Byzantine cultural identity.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 21–40. – Si propone due linee di riflessione: «1. The culture of orthodoxy: the importance that Byzantines attached to being, or appearing orthodox (…). 2. Orthodoxy of culture and orthodoxy as culture: the extent to which the formal prescriptions and mechanisms applied to the lives of Byzantines; also the degree to which they were specifically Byzantine». – D'Aiuto. [331

## Der Klerus (Prosopographie)

**Amoiridu Eu.**, *Ιδιάζουσες αναδείξεις πατριαρχών Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (δ΄–ι΄ αι.).* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 103–114. – Kotzabassi. [332

**Fedalto G.**, *Liste vescovili dell'Africa cristiana. Secoli III–IX.* Studia Patavina 55 (2008) 393–571. – D'Aiuto. [333

**Giannopulos P. A.**, *Ο Ναυπλιεύς Θεόδωρος Νικαίας.* Ναυπλιακά Ανάλεκτα 4 (2000) 117–169. – An analysis of the epistles of Theodoros, metropolitan bishop of Nikaia, sheds light to his relations with Nauplion, the town of his origins and his career during the reign of Constantine VII. – Leontsini. [334

**Madariaga E.**, *Η βυζαντινή οικογένεια των Αγιοθεοδωριτών (Ι): Νικόλαος Αγιοθεοδωρίτης, Πανιερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Αθηνών και Υπέρτιμος.* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα/Byzantina Symmeikta 19 (2009) 147–181. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/946. With English summary. – The present article consists a prosopographical study on Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites, didaskalos of the Gospel, maistor of rhetoric and metropolitan of Athens (1160/66–1175), who was one of the most prominent scholars under the service of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. His brother Michael acted as a Logothetes tou dromou (1166–1180) and mesazon in the court of Manuel I Comnenus. – Leontsini. [335

**Orosz A.**, *Papkép a Teológus Szent Gergelytől Aranyszájú Szent Jánosig* (L'image du prêtre chez saint Grégoire de Nazianze et saint Jean Chrysostome).Athanasiana 26 (2007) 105–141. – En examinant les sources du Dialogue chrysostomien Sur le Sacerdoce, nous trouvons une mine de renseignements valides chez le «Théologien» qui a été le deuxième prédecesseur du Chrysostome dans le siège de Constantinople. Jean a trouvé chez Grégoire des arguments qui faisaient écho à ses propres convictions. – Juhász. [336

**Van Nuffelen P.**, *Episcopal succession in Constantinople (381–450 C.E.): the local dynamics of power.* JECS 18 (2010) 425–451. – Argues that taking a

narrower, local perspective on episcopal succession, rather than a broad regional view, reveals that controversies over the election and appointment of bishops stems from the specific power structures within each community, particularly the efforts of local ecclesiasts to maintain autonomous power in relation to imperial and popular power. – Schott. [337

**Van Nuffelen P.**, *Episcopal succession in Sicily during the sixth centruy A.D.* – **Engels D./Geis L./Kleu M.** (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zum Spätmittelalter.* (Nr. 1795) 189–199. – Berger. [338

## Heidentum, Sekten und Häresien

**Atanasova M.**, *Être «hérétique» à Byzance à l'époque des Comnènes.* Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 87 (2009) 533–543. – Macé. [339

**Bransbourg G.**, *Julien, l'immunitas Christi, les dieux et les cités.* (Nr. 607). – Macé.

**Brubaker L.**, *Eighth-century iconoclasms: Arab, Byzantine, Carolingian, and Palestinian.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 73–81. – Berger. [340

**Ermilov P.**, *«Satanic heresy»: on one topic in anti-Armenian polemic.* (Nr. 358). – D'Aiuto.

**Germino E.**, *La legislazione dell'imperatore Giuliano: primi appunti per una palingenesi.* (Nr. 1485). – Macé.

**Gnoli T.**, *Giuliano e Mitra.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 215–234. – Macé. [341

**Livanos C.**, *Monotheists, dualists and pagans.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 103–113. – Stathakopoulos. [342

**Marcos M.**, *"He forced with gentleness". Emperor Julian's attitude to religious coercion.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 191–204. – Macé. [343

**Moulet B.**, *Evêques, canons et liturgie face à l'hérésie (Byzance, VIIIe–XIe siècles).* Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 87 (2009) 519–531. – Macé. [344

**Rigo A.**, *Gli ultimi giorni del dualismo bizantino? Un nuovo testo inedito e alcune questioni connesse.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 99–145. – Riesame delle fonti sui Bogomili o Koudougheroi, come li chiama Simeone di Tessalonica, ed edizione princeps (con traduzione italiana e note) di un nuovo, interessante testo ad essi relativo, della metà del XIV secolo, tràdito dall'Oxon. Christ Church 49: la «Discussione (= Dialexis) che <io> Giovanni Hamartolos ho tenuto anni prima con il capo dei Koudougheroi». Ma l'esame di questo

testo dimostra «con chiarezza come questo gruppo [= i Koudougheroi] non vada collocato nella storia dell'eresia dualista medievale. Le pratiche e le credenze [scil. dei Koudougheroi], spesso di carattere magico e superstizioso, nelle quali la demonologia e le raffigurazioni dell'al di là avevano senza dubbio un posto centrale, ci conducono piuttosto a forme di "religione popolare" (...). La volontà degli inquisitori di ricondurre questo tipo di religiosità all'eresia, nel caso concreto al Bogomilismo, è un meccanismo ben conosciuto per il Medioevo e gli albori dell'età moderna». – D'Aiuto. [345

**Teja R.**, *Silvia Acerbi, Una nota sobre san Mercurio el Capadocio y la muerte de Juliano.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 185–190. – Macé. [346

**Torres J.**, *Emperor Julian and the veneration of relics.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 205–214. – Macé. [347

**Tsibranska-Kostova M.**, *Богомилите в църковноюридическите текстове и паметници* (Nr. 1874). – Nikolov.

**Vinogradova E.**, *Theological controversy, heresy and Byzantine art: an approach.* (Nr. 1124). – D'Aiuto.

## Synoden

**Bruns P.**, *Die Haltung der „Kirche des Ostens" zum Nicaenum. – Tagung der Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung in Split, 18.–23. 09. 08. Was ist ein Konzil? Überlegungen zur Typologie insbesondere der ökumenischen Konzilien.* (Nr. 1706) 47–60. – Tinnefeld. [348

**Di Branco M.**, *Da Ferrara a Firenze. Gli itinerari delle delegazioni conciliari (gennaio–febbraio 1439) e le visite di Eugenio IV e Giovanni VIII a Pistoia.* Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche IX s., 19 (2008) 727–746. – Sul presunto passaggio dell'imperatore bizantino Giovanni VIII (e della delegazione greca) per Pistoia nel corso del trasferimento da Ferrara a Firenze: contro la ricostruzione di Braccini T., «L'imperatore Giovanni VIII Paleologo a Pistoia» (BZ 98, 2005, 383–397), D. B. può affermare grazie a un riesame delle fonti che l'imperatore si recò nella città toscana non in quell'occasione, ma soltanto più tardi, nel luglio 1439. – D'Aiuto. [349

**Sieben H.-J.**, *Definition und Kriterien Ökumenischer Konzilien: 1. Jahrtausend. – Tagung der Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung in Split, 18.–23. 09. 08. Was ist ein Konzil? Überlegungen zur Typologie insbesondere der ökumenischen Konzilien.* (Nr. 1706) 7–46. – Tinnefeld. [350

**Thümmel H. G.**, *Zur Phänomenologie von Konzilien. Das 6. Ökumenische Konzil 680/81.* – Tinnefeld. [351

## d. Die byzantinische Kirche und die anderen christlichen Kirchen

### Orientalische Kirchen

**Augé I.**, *L'ambassade de Nersês Lambronatsi à Constantinople (1197).* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 49–62. – D'Aiuto. [352

**Balard M.**, *Les controverses politico-religieuses à Caffa (1473–1475).* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 183–192. – D'Aiuto. [353

**Blaudeau Ph.**, *Constantinople (IVe–VIe s). Vers l'affirmation d'une cité chrétienne totale? – Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319) 295–313. – Nell'ascesa di Costantinopoli a centro dell'ecumene cristiana, l'autore sottolinea il ruolo della capitale dell'impero d'Oriente, che si pone come nuova Roma, nuova Gerusalemme e nuova Antiochia; ma non nuova Alessandria, a sottolineare "l'irreéductible décalage entre deux représentations de la catholicité idéale dans l'Empire romain d'Orient". – Bianchi. [354

**Bozoyan A.**, *Le relations arméno-byzantines au XIIIe siècle: nouvelles perspectives.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 35–47. – D'Aiuto. [355

**Camplani A.**, *Traditions of Christian foundation in Edessa between myth and history. – Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319) 251–278. – L'autore si propone di "interpretare tale leggenda [di Abgar di Edessa, ndr] non solo come proposta politica di una élite cristiana in ascesa nell'Osroene tra IV e V secolo, ma anche come risposta polemica ad alcune forme di cristianesimo sostenute da correnti avvertite ormai come eretiche". – Bianchi. [356

**Dahlman B.**, *Georgiska versioner av Apophthegmata Patrum* (Georgian versions of the Apophthegmata Patrum). Lund, Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, Årsbok 2009, 5–13. – Nilsson. [357

**Ermilov P.**, *«Satanic heresy»: on one topic in anti-Armenian polemic.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 79–97. – Sul digiuno preliminare, detto Artzavurion (arm. Aŕaĵawor), della tradizione armena. Con l'edizione (basata su Mosqu. Synod. gr. 298 [Vlad. 436] e Patm. 450) di una narrazione greca di tono fortemente antiarmeno, che travisa e ridicolizza l'origine della consuetudine. – D'Aiuto. [358

**Halfter P.**, *L'Église arménienne entre la Papauté et les Byzantins aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 63–78. – D'Aiuto. [359

**Martin A.**, *Antioche aux IVe et Ve siècles. Un exemple de récriture orthodoxe de l'histoire chrétienne. – Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319) 279–294. – A proposito della "Storia Ecclesiastica" di Teodoreto di Ciro, della fine del quarto decennio del V secolo, vista come continuazione dell'opera di Giovanni Crisostomo e come una riscrittura della storia della Chiesa di Antiochia a sostegno della propria ortodossia nei confronti delle sedi di Alessandria e Costantinopoli, contro le quali reclama il rango del secondo posto della gerarchia ecclesiastica dopo Roma. – Bianchi. [360

**Matevossyan K.**, *Les tentatives de restauration du siège patriarcal d'Ani au XIIe siècle.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 235–240. – D'Aiuto. [361

**Nessim Youssef Y.**, *Coptic Bohairic liturgical texts relating to Abbā Samuel of Kalamūn and Julius of Akfahs.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 151–196. – Zwei koptische Schriftsteller aus dem 4. und 6. Jh. – Signes. [362

**Papadopulos S. G.**, *Σενούτας (ης) (Σινούθιος) (Shenute-Shenut-Sehnuda) (†466;). Πατέρας της κοπτικής εκκλησιαστικής γραμματείας. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 409–412. – Verf. stellt in groben Linien das Werk des Gründers der theologischen Literatur in der koptischen Kirche vor. – Troianos. [363

**Torallas Tovar S.**, *Cristianismo en Asuán: nuevos y viejos hallazgos epigráficos en la orilla oeste del Nilo.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 297–299. – Signes. [364

**Tsakos A.**, *Miscellanea Epigraphica Nubica I: A monogram of Abraham from Meroes.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 287–295. – Über ein nubisches Monogramm kontroverser Datierung (8. oder 14. Jh.?). – Signes. [365

**Zekiyan B. L.**, *Quelques traits de la spiritualité de l'Église arménienne dans l'horizon de la démarche oecuménique de l'époque.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 13–34. – D'Aiuto. [366

## Papsttum und römische Kirche

**Blass-Simmen B.**, *Laetentur coeli oder die byzantinische Hälfte des Himmels. Die Anbetung der Könige von Antonio Vivarini und Giovanni d'Alemagna in der Gemäldegalerie Berlin.* Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 2009/4, 449–478. – Zu einem im Umkreis des Konzils von 1438/29 entstandenen Gemälde, auf dem

u. a. Ioannes VIII. Palaiologos als ältester der drei Könige erscheint. – Berger. [367

**Dunn G. D.**, *Innocent I and Rufus of Thessalonica.* JÖB 59 (2009) 51–64. – Rhoby. [368

**Kolbaba T.**, *The virtues and faults of the Latin christians.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 114–130. – Stathakopoulos. [369

**Kotsakes A.**, *Σχέσεις Ελλήνων Ορθοδόξων και Λατίνων στις Κυκλάδες κατά την εποχή του δουκάτου του Αιγαίου (13ος–16ος αι.) / Rapporti fra Greci Ortodossi e Latini nelle Cicladi al tempo del ducato dell'Egeo (13o–16o secolo).* (Nr. 828). – Gasparis.

**Maleczek W.**, *Amalfi e Venezia a Costantinopoli – le vicende dell'incrinatura fra le Chiese d'Oriente e d'Occidente.* Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana n.s. 16 (2006) 207–215. – D'Aiuto. [370

**Orosz A.**, *A bizánci egyház kapcsolatai a Római Székkel az V. és VI. Egyetemes Zsinat között* (Les relations entre le Siège de Rome et les Églises d'Orient entre les Ve et VIe Conciles Œcuméniques). Mediterrán Világ 3 (2007) 125–143. – Entre les Ve et VIe Conciles Œcuméniques les problèmes des structures ecclésiastiques et de la communion entre les Églises d'Orient et le Siège de Rome ont été aggravés par des empereurs qui ont convoqué des conciles sans l'accord du pape ou bien, par un pape qui prétendait avoir la compétence pour introduire une formule «monothélite». – Juhász. [371

**Orosz A.**, *Erősíthették-e a Kelet-Nyugat közötti egyházfegyelmi különbözőségek az ókeresztény egyház egységét?* (Les différences disciplinaires entre l'Orient et l'Occident, pouvait-elles confirmer l'unité dans l'Église ancienne?). – *Que tous soient un! Mélanges offerts en hommage par la Fraternité Saint-Élie a son Éminence le Métropolite de Silyvria Emilianos Timiadis.* (Nr. 1693) 108–127. – A propos des dissentiment sur la date des Pâques, des grandes différends surgissaient dés les débuts. Le célibat sacerdotal n'était jamais obligatoire à Byzance, mais selon les canons de «Troulle» les candidats pour l'épiscopat devaient vivre en célibat. Ce qui posera plusieurs difficultés plus tard, ce sont plutôt les différences dans le vocabulaire théologique. Un bon exemple de la «diversité réconciliée» dans l'interprétation du Filioque latine si trouve chez s. Maxime le Confesseur. – Juhász. [372

**Szovák K.**, *Byzantine emigrants in Italy.* – **E. Kovács P./Szovák K.** (eds.), *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in late medieval Hungarian history.* (Nr. 1794) 227–250. – Juhász. [373

**Szovák K.**, *Gratiarum et misericordiarum fons. Bizánci emigránsok Itáliában.* – **Neumann T./Rácz Gy.** (eds.), *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére.* (Nr. 1661) 377–409. – Already in the late 14th century papal letters of remission were issued in order to help the delivery of slaves from Ottoman captivity. This tradition and the need for material support of Byzantine refugees came to reinforce each other, with the result that after 1453 the popes

frequently allowed a remission of sins for those who would assist financially the supplicants in delivering their kinsmen from captivity. Several Byzantine refugees, therefore, turned to the papal court with dramatic supplications in order to get help for the delivery of their relatives. – Juhász. [374

**Thümmel H. G.**, *Karl der Große, Byzanz und Rom. Eine Positionsbestimmung am Beispiel des Bilderstreits.* ZKG 120 (2009) 58–70. – Berger. [375

**Whalen B.**, *Rethinking the Schism of 1054: authority, heresy, and the Latin rite.* Traditio 62 (2007) 1–24. – Der Autor betont, dass im Konflikt von 1053/54 zwischen den Kirchen von Rom und Konstantinopel die griechische Kirche im Gebrauch von ungesäuertem Brot (Azymon) in der Liturgie ein ernsthaftes theologisches Problem sah. Er berücksichtigt nicht hinreichend die neuere deutsche Forschung, bei der diese Aussage ebenfalls anzutreffen ist (z. B., G. Avvakumov, Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche. Berlin 2002). – A. Bayer. [376

**Zocca E.**, *Pietro e Paolo "Nova sidera". Costruzione della memoria e fondazione apostolica a Roma tra I e IV secolo. – Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319) 227–249. – Nella discussione sul rapporto tra Pietro e Paolo con Roma si accenna infine alla questione del primato petrino in epoca damasiana (editto di Tessalonica del 380, concilio di Costantinopoli del 381, concilio di Roma del 382). – Bianchi. [377

## e. Christentum und andere Religionen

**Déroche V.**, *Regards croisés des hérésiologues, des canonistes et des hagiographes sur les Juifs à Byzance.* (Nr. 872). – D'Aiuto.

**Di Branco M.**, *La centième hérésie? Islām et Christianisme dans l'inscription du Dôme du Rocher.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 49–60. 6 fig. – D'Aiuto. [378

**Giultses B. T.**, *Διάλογοι μεταξὺ χριστιανῶν καὶ μουσουλμάνων λογίων. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 135–150. – Auf S. 136–142 wird der Kontakt im 7.–15. Jh. behandelt. – Troianos. [379

**Guidetti M.**, *L''Editto di Yazid II': immagini e identità religiosa nel bilad al-Sham dell'VIII secolo.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 69–79. – Berger. [380

**Humphrey R. S.**, *Christian communities in early Islamic Syria and northern Jazira: the dynamics of adaptation.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 45–56. – Morrisson/Berger. [381

**Markschies C.**, *The price of monotheism. Some new observations on a current debate about late antiquity.* – **Mitchell S./Van Nuffelen P.** (eds), *One God: pagan monotheism in the Roman Empire.* (Nr. 1756) 100–111. – Stathakopoulos. [382

**Nikolopulos I.**, *Ὁ διάλογος τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ μὲ τοὺς Χιόνες. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς εξελίξεως τοῦ διαθρησκειακοῦ διαλόγου καὶ τῶν σχέσεων Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ισλάμ.* (Nr. 449). – Troianos.

**Retsö J.**, *Konstantinopel och den tidiga islamska eskatologin* (Constantinople and early Islamic eschatology). Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 26 (2008) 21–32. With an English abstract on p. 32. – Nilsson. [383

**Reynolds G. S./Samir S.** (transs.), *Abd al-Jabbar: critique of Christian origins.* Brigham Young University Islamic Translation Series. Provo/UT, Brigham Young University Press, 2010. 249 p. ISBN 978-0-84252-715-6. – Parallel Arabic-English edition of this late 10th-century polemical treatise; an important source for the study of Muslim-Christian relations and intellectual history in the Byzantine period; excellent introduction and bibliographies. – Schott. [384

## B. MÖNCHTUM

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Bolman E. S./Davis S. J./Pyke G.**, *Shenoute and a recently discovered tomb chapel at the White Monastery.* JECS 18 (2010) 453–462. – Initial analysis of excavations of a monastic tomb associated with Abbot Shenoute of Atripe. The authors suggest that the tomb was likely built as a tomb-shrine for Shenoute. Includes excellent color photographs and isometric reconstruction of the site. – Schott. [385

**Christodoulou G.**, *The contribution of the Roman Empire to the growth of the ancient monasticism of the East.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 49–61. – Berger. [386

**Krausmüller D.**, *Abbots and monks in eleventh-century Stoudios. An analysis of rituals of installation and their depictions in illuminated manuscripts.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 255–282. – Le débat, développé aux XIe–XIIe s. surtout dans le milieu stoudite, concernant les fonctions et l'autorité de l'abbé à l'intérieur de la communauté monastique est analysé au moyen des représentations consacrées à l'installation des abbés dans les miniatures de trois manuscrits: le

fameux ‘Psautier de Théodore’ (Additional Ms 19352 de la British Library, non du British Museum, comme indiqué par l’auteur), le Paris. gr. 74 (appelé, à la note 5 de la p. 256, “Parisinus Graecus 543”) et un rotulus liturgique aujourd’hui á Saint-Pétersbourg. – Ronconi. [387

**Peterson H. A.**, *The genesis of monastic libraries.* Libraries and the Cultural Record 45/3 (2010) 320–332. – “Examines several ancient documents to show how the first monks considered reading books – and assembling libraries – necessary for a specific form of prayer.” – Kaldellis. [388

**Révész É.**, *A keleti kereszténység: szerep, hatás vagy jelenlét? A veszprémvölgyi monostor* (Die Orthodoxie: Rolle, Wirkung oder Anwesenheit? Das Kloster von Veszprémvölgy). – **Halmágyi M.** (ed.), *Szkítiától Hispániáig. Belvedere Meridionale XXI/1–2. (2009. február–március).* (Nr. 1797) 52–64. – Juhász. [389

## b. Historische Entwicklung und Klöster

**Appella A.**, *Il monastero dei SS. Anastasio ed Elia a Carbone in Lucania. Nuove note ed osservazioni.* Temporis signa 4 (2009) 277–295. 10 fig. – Sintesi dei dati ricavabili dalle fonti storiche e dalle emergenze archeologiche. – D’Aiuto. [390

**Artopulos I. G.**, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὸν Νικήτα Παφλαγόνα.* (Nr. 844). – Leontsini.

**Bakalova E.**, *A Locus Sanctus in Bulgaria: The Monastery of St John of Rila and its sacred topography.* (Nr. 917). – Berger.

**Božilov I.**, *Нови данни за манастира Св. Богородица Спилеотиса в Мелник* (Nr. 1830). – Nikolov.

**Breccia G.**, *Il monastero di Santa Maria di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo.* – **Burgarella F.** (a cura di), *San Nilo di Rossano e l’Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini.* (Nr. 525) 169–185. – Lo studio ignora la monografia di riferimento di S. Parenti, Il Monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo, Roma 2005 [cf. BZ 100/2 (2007) 2713]. – Velkovska. [391

**Efthymiades S.**, *Le monastère de la source à Constantinople et ses deux recueils de miracles. Entre Hagiographie et patriographie.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 283–309. – Étude de deux recueils de miracles (l’un, anonyme, de la seconde moitié du Xe s., l’autre, dû à Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos, de la première moitié du XIVe s.) concernant le monastère constantinopolitain de la Vierge de la Source. Alors que le recueil du Xe s. vise à “exalter toutes les manifestations du sacré dans l’espace monastique”, le recueil de Xanthopoulos – qui réélabore les quarante-cinq miracles du recueil précédent et y en ajoute dix-huit ayant eu lieu entre le XIIe s. et le XIVe s. – constitue une “biographie historique” du monastère. – Ronconi. [392

**Falkenhausen V. von**, *La breve vita del monastero greco di S. Giovanni di Murgo in Sicilia (1116–1141).* RSBN 46 (2009 [2010]) 141–160. 2 tav. – Berger. [393

**Fatti F.**, *Parthenòn. A proposito di un «problema-fantasma» (Athanasius, Vita Antonii 3,1).* (Nr. 434). – D'Aiuto.

**Gkoutzioukostas A.**, *Observations on the dating of the Typikon of the Lips Monastery.* JÖB 59 (2009) 79–85. – Datierung des Typikons vor 1301, wahrscheinlich kurz nach 1283–1285. – Rhoby. [394

**Gumatianos A.**, *Η οργάνωση των αγιορειτικών μετοχίων στην υστεροβυζαντινή Λήμνο.* (Nr. 826). – Kotzabassi.

**Imhaus B.**, *Le Monastère de Saint-Macaire en Chypre.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 193–205. 10 ill. f.t. – Un monastero copto a Cipro, poi passato agli Armeni nel XVI secolo. – D'Aiuto. [395

**Kravari V.**, *Les biens de Xénophon à Lemnos au 15e siècle.* REB 66 (2008) 247–252. – Un document inédit conservé dans les archives de Saint-Paul atteste qu'en 1443 le monastère athonite de Xénophon donna en location pour vingt ans ses biens à Lemnos au monastère de Saint-Paul. Ce dernier finit probablement par acquérir ces biens, car il est cité par un registre ottoman de 1489 faisant état des propriétés des monastères athonites sur l'île, tandis que Xénophon y est absent. – Ronconi. [396

**Millar F.**, *Jerome and Palestine.* Scripta Classica Israelica 29 (2010) 59–79. – Jerome's works as evidence for the study of the ethnic, linguistic and religious reality in Palestine in his times. The article concludes with two appendices: "Jerome's works written in Palestine, 386–419", and "The first part of the Prologue to Jerome's translation of Daniel". – Laniado. [397

**Morris R.**, *Reciprocal gifts on Mount Athos in the tenth and eleventh centuries.* (Nr. 735). – Stathakopoulos.

**Neševa V.**, *Мелнишкият манастир „Св. Богородица Спилеотиса" („Св. Зона") в нови документи* (Nr. 1861). – Nikolov.

**Stamules Ch. A.**, *Αγιότητα. Μέτρον σεσαλευμένον και υπερεκχυνόμενον. Το παράδειγμα των αγίων δια Χριστόν σαλών της Θεσσαλονίκης Σάββα του νέου και Νικοδήμου του νέου.* (Nr. 528). – Troianos.

**Nikonanos N.**, *The Mountain of Cells.* (Nr. 956). – Berger.

**Parrinello R. M.**, *La scuola monastica di Gaza.* Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 5 (2008) 545–565. – Rassegna di studi ed edizioni recenti, sulla base della quale si evidenzia come il ruolo «di monaci come Barsanufio e Giovanni, due reclusi, … è quello di attori religiosi e politici sulla scena della vita egiziana». – D'Aiuto. [398

**Rognoni C.**, *Il monastero di San Bartolomeo tou Silipingou in valle Tuccio (secolo XII): due documenti inediti dell'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli.* (Nr. 250). – Luzzi.

**Salkitzoglu T. A.**, *Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Χαρίτωνος στὴ Σύλλη τοῦ Ἰκονίου.* Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 16 (2009) 119–164. – A description of the monastery of Saint Chariton (Ak-Manastir) in Sylle (NW of Iconion, Lykaonia) with paintings of 9th or 10th c., and a short account on its foundation and a commentary of the votive and funeral inscriptions dating from 11th c., some of which belonged to members of the Komnenian family of Pontos. Yearly philosophical discussions between the abbot and the çelebi, the head of a local Muslim delegation, took place in the monastery. – Leontsini. [399

## c. Mönchspersönlichkeiten

**Dimitrov D.**, *Св. Грегенций/Григорий – един мизийски епископ в Южна Арабия през VI век* (St Gregentius/Gregorius – a Moesian Bishop in South Arabia in the 6th Century). – **Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1698) 94__104. With English summary. – Nikolov/Berger. [401

**Jeffreys E.**, *Mimesis in an ecclesiastical context. The case of Iakovos Monachos.* (Nr. 30). – Rhoby.

**Joseph Z.**, *Mor Gabriel aus Beth Qusṭan. Leben und Legende eines syrischen Abtbischofs aus dem 7. Jahrhundert.* Theologische Texte und Studien, 15. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, Olms 2010. VI, 148 S. ISBN 978-3-487-14476-4. – Berger. [400

## d. Geistige Strömungen und Sonderformen des Mönchtums

**Lauritzen F.**, *Psellos and the Nazireans.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 359–364. – Un passage de la Suda (dont l'interprétation proposée est toutefois douteuse), démontrerait qu'à partir de la fin du Xe s. le terme Ναζιραῖος aurait indiqué un groupe spécifique de moines, caractérisé par un zèle particulier. Psellos, dans la Chronographie, décrit sarcastiquement les coutumes de ce qu'il appelle "τοὺς καθ'ἡμᾶς Ναζιραίους", qui, même s'ils ne faisaient pas partie d'une secte spécifique, se distinguaient des autres moines par leur rigueur: parmi eux, Nicetas Stéathos, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien et Léon Paraspondylos. – Ronconi. [402

**Dovere E.**, *Principalis providentia e dissenso eutichiano: le leggi repressive del 452–455.* (Nr. 1541). – Luzzi.

### e. Fortwirken des byzantinischen Mönchtums

**Manaphes K. A.**, *Περὶ τὴν μοναστηριακὴ ζητεία· δύο ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα-Ἀπανταχούσες. – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 1481–1508. Mit 2 Abb. – Verf. behandelt die in postbyzantinischer Zeit allmählich entwickelte Institution der von Klöstern – aber auch gelegentlich vom Patriarchat oder von einzelnen Metropolen – organisierten Spendensammlungen (ζητεῖαι) und die damit verbundenen Rundschreiben (απανταχούσαι). – Troianos. [403

**McAuliffe J. D.**, *Connecting Moses and Muhammed.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 279–298. – Schott. [404

## C. THEOLOGISCHE LITERATUR

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Almalech M.**, *Hermeneutics of the different rains in the Pentateuch.* – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 174–190. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [405

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Antonopoulou Th.**, *On the reception of homilies and hagiography in Byzantium: the recited metrical prefaces.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 57–79. – Untersucht werden Werke des Theodoros Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, Ioannes Apokaukos, Nikephoros Prosuch, Nikephoros Chrysoberges, Manuel-Maximos Holobolos, Manuel Philes, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopulos, Athanasios, Michael Sphrantzes, Andreas Libadenos, usw. – Rhoby. [406

**Bagnall S.**, *Early Christian books in Egypt.* (Nr. 192). – Berger.

**Buzi P.**, *Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta. Studio storico e tipologico.* Biblioteca degli «Studi di egittologia e di papirologia», 2. Pisa, Giardini 2005. 131 p. ISBN 88-427-1303-1, 88-427-0800-3. – D'Aiuto. [407

**Christova-Šomova I.**, *Елинският прочит на книгата на Йов в Септуагинта* (The Hellenic interpretation of the Book of the Job in the Septuagint). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 106–115. With English summary. – The article focuses on the Greek text of the Book of Job in the Septuagint and its characteristics, and

further on the Medieval Slavic representation of these characteristics of the Greek text. In the Hellenistic age two translations of the Jewish Scripture were made – the Greek translation of the Septuagint, and the Aramic translation, the Targum. They offer quite different approaches to the Hebrew text. The two main characteristics of the Targum are that it does not usually reproduce the poetic expressions of the Hebrew text, and that it aims to eliminate all phrases, which are reminiscent of anthropomorphism of God. In the Septuagint the poetic features of the text are not only preserved but even enhanced further through the use of alliterations, and moreover, in the Greek text the Lord appears with more human features, due to the emphasis on his human characteristics. – Nikolov. [408

**Djurova A.**, *Един неизвестен стихирар от края на X в. (предварителни бележки)* (Nr. 203). – Nikolov.

**Kralides A. F.**, *Η προσέγγιση χριστιανισμού και Ισλάμ κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 479–492. – Kotzabassi. [409

**Krysko V.**, *Древнеславянский канон первоучителю Кириллу: источники и реконструкция (песнь шестая)* (Nr. 1853). – Nikolov.

**Maguire H.**, *Metaphors of the Virgin in Byzantine literature and art.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 189–194. – Rhoby. [410

**Metallenos G. D.**, *Θεολογικὰ καὶ ἐκκλησιολογικὰ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Ζυγομαλάδων καὶ ἡ συμμετοχή του σὲ αὐτά.* – Berger. [411

**Mircea I. R.**, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves.* (Nr. 1858). – D'Aiuto.

**Pseutonkas B. S.**, *Λόγος θεολογικὸς καὶ ἐπιστημονικὸς στὴν παράδοση τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 494–512. – Auf der Grundlage einzelner Beispiele versucht Verf. darzustellen, wie die griechischen Kirchenväter (etwa Basileios von Kaisareia, Gregorios von Nyssa, Prokopios von Gaza, Symeon der Theologe, Niketas Stethatos und Gregorios Palamas) den Erkenntnissen der Naturwissenschaften ihrer Zeit begegneten. – Troianos. [412

**Rhoby A.**, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken".* (Nr. 57). – Rhoby.

**Rubenson S.**, *Himmelsk åtrå – Höga visan i tidigkristen mystik* (Divine desire – the Song of Songs in early Christian mysticism). – **Rydell Johnsén H./Rönnegård P.** (eds.), *Eros och Agape. Barmhärtighet, kärlek och mystik i den tidiga kyrkan* (Nr. 1778) 105–127. – Nilsson. [413

**Walker J. T.**, *Ascetic literature: books and readers in east-Syrian monastic tradition.* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 307–345. – Berger. [414

## b. Spezielle Darstellungen zu Dogmatik, Exegetik, Homiletik, Polemik

**Arampatzes Ch.**, *Το μυστήριο της θείας ευχαριστίας ως παράγοντας ενότητας της ανατολικής και δυτικής Εκκλησίας κατά τον 13ο αιώνα.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 361–384. – Kotzabassi. [415

**Billarsky I.**, *Old Testament Models and the State in Early Medieval Bulgaria.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 255–278. – Schott. [416

**Bucossi A.**, *George Skylitzes' dedicatory verses for the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros and the Codex Marcianus Graecus 524.* JÖB 59 (2009) 37–50. – Parergon zu einer in Oxford angenommenen Dissertation "Prolegomena to the critical edition of Ἱερὰ Ὁπλοθήκη – Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros". Die von der Verfasserin in Vorbereitung befindliche kritische (Erst)edition wird mit Spannung erwartet. Georgios Skylitzes dórfte auch der Verfasser aller mit Andronikos Kamateros in Verbindung stehender Gedichte im Codex Marcianus Graecus 524 sein, vgl. A. Rhoby, Medioevo Greco 10 (2010) 113–150. – Rhoby. [417

**Bucur B. G.**, *Foreordained from all eternity: the mystery of the incarnation according to some early Christian and Byzantine writers.* DOP 62 (2008) 199–215. – Kaldellis. [418

**De Lange N.**, *The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 39–54. – Schott. [419

**Jeffreys E.**, *Old Testament "history" and the Byzantine chronicle.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 153–174. – Focuses on the Chronicle of Malalas to demonstrate the way in which the Old Testament was deployed in the Byzantine chronicle tradition and the importance of typological links between the Old Testament and Byzantine history in the construction of Byzantine identity. – Schott. [420

**Krikorian M. K.**, *Christology of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Christology in the tradition of the Armenian Apostolic Church.* Frankfurt/Main u. a., Lang 2010. 309 S. 2 Abb. ISBN 978-3-631-58121-6. – Tinnefeld. [421

**Krueger D.**, *The Old Testament and Monasticism.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 199–222. – Explores the material practices of reading, writing, and exegesis as central modes of ascetic practice in Byzantine monasticism. – Schott. [422

**Lowden J.**, *Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 107–152. – Schott. [423

**Lučovitskij L. V.**, *Основное богословско-полемическое сочинение патриарха Никифора Константинопольского «Apologeticus atque Antirrhetici»: опыт комплексного историко-филологического анализа* (The major theological-polemical treatise of Nicephorus Patriarch of Constantinople Apologeticus atque Antirrhetici. A historical and philological analysis). 1st degree dissertation in Letters. Moscow State University. 146 p. – A philological reading of an anti-iconoclast treatise; includes a compositional analysis (proving the consistency of Nicephorus' argumentation), a study of the polemical bias and rhetorical devices employed, an analysis of genre features (introduction of historiographical elements into the theological context), a reappraisal of Nicephorus' lost iconoclast source (Peuseis of Constantine V). A separate section deals with the fate of Apologeticus atque Antirrhetici in Late Byzantium (especially during the Hesychast controversy) and the Slavonic world. – Ivanov. [424

**MacCoull L. S. B.**, *Philoponus and the Coptic eucharist.* Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 158–175. – "Philoponus in his teaching role thought profoundly about what the eucharist meant to fellow Miaphysite Christians in Justinian's Egypt." – Kaldellis. [425

**Miller J.**, *The Prophetologion: The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 55–76. – Schott. [426

**Munitiz J.**, *Writing for the heart: the spiritual literature of Byzantium.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 248–259. – Stathakopoulos. [427

**Orosz A.**, *A görög atyák Biblia-értelmezési módszere és Szent Pál-képe* (L'esegesi dei Padri greci e la loro immagine in S. Paolo). Athanasiana 28 (2008) 27–46. – L'immagine più completa di S. Paolo si trova nelle 250 omelie del Crisostomo e nei commenti sistematici di Teodoreto di Ciro. Con un riassunto dell'ermeneutica greca moderna di S. Paolo attraverso una compilazione esegetica del Nicodemo Agiorita: «Le 14 Epistole del divino apostolo Paolo commentate in greco da Teofilatto di Bulgaria» sono un adattamento in neogreco dei commenti dell'arcivescovo di Bulgaria († 1108). – Juhász. [428

**Ousterhout R.**, *New temples and new Solomons: the rhetoric of Byzantine architecture.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 223–254. – Examines points of contact between biblical accounts of the Jerusalem Temple, Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, and literary exegeses of Byzantine architecture. Traces the use and development of biblical exempla in literary representations of imperial rule in various literary genres from the 4th–7th centuries. – Schott. [429

**Parpulov G.**, *Psalters and personal piety in Byzantium.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 77–106. – Schott. [430

**Rapp C.**, *Old Testament models for emperors in early Byzantium.* – **Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* (Nr. 1749) 175–198. – Schott. [431

## c. Byzantinische Autoren (Ausgaben, Übersetzungen, Sekundärliteratur)

### Anastasios Quaestor

**Krausmüller D.**, *The Encomium of Catherine of Alexandria (BHG 32b) by the protasecretis Anastasius, a work of Anastasius "the Stammerer".* (Nr. 522). – Macé.

### Andreas von Kreta

**Orosz A.**, *L'accès au Père par le Verbe chez s. Maxime le Confesseur et chez s. André du Crète.* (Nr. 474). – Juhász.

### Andronikos Kamateros

**Bucossi A.**, *George Skylitzes' dedicatory verses for the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros and the Codex Marcianus Graecus 524.* (Nr. 417). – Rhoby.

### Antonios Homologetes

**Tselengides D.**, *Ἡ εἰκονολογικὴ διδασκαλία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ὁμολογητῆ, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης († 844).* – *Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ´–ΛΗ´ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ´–ΙΖ´ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 237–248. – Troianos. [432

### Apollinarios von Laodikeia

**Ugenti M.**, *La parafrasi del Salmo 1 nella Metafrasi dei Salmi attribuita ad Apollinare e nel Carme 7 di Paolino di Nola: tecniche a confronto.* Rudiae 20–21 (2008–2009) 339–356. – D'Aiuto. [433

## Athanasios von Alexandreia

**Fatti F.**, *Parthenòn. A proposito di un «problema-fantasma» (Athanasius, Vita Antonii 3,1).* Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 5 (2008) 201–213. – «Nella versione [metafrastica] della Vita Antonii stampata nella Patrologia Graeca si fa menzione di un parthenòn … che molti hanno interpretato come il più antico monastero [femminile] conosciuto. Nel 1961 … Garitte ha dimostrato … che il testo originale della Vita recava, al posto di parthenòn, la lezione parthenìa». Partendo da questa suggestione F. riesamina pagine legate alle origini del monachesimo femminile. – D'Aiuto. [434

**Ioannides Th. A.**, *Ὁ Μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ὡς ἑρμηνευτὴς τῆς Ἁγίας Γραφῆς. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 251–268. – Troianos. [435

## Basileios von Kaisareia

**Fatti F.**, *Dai quaderni di Nicobulo. Sull'autore "bizantino" di Ps.-Bas. epp. 40–41 e sulle strane amicizie di Basilio.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 251–268. – Macé. [436

**Lo Cicero C.**, *Tradurre i greci nel IV secolo. Rufino di Aquileia e le Omelie di Basilio.* Studi e Testi Tardoantichi, 9. Roma, Herder 2008. 326 p. ISBN 978-88-89670-25-5. – Una piccola silloge di studi dedicati da L. alla versione rufiniana. – D'Aiuto. [437

**McLynn N.**, *The manna from uncle: Basil of Caesarea's address to young men.* – **Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.), *Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* (Nr. 1740) 106–118. – Berger. [438

## Dionysios Areopagites

**Lilla S.**, *Dionigi l'Areopagita e il platonismo cristiano.* Letteratura cristiana antica, n.s., Studi, 4. Brescia, Morcelliana 2005. 270 p. ISBN 88-372-2014-6. – D'Aiuto. [439

## Eusebios von Kaisareia

**Dräger P.** (ed.), *Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Großen und seine Mutter Helena. Von einem unbekannten Verfasser.* Trier, Kliomedia 2010. 2., erweiterte Auflage. 248 S. Ill. ISBN 978-3-8989-0152-9. – Berger. [440

**Franco L.** (a cura di), *Eusebio di Cesarea, Vita di Costantino.* Milano, BUR 2009. 429 p. ISBN 978-88-17-02906-3. – Traduzione italiana parcamente annotata, con testo greco a fronte. – D'Aiuto. [441

**Gounelle R.**, *Les éditions de la Collectio sermonum d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie.* Analecta Bollandiana 127 (2009) 249–272. – Macé. [442

**Kelly Ch.**, *The shape of the past: Eusebius of Caesarea and Old Testament history.* – **Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.), *Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* (Nr. 1740) 13–27. – Berger. [443

**Morlet S.**, *La 'Démonstration évangélique' d'Eusèbe de Césarée: Étude sur l'apologétique chrétienne à l'époque de Constantin.* Série Antiquité, 187. Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes 2009. 701 p. ISBN 978-2-8512-1233-7. – Berger. [444

**Zamagni C./Frey A.**, *Eusebii Caesarensis Quaestionum Concordantia. Textus iuxta Vat. Pal. Gr. 220.* Alpha-Omega, Reihe A: Lexika, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie, 245. Hildesheim, Olms-Weidmann 2005. 426 p. ISBN 3-487-13074-2. – D'Aiuto. [445

## Georgios Kyprios

**Alexopoulos Th.**, *Die Argumentation des Patriarchen Gregorios II. Kyprios zur Widerlegung des Filioque-Ansatzes in der Schrift „De Processione Spiritus Sancti".* BZ 104 (2011) 1–39. – Berger. [446

## Georgios Skylitzes

**Bucossi A.**, *George Skylitzes' dedicatory verses for the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros and the Codex Marcianus Graecus 524.* (Nr. 417). – Rhoby.

## Gregorios Palamas

**Bossina L.**, *Tradurre con la mano sinistra. Una polemica su Gregorio Palamas.* Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 4 (2007) 525–547. – In occasione dell'uscita del terzo ed ultimo volume di traduzioni italiane da Gregorio Palamas curato da Perrella E., «Gregorio Palamas. Che cos'è l'ortodossia. Capitoli, scriti ascetici, lettere, omelie» (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 549), mostra, con numerosi esempi, carenze e difetti delle versioni stesse. – D'Aiuto. [447

**Kaltsogianni E.**, *Δύο άγνωστα αποσπάσματα του δεύτερου Ἀποδεικτικοῦ Λόγου του Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.* Hellenika 59 (2009) 89–100. – Kotzabassi. [448

**Nikolopulos I.**, *Ὁ διάλογος τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ μὲ τοὺς Χιόνες. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῆς εξελίξεως τοῦ διαθρησκειακοῦ διαλόγου καὶ τῶν σχέσεων Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ισλάμ.* Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Ε΄ 1 (2007 [2008] 5–39. – Inhaltsanalyse eines Dialogs, den Palamas vielleicht im Juli 1354 während seiner türkischen Gefangenschaft mit den Χιόνες geführt hat, nach herrschender Meinung zum Islam übergegangener Juden. – Troianos. [449

**Tenace M.** (a cura di), *Gregorio Palamas, L'uomo mistero di luce increata: pagine scelte.* Letture cristiane del secondo millennio, 36. Milano, Ed. Paoline 2005. 265 p. – D'Aiuto. [450

## Gregorios von Nazianzos

**Bruni A. M.** (Hrsg.), *Византийская традиция и старославянский перевод Слов Григория Назианина* (Nr. 1831). – Berger.

**Elm S.**, *Gregory of Nazianzus's Life of Julian revisited (Or. 4 and 5): the art of governance by invective.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 171–182. – Kaldellis. [451

**Faulkner A.**, *St Gregory of Nazianzus and the classical tradition. The Poemata Arcana qua Hymns.* Philologus 154 (2010) 78–87. – Gregor zitiert am Anfang der ersten drei – auf die Trinität bezogenen – Arcana heidnische Hexameter-Hymnen, vor allem des Kallimachos. – Tinnefeld. [452

**McLynn N.**, *Moments of truth: Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodosius I.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 215–239. – Kaldellis. [453

**Milovanović Č.**, *"Here I am a breathing corpse": did Gregory of Nazianzus suffer from leprosy?* Analecta Bollandiana 127 (2009) 273–297. – Macé. [454

## Gregorios von Nyssa

**Wessel S.**, *Memory and individuality in Gregory of Nyssa's Dialogus de anima et resurrectione.* JECS 18 (2010) 369–392. – Examines Gregory's use of the Platonic dialogue form to articulate an account of soul and memory in the context of Christian resurrection doctrines. – Schott. [455

## Iakobos Monachos

**Jeffreys E.**, *Mimesis in an ecclesiastical context. The case of Iakovos Monachos.* (Nr. 30). – Rhoby.

## Ioannes Chrysostomos

**Cataldo A.**, *Anche il Crisostomo talvolta dormicchia (Hom. in illud: Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum – PG 51, 165–172).* Rudiae 20–21 (2008–09) 27–50. – D'Aiuto. [460

**Chétanian R. V.**, *Un fragment grec des homélies sur les Actes des apôtres de Jean Chrysostome au Matenadaran d'Erevan.* Le Muséon 123 (2010) 39–60. – Macé. [456

**Mayer W.**, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom. Provenance: reshaping the foundations.* Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 273. Roma, Pontificio Istituto Orientale 2005. 570 p. ISBN 88-721-0347-9. – Riesame delle questioni connesse a cronologia e localizzazione delle omelie. – D'Aiuto. [457

**Pasquato O.**, *I laici in Giovanni Crisostomo. Tra Chiesa, famiglia e città.* Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose, 144. Roma, LAS 2006. 252 p. ISBN 88-213-0635-6. – D'Aiuto. [458

**Taft R.**, *John Chrysostom, preacher committed to the seriousness of worship.* – **Ross M./Jones S.**, *The serious business of worship. Essays in honour of Bryan D. Spinks.* (Nr. 1690) 13–21. – Velkovska. [459

## Ioannes VI. Kantakuzenos

**Drpić I.**, *Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis: Parisinus Graecus 1242 revisited.* DOP 62 (2008) 217–247. – The ways in which hesychast mysticism and doctrine informed the design and reception of the illuminations of John VI Kantakouzenos' theological works, Paris gr. 1242, and especially its miniature of the transfiguration. An important and detailed investigation. – Cutler. [461

## Ioannes von Antiocheia

**Ratti S.**, *Jean d'Antioche et ses sources latines.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 289–305. – Macé. [462

## Ioannes von Damaskos

**Martzelos G.**, *Orthodoxy and heresy of the Anti-Chalcedonians according to St John Damascene. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 299–311. – Troianos. [464

**Petrynko O.**, *Der jambische Weihnachtskanon des Johannes von Damaskus.* Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum, 15. Münster, Aschendorff 2010. 400 p. ISBN 978-3-402-11022-5. – Velkovska. [463

## Kyrillos von Alexandreia

**Arteme Ei.**, *Οἱ χρήσεις τῆς ἐθνικῆς γραμματείας στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας. – Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* (Nr. 1671) 114–124. – Troianos. [465

## Kyrillos von Jerusalem

**Argárate P.**, *Les rites eucharistiques dans les Catéchèses de Cyrille de Jérusalem.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 115–129. – Velkovska. [466

## Manuel Palaiologos

**Farag W. A.**, *Papst Benedikt und das byzantinische Zitat – Versuch eines Brückenschlags.* – **Hasselhoff G. K./Meyer-Blanck M.**, *Religion und Rationalität.* (Nr. 1738) 63–77. – Berger. [467

**Hasselhoff G. K./Meyer-Blanck M.**, *Religion und Rationalität.* (Nr. 1738). – Berger.

## Maximos Homologetes

**Alfsvåg K.**, *God's fellow workers: The understanding of the relationship between the human and the divine in Maximus Confessor and Martin Luther.* Studia Theologica 62 (2008) 175–193. – Rosenqvist. [468

**Bugár M. I./Pesthy M.** (eds.), *Studia Patrum. Ókeresztény szerzők, kortárs kérdések: Kulturális diverzitás és antropológia. Válogatás a Magyar Patrisztikai Társaság III–IV. konferenciáján elhangzott előadások szerkesztett változataiból.* Budapest, Szent István Társulat 2010. 418 S. ISBN 978-963-361-839-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 473. – Juhász. [469

**Lollar J.**, *Maximus the Confessor, Ambigua to Thomas and Second Letter to Thomas.* Corpus Christianorum in Translation, 2. Turnhout, Brepols 2010. 144 S. ISBN 978-2-503-53154-0. – English translation of CPG 7705 [1] and 7700, edited in Greek by B. Janssens (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca, 48. Turnhout, Brepols 2001) – Macé. [470

**Orosz A.**, *Hitvalló Szent Maximosz szótériológiája, különös tekintettel az átistenülésre* (La sotériologie de s. Maxime le Confesseur, particulièrement par rapport à sa conception sur la divinisation de l'homme). Athanasiana 31 (2010) 37–69. – La divinisation de l'homme se fonde sur l'Incarnation du Verbe. La conception maximienne de la divinisation la nature humaine du Verbe par l'union selon l'hypostase se rattache surtout à ce que l'on a appelé la théorie physique de la divinisation. – Juhász. [471

**Orosz A.**, *A „Kozmikus liturgia" és Maximosz hitvalló* (Maximus der Bekenner im Werk von Hans Urs von Balthasar). – *In memoriam Hans Urs von Balthasar.* (Nr. 1654) 243–271. – Von Balthasar sieht die bedeutsamste Leistung des Maximus in der Überwindung des Monotheletismus. Der Schlüssel von Maximus' Weltbild liege in der christologischen Formel Chalkedons und der Deutung des „Dramas der Erlösung". Die aristotelische Orientierung des Beken-

ners ermögliche die Korrekturen am „Emanatismus“ des Dionysius und an Origenes, weshalb er „als der weltoffenste unter allen Denkern der griechischen Patristik gelten“ könne. – Juhász. [472

**Orosz A.**, *Az «elidegenült és a Krisztus-testbe integrálódott test» Szent Maximosznál és kortársainál* («Il corpo alienato e integrato nel Corpo di Cristo» da s. Massimo il Confessore e dai suoi contemporanei). – **Bugár M. I./Pesthy M.** (eds.), *Studia Patrum. Ókeresztény szerzők, kortárs kérdések: Kulturális diverzitás és antropológia. Válogatás a Magyar Patrisztikai Társaság III–IV. konferenciáján elhangzott előadások szerkesztett változataiból.* (Nr. 469) 232–248. – Presentazione dell’antropologia di s. Massimo e di s. Giovanni Climaco. L’autore della «Scala» parla spesso del corpo umano ma rimane pessimista quanto al riguardo di questa «spoglia mortale». L’antropologia del suo contemporaneo, Massimo il Confessore, sembra essere meno ostile al corpo e metafisicamente più fondata. – Juhász. [473

**Orosz A.**, *L’accès au Père par le Verbe chez s. Maxime le Confesseur et chez s. André du Crète.* – **De Andia Y./Hofrichter P. L.** (eds.), *Gott Vater und Schöpfer. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens (Pro Oriente XXXI, Wiener Patristische Tagungen III).* (Nr. 1723) 173–186. – Maxime le Confesseur souligne le rôle primordial du Verbe dans notre initiation à la contemplation du Père: il parle des conditions de la contemplation pure du Verbe lui-même, qui montre en sa personne «le Père aussi clairement qu’il est possible aux hommes de le comprendre». On trouve la même conception sur la manifestation de la Sainte Trinité chez s. André de Crète. – Juhász. [474

**Orosz A.**, *L’Ecclésiologie «pneumatique» de la Mystagogie et des autres œuvres contemporaines de s. Maxime le Confesseur.* – **De Andia Y./Hofrichter P. L.** (eds.), *Der Heilige Geist im Leben der Kirche. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens (Pro Oriente XXIX, Wiener Patristische Tagungen II).* (Nr. 1722) 297–314. – La Mystagogie de s. Maxime présente l’Église avant tout en continuité avec les Pseudo-Areopagitica. L’originalité du Confesseur réside dans l’affirmation selon laquelle la grâce du Saint-Esprit n’est pas réservée aux seuls grands contemplatifs, aux «gnostiques», mais également aux enfants dans le Christ. – Juhász. [475

**Orosz A.**, *L’unité et la catholicité de l’Église dans l’œuvre de saint Maxime le Confesseur.* – **Hainthaler Th./Mali F./Emmenegger G.** (eds.), *Einheit und Katholizität der Kirche. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens. Pro Oriente Studientagung „L’unité et la catholicité de l’Église“ – „Einheit und Katholizität der Kirche“, Sibiu, 27.–30. Juni 2007 (Pro Oriente XXXII, Wiener Patristische Tagungen IV).* (Nr. 1736) 331–346. – Analyse de la Mystagogie et les questions 63 et 64 à Thalassios. Le Confesseur byzantin envisagait et confessait une Église catholique seule et unique, dans laquelle l’Église de Rome et son représentant premier, le pape de Rome avait des compétences importantes. – Juhász. [476

**Prassas D.** (trans.), *St. Maximus the Confessor's Questions and Doubts.* DeKalb/IL, Northern Illinois University Press 2009. x, 236 p. ISBN 978-0-87580-413-2. – Schott. [477

## Meliton von Sardeis

**Finney P. C.**, *Prokentema: An architectural model in Melito?* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 158–159. – Berger. [478

## Michael Choniates

**Mavrommate K.**, *Οι "Κατηχήσεις" του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη. Χρονολόγηση και ιστορική προσέγγιση.* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα/Byzantina Symmeikta 20 (2010) 39–66. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/981. With English summary. – The Catechisms of Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, are included in Spyridon Lampros' Archive (http://lamprosarcheio.arch.uoa.gr). An analysis of the chronology of the texts with extensive references on social conditions and daily life of the city of Athens at the end of the 12th century are issues examined by the author. – Leontsini. [479

## Neophytos Enkleistos

**Trapp E.**, *Zum Wortschatz des Neophytos Enkleistos.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 273–278. – Rhoby. [480

## Niketas Byzantios

**Høgel Ch.**, *An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'ān. The fragments from Niketas Byzantios' Refutatio and the anonymous Abjuratio.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 65–119. – Die arabischen Fragmente werden mit den griechischen verglichen. – Signes. [481

## Niketas Paphlagon

**Artopulos I. G.**, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὸν Νικήτα Παφλαγόνα.* (Nr. 844). – Leontsini.

## Oikumenios

**De Villiers P. G. R.**, *The understanding in Oecumenius' Greek commentary on Revelation.* Acta patristica et byzantina 20 (2009) 232–245. – Berger. [482

## Philotheos Kokkinos

**Stamules Ch. A.**, *Αγιότητα. Μέτρον σεσαλευμένον και υπερεκχυνόμενον. Το παράδειγμα των αγίων δια Χριστόν σαλών της Θεσσαλονίκης Σάββα του νέου και Νικοδήμου του νέου.* (Nr. 528). – Troianos.

## Romanos Melodos

**Cunningham M. S.**, *The reception of Romanos in middle Byzantine homiletics and hagiography.* DOP 62 (2008) 251–260. – Kaldellis. [483

**Koder J.**, *Imperial propaganda in the kontakia of Romanos the Melode.* DOP 62 (2008) 275–291. – Political ideology via liturgy and hymnography: "the kontakion as a means of mass propaganda" and Romanos as an "accomplice" in the imperial cause. – Cutler. [484

**Maisano R.**, *Romanos's use of Greek Patristic sources.* DOP 62 (2008) 261–273. – Kaldellis. [485

## Sophonias (Mönch)

**Searby D. N./Sjörs A.**, *A rhetorical declamation of Sophonias the Monk and Paraphrast.* BZ 104 (2011) 147–182. – Berger. [486

## Symeon Metaphrastes

**Grossmann J. K.**, *Die Abhängigkeit der Vita des Barlaam und Ioasaph vom Menologion des Symeon Metaphrastes.* (Nr. 515). – Rhoby.

**Vasiljević M.**, *La conception de la sainteté dans l'œuvre hagiographique de Syméon le Métaphraste.* (Nr. 508). – Ronconi.

## Theodoretos von Kyrrhos

**Nieto Ibáñez J. M.**, *El libro X de la Terapéutica de Teodoreto de Ciro, excerpta de Eusebio de Cesárea en la crítica antioracular.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 497–504. – Signes. [487

## Theodoros Studites

**Delouis O.**, *Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite est-il de Théodore?* REB 66 (2008) 173–190. – L'analyse du Testament de Théodore stoudite (dont sont minutieusement étudiés les facteurs concernant la structure, la transmission et le contexte historique) démontre qu'il est en réalité le résultat de l'assemblage

dû à Naucrace – higoumène des stoudites de 821 à 868 – et donc postérieur à la mort du saint, de textes écrits à diverses périodes. – Ronconi. [488

## Theodoros von Mopsuestia

**Jansen T.** (Hrsg.), *Theodor von Mopsuestia, De incarnatione. Überlieferung und Christologie der griechischen und lateinischen Fragmente einschließlich Textausgabe.* Patristische Texte und Studien, 6. Berlin, De Gruyter 2009. XII, 311 S. ISBN 978-3-11-021862-6. – Tinnefeld. [489

**McLeod F. G.**, *Theodore of Mopsuestia's understanding of two hypostaseis and two prosōpa coinciding in one common prosōpon.* JECS 18 (2010) 393–424. – Considers Theodore's preference for the term prosōpon over hypostasis to describe the union of divine and human in Christ; focuses in particular on Theodore's elaboration of this Christology in his exegeses of key New Testament texts. – Schott. [490

**Placida F.**, *Le Omelie battesimali e mistagogiche di Teodoro di Mopsuestia.* Messina/Torino, Elledici 2008. 254 p. ISBN 978-88-8621-265-6. – D'Aiuto. [491

## Theodosios von Syrakus

**Satta G.**, *La conquista araba di Siracusa, con l'Epistola di Teodosio monaco in appendice.* Augusta, Fabrika 2007. 71 p. [senza ISBN.] – S. esamina nel suo volumetto le fonti, sia arabe, sia greche, relative all'assedio e alla conquista araba di Siracusa nell'878, soffermandosi in particolare sull'epistola del monaco siracusano Teodosio all'arcidiacono costantinopolitano Leone, di cui riproduce il lacunoso testo greco tramandato nel ms. Paris. gr. 3032 secondo l'edizione Zuretti, insieme alla due traduzioni latine integrali opera del monaco Josafat Atzale e del gesuita Agostino Fiorito. – Luzzi. [492

## Theoktistos Studites

**Talbot A.-M.**, *The compositional methods of a Palaiologan hagiographer. Intertextuality in the works of Theoktistos the Stoudite.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 253–259. – Wiederverwendung von längeren Passagen aus Niketas Choniates in der Vita des Patriarchen Athanasios I. aus der Feder des Theoktistos Studites. – Rhoby. [493

# D. HAGIOGRAPHIE

## a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Agathangelos/Maltezou Ch./Morini E.**, *Ἱερὰ λείψανα Ἁγίων τῆς καθ ἡμᾶς Ἀνατολῆς στὴ Βενετία.* Athena, Apostolike Diakonia 2005. 363 p. ill. ISBN 960-315-551-9. – D'Aiuto. [494

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Antonopoulou Th.**, *On the reception of homilies and hagiography in Byzantium: the recited metrical prefaces.* (Nr. 406). – Rhoby.

**Canetti L.**, *Olea sanctorum: reliquie e miracoli fra tardoantico e alto medioevo. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 1335–1415. – Studio dedicato alle pratiche di unzione in connessione con la taumaturgia, con ricorso a fonti agiografiche greche tardoantiche e protobizantine. – D'Aiuto. [495

**D'Antiga R.**, *Venezia, il porto dei santi.* Venezia, Casadeilibri 2008. 112 p. ISBN 88-89466-10-3. – Su reliquie e culti, anche orientali, a Venezia. – D'Aiuto. [496

**Déroche V.**, *Regards croisés des hérésiologues, des canonistes et des hagiographes sur les Juifs à Byzance.* (Nr. 872). – D'Aiuto.

**Hannick Ch.**, *Huile et vin dans les récits hagiographiques. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 1417–1435. – «Dans les récits hagiographiques, l'huile et le vin n'ont pas une fonction intrinsèque mais uniquement accidentelle»: H. propone una piccola ma interessante antologia sul tema dalla letteratura agiografica di lingua greca dei sec. VI–XI. – D'Aiuto. [497

**Hinterberger M.**, *Hagiographische Metaphrasen. Ein möglicher Weg der Annäherung an die Literarästhetik der frühen Palaiologenzeit.* – **Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* (Nr. 1775) 137–151. – Untersucht werden Viten aus der Feder der Theodora Raulaina, des Georgios Kyprios, des Maximos Planudes, des Konstantinos Akropolites und des Nikephoros Gregoras. – Rhoby. [498

**Homza M.**, *The role of the Imitatio Helenae in the hagiography of female rulers until the late thirteenth centuries.* – **Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1698) 128–158. – Nikolov. [499

**Hyphantes P. A.**, *Μάρτυς, ιππότης, σύμβολο. Ο άγιος Γεώργιος στην αγιολογική συνείδηση της χριστιανικής Δύσης.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 385–401. – Kotzabassi. [500

**Iliev I.**, *За краткото житие на св. Климент Охридски* (Nr. 1844). – Nikolov.

**Ivanova K.**, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica.* (Nr. 1845). – Nikolov.

**Ivanova K.**, *Житие св. Григория Великого (BHG 721) в славянской кириллической традиции* (The Vita of St. Gregory the Great [BHG 721] in the Slavic Cyrillic tradition). Palaeobulgarica 33/2 (2009) 3–15. With English summary. – A new (fourth) version of the Vita, unknown so far, has been discovered in the Serbian manuscript No. 95 from the Dechani monastery. The codex dated to the second half of the 14th c. and its orthography is Serbian. – Nikolov. [501

**Lequeux X.**, *Vignes, élevages et piété populaire en Chypre vers la fin du Moyen Âge. Les conseils pratiques du ms. Parisinus gr. 2244.* Analecta Bollandiana 128 (2010) 163–172. – Macé. [502

**Minčeva A.**, *Лингвистични аргументи за времето на създаване на пространното Кирилово житие* (Nr. 1857). – Nikolov.

**Mullett M.**, *Gendered fictions in Byzantium: the construction and performance of sanctity.* Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 26 (2008) 53–82. – Nilsson. [503

**Rapp C.**, *The origins of hagiography and the literature of early monasticism: purpose and genre between tradition and innovation.* – **Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.), *Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* (Nr. 1740) 119–130. – Berger. [504

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Heilige Nägel und heilige Lanzen.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 97–171. – Berger. [505

**Shoemaker S. J.**, *The cult of fashion: The earliest life of the Virgin and Constantinople's Marian relics.* DOP 62 (2008) 53–74. – The 7th-century "Life of the Virgin", attributed to Maximus the Confessor, does not resolve the contradictions between the earlier sources on the relics of Mary in Constantinople, nor the conflicting terminology applied to her various garments. But the "Life" shares with, and was the source of, numerous accounts of her relics as recorded at both Blachernai and Chalkoprateia. – Kaldellis. [506

**Tamamyan N.**, *Step'anos Orbēleani «Patmut'iwn Dann Sisakan» erki srbaxōsakan maserě* (Nr. 596). – D'Aiuto.

**Timotin A.**, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Études sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX–XI siècles).* Dossiers Byzantines, 10. Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales 2010. 376 p. ISBN 2-9530655-1-0. – Berger. [507

**Vasiljević M.**, *La conception de la sainteté dans l'œuvre hagiographique de Syméon le Métaphraste.* REB 66 (2008) 191–207. – Étude concernant la conception théologique de Syméon le Métaphraste, menée au moyen de plusieurs passages tirés des prologues de ses Vies de saints. L'analyse est menée dans une perspective comparative par rapport aux conceptions des Pères de l'Église orthodoxe. – Ronconi. [508

**Wood Ph.**, *'We have no king but Christ'. Christian political thought in Greater Syria on the eve of the Arab conquest (c. 400–585).* (Nr. 597). – Berger.

## b. Textausgaben und Sekundärliteratur

### Allgemein

**Euthymiades S.**, *Ἡ μεσαιωνικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῶν ἁγίων τῆς. Μικρὲς καὶ μεγάλες διεκδικήσεις ἑνὸς ἀποκλειστικοῦ προνομίου (9ος–12ος αι.). – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 249–266. – Nach einer langen, die Wundersammlungen, eine besondere Gattung der hagiographischen Literatur, betreffenden Einleitung, befasst sich Verf. mit den Wundertaten der thessalonizensischen Heiligen der mittleren Periode, nämlich Gregorios Dekapolites, Euthymios, Hilarion, Theodora, Phantinos und Eustathios von Thessalonike. – Troianos. [509

**Gianku Th.**, *Τὰ λεξιονάρια καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλονικείς ἅγιοι. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 99–110. – Verf. untersucht den Kult der thessalonizensischen Heiligen anhand der sog. λεξιονάρια, d.h. liturgischer Bücher, die zur Ergänzung der Meßformularien für die einzelnen Feste dienten. – Troianos. [510

**Gones D. B.**, *Οἱ προσωπικότητες τῶν ἁγίων Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου στὴν ἑλληνικὴ γραμματεία. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 69–85. – Eine Übersicht. – Troianos. [511

**Marke E.**, *Οι τόποι αθλήσεως των Θεσσαλονικέων μαρτύρων και η συμβολή της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στον εντοπισμό τους. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 111–133. 14 Abb. – Verf.in untersucht 1. die Kirche von Thessalonike und die Christenverfolgungen; 2. die Heiligenviten der Märtyrer von Thessalonike im Einzelnen; 3. diesbezüglich organisierte christliche Friedhöfe. – Troianos. [512

## Andreas

**Barsanti C.**, *In memoria del reliquiario del Sacro Capo dell'apostolo Andrea.* (Nr. 1240). – Berger.

## Antonios

**Fatti F.**, *Parthenòn. A proposito di un «problema-fantasma» (Athanasius, Vita Antonii 3,1).* (Nr. 434). – D'Aiuto.

## Arethas

**Detoraki M.**, *Un hagiographe à l'œuvre: le Martyre d'Aréthas et ses sources.* – **Beaucamp J./Briquel-Chatonnet F./Robin Ch. J.** (éds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources.* (Nr. 1710) 177–190. – Berger. [513

**Fiaccadori G.**, *On the place of composition of the Martyrion of Arethas.* – **Beaucamp J./Briquel-Chatonnet F./Robin Ch. J.** (éds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources.* (Nr. 1710) 191–196. – Berger. [514

## Barlaam und Ioasaph

**Grossmann J. K.**, *Die Abhängigkeit der Vita des Barlaam und Ioasaph vom Menologion des Symeon Metaphrastes.* JÖB 59 (2009) 87–94. – Rhoby. [515

## Demetrios von Thessalonike

**Russell E.**, *St Demetrius of Thessalonica. Cult and devotion in the Middle Ages.* Byzantine and Neohellenic studies, 6. Oxford [u. a.], Lang 2010. 213 S. ISBN 978-3-0343-0181-7. – Tinnefeld. [516

## Georgios Hagiorites

**Martin-Hisard B.**, *La Vie du moine Georges l'Hagiorite (v. 1010–1065). Traduction du texte géorgien et commentaire.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 5–204. – Traduction française (basée sur l'édition parue dans MLHG II) commentée et annotée de la vie géorgienne du moine Georges l'Hagiorite, qui, né dans le Kartli bagratide en 1009 ou 1010 – après une formation élémentaire entre Géorgie, Constantinople et la Montagne Noire – fut higoumène du monastère athonite d'Iviron, s'adonnant à la traduction d'ouvrages grecs en géorgien. Dans une ample introduction, il est question de la tradition du texte, de la vie de l'auteur, des commanditaires de l'ouvrage, du monde et de l'église géorgiens

au XIe s. Le travail est accompli par des ‘éclaircissements’, un index des noms propres et par une bibliographie. – Ronconi. [517

## Gerasimos Iordanites

**Demetrakopulos Ph.**, *Ὅσιος Γεράσιμος ὁ Ἰορδανίτης.* Ελληνικά Κείμενα και Μελέτες. Athena, Εκδοτικός Οργανισμός Π. Κυριακίδη 2007. 206 p. ISBN 978-960-895-085-6. – Examination of all literature and texts on the life and state of Saint Gerasimos Iordanites and editio princeps of an anonymous Life of the saint and reedition of two other lives. – Telelis. [518

## Gregorios Palamas

**Talbot A.-M.**, *The miracles of Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos.* (Nr. 144). – Stathakopoulos.

## Gregorios der Erleuchter

**Thomson R. W.** (transl.), *The Lives of Saint Gregory. The Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac versions of the History attributed to Agathangelos.* Ann Arbor, Caravan 2010. 536 p. ISBN 0-88206-118-4. – Berger. [519

## Ioannes Xenos

**Andrianakis M.**, *Aghios Ioannis Xenos and his cult.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 256–268. 18 fig. Griechischer Text 503–506. – Berger. [520

## Johannes der Täufer

**Khalek N.**, *The cult of John the Baptist amongst Muslims and Christians in Early Islamic Syria.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 360–364. 6 fig. – Berger. [521

## Katharina von Alexandreia

**Krausmüller D.**, *The Encomium of Catherine of Alexandria (BHG 32b) by the protasecretis Anastasius, a work of Anastasius “the Stammerer”.* Analecta Bolladiana 127 (2009) 309–312. – Macé. [522

## Klemens von Ohrid

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

## Konon

**Wood Ph.**, *The invention of history in the later Roman world. The conversion of Isauria in The Life of Conon.* (Nr. 15). – Laflı.

## Maria die Jüngere

**Constantinou S.**, *A Byzantine hagiographical parody: Life of Mary the Younger.* BMGS 34 (2010) 160–181. – Stathakopoulos. [523

## Neilos von Rossano

**Bugliaro S.** (a cura di), *Per conoscere San Nilo. Catalogo bibliografico.* Rossano, Grafosud 2005. 62 p. [ohne ISBN]. – D'Aiuto. [524

**Burgarella F.** (a cura di), *San Nilo di Rossano e l'Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini.* Università degli studi di Roma "Tor Vergata", Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Dipartimento di Antichità e tradizione classica, Roma 2009. XIII, 296 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-89940-09-9. – I contributi d'interesse bizantino sono recensiti come no. 296, 391, 557. – Velkovska. [525

**Parenti S.**, *Agiografia e innografia inedita per s. Nilo di Rossano.* (Nr. 573). – Velkovska.

## Niketas Paphlagon

**Artopulos I. G.**, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὸν Νικήτα Παφλαγόνα.* (Nr. 844). – Leontsini.

## Panteleemon

**Mercurio A.**, *San Pantaleone martire. Lettura storica, teologica, spirituale.* [Catanzaro, s. n.] 2005. 61 p. 8 tav. ill. – D'Aiuto. [526

## Paulos (Bekenner)

**Detorakes Th.**, *Παύλος ὁ Ὁμολογητὴς ἁγιογραφούμενος καὶ ὑμνολογούμενος. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 87–97. – Verf. stellt hagiographische und hymnographische Texte vor, die sich auf das Martyrium des

von den Arianern unter Konstantios (337–360) umgebrachten konstantinopolitanischen Bischofs Paulos beziehen. – Troianos. [527

## Sabas der Jüngere

**Stamules Ch. A.**, *Αγιότητα. Μέτρον σεσαλευμένον και υπερεκχυνόμενον. Το παράδειγμα των αγίων δια Χριστόν σαλών της Θεσσαλονίκης Σάββα του νέου και Νικοδήμου του νέου. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ´–ΛΗ´ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ´–ΙΖ´ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 227–236. – Gegenstand des Aufsatzes sind zwei Heilige von Thessalonike des 14. Jh.s, die als Narren um Christi willen (σαλοί) bekannt sind, nämlich Sabbas der Jüngere und Nikodemos der Jüngere, deren Vita der Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos verfasste. – Troianos. [528

## Symeon Salos

**Cavallero P. A.**, *La retórica en la vida de Simeón de Leoncio de Neápolis.* Byzantion Nea Hellas 28 (2009) 87–104. – Signes. [529

## Symeon von Jerusalem

**Lequeux X.**, *Une passion brève (BHG 2409) de Saint Syméon de Jérusalem, apparenté au Christ, tirée des ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ d'Hégésippe. Introduction, édition et traduction d'après le ms. Philotheou 8 (XIe s.).* Analecta Bollandiana 127 (2009) 241–248. – Macé. [530

## Theodora von Thessalonike

**Sophianos D. Z.** (†), *Διήγησις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας τῆς Μυροδοτούσας (Κώδ. Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως 470, φφ. 249v–257v). – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ´–ΛΗ´ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ´–ΙΖ´ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 49–67. 3 Taf. – Edition des der heiligen Theodora (Ägina 812–Thessalonike 892) gewidmeten Textes aus dem codex unicus, nämlich einer im Meteora-Kloster Metamorphosis aufbewahrten Handschrift (Anfang des 16. Jh.s). – Troianos. [531

# E. LITURGIK UND HYMNOGRAPHIE

## a. Liturgik

### Allgemeine Literatur

**Parenti S.**, *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli. Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi.* Monumenta, Studia, Instrumenta Liturgica, 54. Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2010. 348 p. ISBN 978-88-209-8201-0. – Un contributo e recensito come no. 560. – Velkovska. [532

**Alexopoulos S.**, *Modern Greek liturgical scholarship: a selective bibliography (2000–2009).* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 19–47. – Velkovska. [533

### Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Mateos J./Taft R.**, *Развитие византийской литургии* (L'evoluzione della liturgia bizantina). Kiev, Quo vadis 2009. 123 p. ISBN 978-966-1517-38-6. – Traduzione russa di due saggi ormai classici: Taft R., How Liturgies Grow (OCP 43, 1977, 8–30) e Mateos J., The Evolution of the Byzantine Liturgy (John XXIII Lectures, I. New York 1965). – Velkovska. [534

**Parpulov G.**, *Psalters and personal piety in Byzantium.* (Nr. 430). – Schott.

**Podosinov A. V.**, *Литургическое движение в сакральном пространстве: об античных истоках восточнохристианской обрядности* (The liturgical movement in sacred space: on the classical origins of eastern Christian rites). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 55–68. With English summary. – Etinhof. [535

**Taft R.**, *The liturgical enterprise twenty-five after Alexander Schmemann (1921–1983): the man and his heritage.* St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 53/2–3 (2009) 139–163. – Velkovska. [536

**Taft R. F.**, *Liturgy in old Constantinople: glimpses of a lost world.* A lecture given at the Annual General Meeting of the Alcuin Club by The Right Reverend Archimandrite Robert F. Taft SJ FBA, St. Matthew's Westminster, London, Wednesday 5 March 2008.16 p. – Velkovska. [537

**Taft R. F.**, *Ritul Bizantin, scurta istorie* (The Byzantine rite. A short history). Trans. Dumitru Vanca / Alin Mehes. Logos si simbol, 10. Alba Iulia, Editura Reîntregirea 2008. 118 p. – Romanian translation of no. 540 below. – Velkovska. [538

**Taft R. F.**, *Stručné dějiny byzantské liturgie* (The Byzantine rite. A short history). Trans. T. Mrňávek. Prague 2008. 87 p. – Czech translation of no. 540 below. – Velkovska. [539

**Taft R. F.**, *The Byzantine rite. A short history.* Collegeville, MN, The Liturgical Press 1992. 84 p. ISBN 0-8146-2163-5. – Velkovska. [540

**Vaccaro A.**, *Dizionario dei termini liturgici bizantini e dell'Oriente cristiano.* Lecce, Argo 2010. 382 p. 39 ill. ISBN 978-88-8234-137-4. – Velkovska. [541

## Textausgaben

**Christodulu Th. S.**, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία κατὰ τοὺς χειρογράφους κώδικες 10ου–12ου αἰῶνος.* Thera, Thesbites 2005. 2 vol. 803 + 507 p. ISBN 960-88742-2-X. – Studio ed edizione dell'ufficiatura dei defunti, basato su ricco materiale manoscritto dei secoli fino al XIII; corredano il testo un'ampia introduzione, descrizioni e notizie sui testimoni noti o utilizzati, un incipitario innografico, tavole e indici di varia natura. – D'Aiuto. [542

**Chronz T.**, *Editionen georgischer liturgischer Texte. Eine Auswahl.* – **Christians D./Stern D./Tomelleri V.** (Hrsg.), *Bibel, Liturgie und Frömmigkeit in der Slavia Byzantina. Festgabe für Hans Rothe zum 80. Geburtstag.* (Nr. 1687) 177–193. – Velkovska. [543

## Einzeluntersuchungen

**Alekseev A.**, *О времении и цели составления византийского лекционария* (The Byzantine lectionary: when and why it was compiled). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./ Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 191–201. With English summary. – The Byzantine lectionary (BL) was sanctioned by the Trullan Synod (692). From the very beginning BL was designed to establish the service rite within the limits of the Patriarchate and was never used outside it. It makes it rather improbable that Cyrill and Methodius should have based on it their first translation. It was not until the end of the 9th c. that BL was adopted by Slavonic clergy in Bulgaria as standard of Slavonic liturgy. – Nikolov. [544

**Andreou G.**, *Τα τρία αντίφωνα της ευχαριστιακής φόρμουλας: μια προσπάθεια για αναθεώρηση προηγούμενων ερευνών.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 49–62. – Velkovska. [545

**Argárate P.**, *Les rites eucharistiques dans les Catéchèses de Cyrille de Jérusalem.* (Nr. 466). – Velkovska.

**Barker M.**, *Благовония в создании сакрального пространства. Парадигмы ветхозаветного храма в христианском богослужении* (Fragrance in the making of sacred space. Jewish Temple paradigms of Christian worship). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 71–78. With Russian and English summary. – Etinhof. [546

**Denysenko V.**, *Psalm 81: announcing the resurrection on Holy Saturday.* Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies 50 (2009) 55–88. – Velkovska. [547

**Engberg S.**, *Profetologion og tre-læsningsteorien: Om tilblivelsen af en liturgisk bog* (The Prophetologion and the theory of three readings: the genesis of a liturgical book). Patristik 9 (2008) = www.patristik.dk/Patristik9.pdf. – Nilsson. [548

**Frøyshov S. S. R.**, *The formation of a fivefold cursus of daily prayer in pre-Constantinian Christianity: backward inferences from later periods.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 121–138. – Velkovska. [549

**Getcha J.**, *Recevoir la communion en cellule: un témoignage du 14e siècle.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 267–274. – Velkovska. [550

**Ioannides G.**, *Ακολουθία καθαγιασμού αγίου δίσκου και ποτηρίου στα κυπριακά ευχολόγια.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 199–230. ill. – Velkovska. [551

**Kalaïtzides P. L.**, *Προλειτουργία. Συμβολή στην εννοιολογική διερεύνηση του όρου.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 231–265. ill. – Velkovska. [552

**Kimball V. M.**, *Liturgical illuminations: discovering received tradition in the Eastern Orthros for Feasts of the Theotokos.* Milton Keynes UK, AuthorHouse 2010. 716 p. ISBN 978-1-4490-7212-4. – Velkovska. [553

**Krueger D.**, *The liturgical creation of a Christian past: identity and community in anaphoral prayers.* – **Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.), *Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* (Nr. 1740) 58–71. – Berger. [554

**Larin V.**, *What is "Ritual Im/Purity" and why?* St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 52/3–4 (2008) 275–292. – Velkovska. [555

**Lossky A.**, *Typiques et Présanctifiés: Deux offices byzantins de communion.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 255–266. – Velkovska. [556

**Morini E.**, *Grottaferrata e il rito italogreco.* – **Burgarella F.** (a cura di), *San Nilo di Rossano e l'Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini.* (Nr. 525) 9–18. – Velkovska. [557

**Newman C.**, *In vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate. Some observations on the commentary of Jacques Goar, O.P., on the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.* St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 53/4 (2009) 461–476. – Velkovska. [558

**Nassis Ch.**, *The Byzantine liturgical commentaries in the writings of Nicodemos of the Holy Mountain: a study on the sources of the Hagiorite.* – **Galadza D./ Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 301–316. – Velkovska. [559

**Parenti S.**, *L'attribuzione a s. Gregorio "Dialogo" papa di Roma della Liturgia bizantina dei Doni Presantificati.* – **Parenti S.**, *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli. Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi.* (Nr. 532) 75–87. – Velkovska. [560

**Parenti S.**, *Vino e olio nelle liturgie bizantine. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 1251–1289. II tav. f.t. – «Tra le molte preghiere che può contenere un eucologio medievale, quelle destinate al vino e alla vite hanno incontrato grande favore … Vino e olio compiono nelle tradizioni locali del rito bizantino percorsi differenziati e anche opposti. Nel contesto dei riti eucaristici il vino conosce un progressivo potenziamento simbolico … L'olio … perde importanza e significato sacramentale già nel V secolo per l'evoluzione interna dei riti battesimali, e resta legato all'unzione dei malati». – D'Aiuto. [561

**Parenti S.**, *Листы Крылова-Успенского: Вопросы методики изучения славянского текста византийских литургий* (Nr. 1863). – Nikolov.

**Rouwhorst G.**, *L'usage et le non-usage du vin.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 229–241. – Velkovska. [562

**Rudeyko V.**, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Orthros. Historische Vergewisserung für eine heutige Praxis der Gemeindeliturgie.* Schriften zur Praktischen Theologie, 12. Hamburg, Verlag Dr. Kovač 2010. 223 p. ISBN 978-3-8300-5199-2. – Velkovska. [563

**Sadkowski A.**, *Eucharistie, mariage et coupe de bénédiction d'après certaines euchologes byzantins anciens.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 245–254. – Velkovska. [564

**Taft R.**, *When did the catechumenate die out in Constantinople?* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 288–295. – Velkovska. [565

**Taft R.**, *Богословские построения IV века в византийской анафоре святителя Иоанна Златоуста* (Fourth century theological developments in the Byzantine Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom). – **Želtov M.** (ed.), *Православное Учение о Церковных Таинствах. V Международная Богословская Конференция Русской Православной Церкви. Том I. Таинства в целом, Крещение и Миропомазание, Евхаристия: литургические аспекты* (Nr. 1787) 398–419. – Velkovska. [566

**Taft R. F.**, *Istorie a Liturghiei Sfântului Ioan Gura de Aur, vol. IV: Dipticele* (History of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. IV. The Diptychs). Cluj-

Napoca, Editure Renasterea 2008. LXXX, 182 p. ISBN 978-973-1714-43-1. – Velkovska. [567

**Taft R. F.**, *История литургии свт. Иоанна Златоуста, т. II. Великий вход: история перенесения даров и других преданафоральных чинов* (The great entrance. A history of the transfer of gifts and other preanaphoral rites). Омск, Издатель С. Голованов, 2010. xliv, 478 p. – Traduzione russa di R. F. Taft, The great entrance (BZ 70, 1977, 462). – Velkovska. [568

**Taft R. F.**, *Чи існує почитання Євхаристії на християньскому Сході? Заувага до жовтневого Синоду 2005 р. на тему Євхаристії* (Is there devotion to the Holy Eucharist in the Christian East? A footnote to the October 2005 Synod on the Eucharist). Наукові Записки Українського Католицького Університету 1, серія Богослов'я 1 (L'viv 2009) 125–143. – Ukrainian translation of the article in Worship 80 (2006) 213–233. – Velkovska. [569

**Wade A.**, *La communion de tous les présents dans les liturgies de saint Jean Chrysostome et de saint Basile le Grand.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 165–171. – Velkovska. [570

## b. Hymnographie

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Kujumdžieva S.**, *Химнографската книга Трополог: извори идентификации* (The hymnography book called "Tropologion": sources and identifications). Palaeobulgarica 33/3 (2009) 41–68. With English summary. – 16 manuscripts in Greek (including the Sinai copies found in 1975) with the designation "Tropologion" are analysed. The designation is found either in the initial rubrics of the manuscripts or in their inscriptions. The manuscripts are from the 8th/9th to the 12th c. and represent different types: 9 are of the Menaion type, 1 of the Triodion type, 3 of the Oktoechos type, and remain 3 unidentified. The study of the content of the book shows that the repertory of troparia, stichera, kanons, hypakoi, and prokeimena was preserved. This repertory has increased dramatically: many new texts entered the "Tropologion". In the Greek sources from the 13th c. on, the title "Tropologion" is not encountered any more. – Nikolov. [571

**Martani S.**, *Alcune osservazioni sulla ritmica musicale nel repertorio irmologico bizantino.* – **Jacoboni M. P./Saiani A.** (a cura di), *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Vecchi.* (Nr. 1696) 41–63. – Velkovska. [572

**Parenti S.**, *Agiografia e innografia inedita per s. Nilo di Rossano. – Il monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio.*

*Atti del Convegno internazionale, Grottaferrata, 23–25 settembre 2004.* (Nr. 1702) 257–272. – Velkovska. [573

**Renoux Ch.**, *Les chants de communion de l'Hymnaire de Saint-Sabas.* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 81–91. – Velkovska. [574

**Tziatze-Papagianne M.**, *Το κοντάκιο του Ρωμανού του Μελωδού εἰς τὸν χωλὸν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πύλην τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεραπευθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων (αρ. 39 M.–Tr.): Φιλολογικές παρατηρήσεις και νέα κριτική έκδοση.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 63–109. – Kotzabassi. [575

**Velkovska E.**, *La liturgia italo-bizantina negli eucologi e lezionari del Nuovo Testamento della "scuola niliana". – Il monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Grottaferrata, 23–25 settembre 2004.* (Nr. 1702) 213–255. – Velkovska. [576

**Zerbudake A.**, *Θεοφάνης ο Σικελός. Νέα δεδομένα για τη χρονική του τοποθέτηση.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 121–150. – Kotzabassi. [577

## F. APOKRYPHEN, GNOSTIK UND SEKUNDÄRLITERATUR

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

### b. Textausgaben und Sekundärliteratur

**Mpozines K. A.**, *Απόκρυφες πράξεις Παύλου και Θέκλας. Μια ανάλυσή τους με αφορμή την πρόσφταη έκδοση βιβλίου.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 429–478. – Kotzabassi. [578

**Bacci M.**, *Nicodemo e il Volto Santo.* – **Ferrari M. C./Meyer A.** (a cura di), *Il volto santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000).* (Nr. 1729) 15–40. 4 ill. – D'Aiuto. [579

# 5. GESCHICHTE

## A. CHRONOLOGIE, GESAMTDARSTELLUNGEN, NICHTBYZANTINISCHE QUELLEN

### a. Chronologie

**Castillo Fasoli R. D.**, *Historia breve de Bizancio.* Madrid, Sílex Ediciones 2009. 440 p. ISBN 978-84-7737-219-6. – Der Reihe nach werden die Regierungszeiten aller byzantinischer Kaiser dargestellt. Konventionell. Für einen Index siehe www.imperiobizantino.com/hbbcontenido.pdf – Signes. [580

**Herrin J.**, *What is Byzantium?* Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 27 (2009) 19–32. – Nilsson. [581

**Jeffreys E.**, *Old Testament "history" and the Byzantine chronicle.* (Nr. 420). – Schott.

**Messes Ch.** (transl.), *Ιωάννης Καμινιάτης, Ευστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης, Ιωάννης Αναγνώστης. Χρονικά των αλώσεων της Θεσσαλονίκης.* Athena, Άγρα 2010. 368 p. ISBN 978-960-325-857-5. – The siege and fall of Thessalonike to the Saracens (904), the Normans (1185) and the Turks (1430) as recorded by Ioannes Kaminiates, Eustahtios of Thessalonike and Ioannes Anagnostes respectively. The texts are in Greek translation (by Messes Ch.). The texts are introduced and commented by P. Odorico. – Telelis. [582

**Pippidi A.**, *Chronologie, eschatologie, confession dans l'espace roumain au XVe siècle.* Revue des études sud-est européennes 48 (2010) 159–178. – Berger. [583

**Uspenskij F. I.**, *Очерки по истории Византийской образованности; История крестовых походов* (Essays on the history of Byzantine scholarship. The history of the Crusades). Moscow, Mysl 2010. 442 p. ISBN 978-5-244-01127-2. – Republication of U.'s two books of 1891 and 1901 respectively. – Ivanov. [584

### b. Gesamtdarstellungen

**Derevenskij B. G.**, *Византия. Школьный путеводитель* (Byzantium. A school guide). St. Petersburg, Baltijskaja knižnaia kompanija 2010. 96 p. ISBN 978-5-91233-274-6. – Ivanov. [585

**Georgiades N. Th.**, *Η Δράμα και η περιοχή της κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο.* Thessaloniki, Banias 2008. 142 S. ISBN 978-960-288-231-3. – Kotzabassi. [586

**Giannakopulos D. K.**,, *Δουκάτο των Αθηνών. Η κυριαρχία των Acciaiuoli.* Thessaloniki, Banias 2006. 403 S. ISBN 960-288-148-8. – Kotzabassi. [587

**Veličko A. M.**, *История византийских императоров* (A History of Byzantine emperors), IV. Moscow, FIV 2010. 798 p. ISBN 978-5-91399-019-8. – Ivanov. [588

**Veličko A. M.**, *История византийских императоров* (A History of Byzantine emperors), V. Moscow, FIV 2010. 520 p. ISBN 978-5-91399-019-8. – Ivanov. [589

## c. Nichtgriechische Quellen zur byzantinischen Geschichte einschließlich Sekundärliteratur

**Debié M.** (ed.), *L'historiographie syriaque.* Études syriaques, 6. Paris, Geuthner 2009. 219 p. ISBN 978-2-7053-3821-3. – Berger. [590

**Garsoian N. G.**, *Iranian sources on early Christian Armenian history: an underexploited fund.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 167–172. – Berger. [591

**Greatrex G.**, *Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the siege of Amida and its aftermath (502–6).* (Nr. 156). – Berger.

**Lachmann R.** (Hrsg.), *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik.* Paderborn, Schöningh 2010. 284 S. ISBN 978-3-506-76842-1. – Kommentiert von C.-P. Hase, R. Lachmann und G. Prinzing. Enthält auch einen Bericht über die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1453, an der der Verfasser auf türkischer Seite beteiligt war, und die folgenden Ereignisse. – Berger. [592

**Markov N.**, *Завоюването на Константинопол от латините през 1204 година и войните им с българите (според анонимна френска хроника от края на XIII век)* (La conquête de Constantinople par les Latins en 1204 et leurs guerres avec les Bulgares [d'après une chronique français anonyme de la fin du XIIIe siècle]). Veliko Tărnovo, Izdatelstvo «Faber» 2010. 143 p. ISBN 978-954-400-234-3. – Sont analysées et commentées les informations sur les Bulgares dans la Chronique dite de Baudoin d'Avesnes. Sont aussi présentées les différentes sources sur la mort de l'empereur Baudouin I (1204–1205). En annexe sont inclus des extraits de textes français traduits en bulgare des chroniques de Baudoin d'Avesnes. – Nikolov. [593

**Millar F.**, *Jerome and Palestine.* (Nr. 397). – Laniado.

**Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665). – Rhoby.

**Mureşan D. I.**, *Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue.* (Nr. 667). – Rhoby.

**Nanetti A.**, *Η πρώτη και η δεύτερη Ενετοκρατία στην Πυλία. Η περιοχή Πεταλίδι στα χρόνια της κυριαρχίας των Φράγκων, Ενετών, Βυζαντινών και Τούρκων. Ιστορικές και τοπογραφικές πληροφορίες περί των συνόρων της ενετικής Μεσσηνίας (1207–1500).* (Nr. 819). – Leontsini.

**Paul N. L.**, *A warlord's wisdom: literacy and propaganda at the time of the First Crusade.* (Nr. 26). – Kaegi.

**Popović M.**, *The Order of the Dragon and the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević.* (Nr. 669). – Rhoby.

**Satta G.**, *La conquista araba di Siracusa, con l'Epistola di Teodosio monaco in appendice.* (Nr. 492). – Luzzi.

**Schabel Ch./Richard J.** (eds.), *Bullarium Cyprium. Vol I: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1196–1261, vol. 2: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1261–1314.* Texts and studies in the history of Cyprus, 64. Nicosia, Cyprus Research Centre 2010. XV, 516 + 528 p. ISBN 978-9963-0-8116-5, 978-9963-0-8117-2. – Berger. [594

**Széll G.** (Übers.), *Tunnunai Victor: Chronica (444–565).* Documenta Historica, 80. Szeged, JATE Press 2008. 65 S. – The Latin Chronicle of Victor gives an account on the Christological arguments in the struggle against Monophysitism and the condemnation of the Three Chapters, as well as a short summary of the history of the North African Vandals. The place of the Chronicle in the ranks of the contemporary Chronicles and its significant sources are analyzed. – Juhász. [595

**Tamamyan N.**, *Step'anos Orbēleani «Patmut'iwn Dann Sisakan» erki srbaxōsakan maserě* (The hagiographic passages of Stepanos Orbelian's "History of the House of Sisakan"). Bazmavep 167 (2009) 193–205. – D'Aiuto. [596

**Wood Ph.**, *'We have no king but Christ'. Christian political thought in Greater Syria on the eve of the Arab conquest (c. 400–585).* Oxford Studies in Byzantium. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2010. xii, 295 p. ISBN 978-0-19-958849-7. – Berger. [597

**Greatrex G.** (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and war in Late Antiquity.* Translated Texts for Historians, 55. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press 2010. xiv, 562 p. ISBN 978-1-84631-494-0. – Übersetzt aus dem Syrischen und Arabischen durch R. R. Phenix und C. B. Horn, mit Beiträgen von S. Brock und W. Witakowski. – Berger. [598

**Zampake Th.**, *Η συνθήκη της «Αιγύπτου» (Misr) (641 μ.Χ.): μια ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση.* Hellenika 59 (2009) 233–251. – Kotzabassi. [599

**Zampake Th.**, *Οι συνθήκες που συνήψε ο προφήτης Μωάμεθ: Μοντέλο για τις συνθήκες των ισλαμικών κατακτήσεων;* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 151–170. – Kotzabassi. [600

**Živković T.**, *Sources de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète concernant le passé le plus ancien des Serbes et des Croates.* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα/Byzantina Symmeikta 20 (2010) 11–37. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/963. With English summary. – Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the chapters 30, 31, and 32 of De Administrando Imperio used a written source (Conversio Croatorum et Serborum), relating the baptism and the close ties of the Serbs and the Croats with Rome, dated around 878. The present analysis establishes also a high degree of correlation with parts of another Latin text known as De conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, composed by an anonymous author in Salzburg in 871, which offers a readjustment of data on the earliest history of the Slavs. – Leontsini. [601

## B. POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE

### a. 4.–6. Jahrhundert

**Al-Azmeh A.**, *Rome, New Rome and Baghdad: pathways of Late Antiquity.* – **Neuwirth A./Stock G.** (Hrsg.), *Europa im Nahen Osten – Der Nahe Osten in Europa.* (Nr. 1758) 53–73. – Zweite „Carl Heinrich Becker Lecture" der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung 2008. – Berger. [602

**Arcuri R.**, *La Calabria nella Guerra gotica di Procopio di Cesarea. Evoluzione storica, funzione strategica e ruolo economico del territorio brettio nel VI secolo.* Κοινωνία 32 (2008) 41–87. – D'Aiuto. [603

**Beaucamp J./Briquel-Chatonnet F./Robin Ch. J.** (éds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources.* (Nr. 1710). – Berger.

**Beaucamp J.**, *Le rôle de Byzance en mer Rouge sous le règne de Justin: mythe ou réalité?* – **Beaucamp J./Briquel-Chatonnet F./Robin Ch. J.** (éds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources.* (Nr. 1710) 197–218. – Berger. [604

**Börm H.**, *Herrscher und Eliten in der Spätantike.* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 155–198. – Vergleich zwischen dem römischen Reich und dem Reich der Sasaniden. – Berger. [605

**Bonamente G./Cracco G./Rosen K.** (a cura di), *Costantino il Grande tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del Convegno (Trento 22–24 aprile 2004).* (Nr. 1711). – Luzzi.

**Bouffartigue J.**, *Julien entre biographie et analyse historique.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 79–89. – Macé. [606

**Bransbourg G.**, *Julien, l'immunitas Christi, les dieux et les cités.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 151–158. – Macé. [607

**Burgess R. W.**, *The summer of blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the promotion of the sons of Constantine.* DOP 62 (2008) 5–51. – The role of assassination in the politics of the Constantinian era and their numismatic expressions. – Cutler. [608

**Caltabiano M.**, *La comunità degli Elleni: cultura e potere alla corte dell'imperatore Giuliano.* (Nr. 692). – Macé.

**Carrié J.-M.**, *Julien législateur: un mélange des genres?* (Nr. 1479). – Macé.

**Casella M.**, *Julien: les années parisiennes.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 91–107. – Macé. [609

**Chausson F.**, *Stemmata Aurea. Constantin, Justine, Théodose. Revendications généalogiques et idéologie impériale au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* Roma, L'Erma di Brettschneider 2007. 301 S. ISBN 978-88-8265-393-4. – Zur Herleitung der konstantinischen Dynastie von Claudius Gothicus und zum Thema der Antoninenkaiser in der theodosianischen Propaganda (vor allem bei Themistios und Claudian). „Justine" bezieht sich auf die Kaiserin Justina, (zweite) Gattin Valentinians I., deren Abstamung von Constantius Chlorus, dem Vater Konstantins des Großen, der Vf. begründet annimmt. Sie ist auch die Mutter Gallas, der Gemahlin Theodosius' I., und so ein Bindeglied zwischen der konstantinischen und der theodosianischen Dynastie. – Tinnefeld. [610

**Connolly S.**, *Constantine answers the veterans.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 93–114. – Kaldellis. [611

**Flower R.**, *The emperor's new past: re-enactment and inversion in Christian invectives against Constantius II.* (Nr. 22). – Berger.

**Foresi A.**, *Tivoli nella guerra gotica secondo Procopio di Cesarea. Interpretazioni e problemi storiografici.* (Nr. 155). – Luzzi.

**Girardet K.**, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen.* (Nr. 329). – Berger.

**Glad D.**, *L'état central et le ravitaillement des garnisons frontaliers (284–641 ap. J.-C.).* (Nr. 1603). – Krsmanović.

**Greatrex G.**, *Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the siege of Amida and its aftermath (502–6).* (Nr. 156). – Berger.

**Greatrex G.** (ed.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and war in Late Antiquity.* (Nr. 598). – Berger.

**Karimian H.**, *Cities and social order in Sasanian Iran – the archaeological potential.* Antiquity 84/324 (2010) 453–466. – Kaegi. [612

**Laniado A.**, *Belisarius in the City of God. Stephanus Antecessor on three ceremonies in Constantinople and Antioch.* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Co-*

*mutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 273–292. – Berger. [613

**Lounghis T. C.**, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Safeguarding East Roman identity (407–1204).* (Nr. 1610). – Berger.

**McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679). – Kaldellis.

**Millar F.**, *Rome's ›Arab‹ allies in Late Antiquity. Conceptions and representations from within the frontiers of the empire.* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 199–226. – Berger. [614

**Noethlichs K.-L.**, *Éthique Chrétienne dans la législation de Constantin le Grand.* (Nr. 1493). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Olajos T.**, *A contribution to the issue of post-Justinian political propaganda.* – **Petrovics I./Tóth S. L./Kongdon E. A.** (eds.), *"In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin". Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik.* (Nr. 1669) 11–19. – Juhász. [615

**Olajos T.**, *Заметки к хронологии вторжения ранних славян в Византию* (Nr. 873). – Juhász.

**Rebillard É.** (Hrsg.), *Les frontières du profane dans l'Antiquité tardive.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 428. Rom, École française de Rome 2010. 372 p. ISBN 978-2-7283-0867-5. – Laflı. [616

**Riedlberger P.**, *Recherches onomastiques relatives à la composition ethnique du personnel militaire en Afrique byzantine (546–548).* – **Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* (Nr. 1688) 253–271. – Berger. [617

**Ronchey S.**, *Ipazia. La vera storia.* (Nr. 18). – Berger.

**Saporetti C.**, *Breve storia dei ruderi di Roma, I.* (Nr. 1116). – Bianchi.

**Scardigli B.**, *Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον βάρβαροι (D. Cass. 72.3.1). Rapporti tra popolazioni "barbariche" sul Danubio e gli Imperatori Marco Aurelio, Costanzo II e Valentiniano I. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 493–515 . – Goria. [618

**Shahîd I.**, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century.* Volume 2, part 2. Washington. DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2010. XXIII, 391 p. ISBN 978-0-88402-347-0. – Besprechung s. oben S. 231–235. – Kaldellis. [619

**Siebigs G.**, *Kaiser Leo I. Das oströmische Reich in den ersten drei Jahren seiner Regierung (457–460 n. Chr.).* Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 276. Berlin, De

Gruyter 2010. 2 Bde. XVIII, 654 + XIII, 655–1070 S. ISBN 978-3-11-022584-6. – Berger. [620

**Szidat J.**, *Usurpator tanti nominis. Kaiser und Usurpator in der Spätantike (337–476 n. Chr.).* Historia Einzelschriften, 210. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner 2010. 458 S. ISBN 978-3-515-09636-2. – Berger. [621

**Tate G.**, *Giustiniano. Il tentativo di rifondazione dell'Impero.* Trad. dall'originale francese di Felice C. Biblioteca storica, 7. Roma, Salerno Editrice 2006. 1024 p. ISBN 88-840-2544-3. – Traduzione italiana di Tate G., Justinien. L'épopée de l'Empire d'Orient (527–565): cf. BZ 99, 2006, no. 2620. – Luzzi. [622

**Wood Ph.**, *'We have no king but Christ'. Christian political thought in Greater Syria on the eve of the Arab conquest (c. 400–585).* (Nr. 597). – Berger.

## b. 7.–12. Jahrhundert

**Al-Azmeh A.**, *Rome, New Rome and Baghdad: pathways of Late Antiquity.* (Nr. 602). – Berger.

**Angold M.**, *The Byzantine political process at crisis point.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 5–21. – This is a fresh look at the government of Leo III and Constantine V. – Stathakopoulos. [623

**Balogh L.**, *A 917 évi anchialosi csata és a magyarság* (The battle of Anchialos [A. D. 917] and the Hungarians). – **Révész É./Halmágyi M.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 5. Az V. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2007. június 7–8.) előadásai.* (Nr. 1774) 8–21. – Juhász. [624

**Balogh L.**, *A new source on the Hungarian raid against Byzantium in the middle of the 10th century.* Chronica 7 (2007) 16–25. – Juhász. [625

**Banaji J.**, *Late antique legacy and Muslim expansion.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 165–179. [626

**Chevedden P. E.**, *"A Crusade from the first": the Norman conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060–1091.* al-Masāq 22 (2010) 191–225. – Berger. [627

**Cheynet J.-C.**, *Les structures administratives de l'Empire byzantin aux Xe–XIIe siècles.* (Nr. 684). – Rhoby.

**Dapergolas N.**, *Σλαβικές εγκαταστάσεις στη Μακεδονία από τον 7ο έως και τον 9ο αιώνα.* Thessaloniki, Banias 2009. 212 S. ISBN 978-960-288-237-5. – Kotzabassi. [628

**Donner F.**, *Muhammad and the believers: at the origins of Islam.* Cambridge ec., The Belknap Press of Harvard University 2010. 304 p. ISBN 978-0-6740-5097-6. – Very important synthetic interpretation of emergence of Islam, with

some reference to broader relations with Byzantium and Syriac Christianity. – Kaegi. [629

**Enzensberger H.**, *Tecniche di governo in un paese multietnico.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 3–46. – Zur Regierungspraxis im normannischen Italien. – Berger. [630

**Falkenhausen V. von**, *I funzionari greci nel regno normanno.* (Nr. 687). – Berger.

**Georgiu S. G.**, *Το κίνημα του Θεοφίλου Ερωτικού (1042) και το «έθνος των Κυπρίων».* Byzantina 29 (2009) 151–162. – Kotzabassi. [631

**Hild F.**, *Verkehrswege zu Lande: Die Wege der Kreuzfahrer des Ersten und Zweiten Kreuzzuges in Kleinasien.* (Nr. 782). – Rhoby.

**Iatru S.**, *Μια παρατήρηση σχετική με τη χρονολόγηση της α' αβαροσλαβικής πολιορκίας της Θεσσαλονίκης.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 115–130. – Kotzabassi. [632

**Kaegi W. E.**, *Muslim expansion and Byzantine collapse in North Africa.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2010. xx, 345 p. ISBN 978-0-521-19677-2. – Berger. [633

**Kardaras G.**, *Όψεις συμβίωσης, συνεργασίας και επιδράσεων μεταξύ Αράβων και Σλάβων, 6ος-9ος αι.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 131–149. – Kotzabassi. [634

**Kennedy H.**, *Syrian Elites from Byzantium to Islam: survival or extinction?* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 181–200. – Morrisson/Berger. [635

**Kislinger E.**, *Giorgio di Antiochia e la politica marittima tra Normanni e Bisanzio.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 47–63. – Berger. [636

**Kislinger E.**, *Vertauschte Notizen. Anna Komnene und die Chronologie der byzantinisch-normannischen Auseinandersetzungen 1081–1085.* JÖB 59 (2009) 127–145. – Sehr gut aufbereitete Analyse der Arbeitsweise der Anna Komnene am Beispiel der Beschreibung der ersten byzantinisch-normannischen Auseinandersetzungen. Anna, die auf vorbereitende Aufzeichnungen und Informationen von anderer Seite zurückgriff, vertat sich manchmal in der Chronologie der Ereignisse. – Rhoby. [637

**Kisterev S. N.**, *Русско-греческие переговоры 971 г.* (The negotiations between Rus' and the Greeks in 971). Očerki feodal'noj Rossii 13 (2009) 3–64. – Ivanov. [638

**Kovács Sz.**, *A kunok 1094-es hadjárata a Bizánci Birodalom területén* (The Cuman campaign in the Byzantine Empire in 1094). – **G. Tóth P./Szabó P.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6: A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4–5.) előadásai.* (Nr. 1789) 135–146. – Juhász. [639

**Kovács Sz.**, *A kunok és az 1091-es lebunioni csata* (The Cumans and the battle of Lebunion in 1091). – **Rosta Sz.** (ed.), *„Kun-Kép". A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka. Tanulmányok Horváth Ferenc 60. születésnapja tiszteletére.* (Nr. 1665) 273–287. – Juhász. [640

**Kutubalas P.**, *Δύο δημηγορίες τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ζ′ Πορφυρογεννήτου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸ στὸ πλαίσιο τῶν ἀραβο-βυζαντινῶν συγκρούσεων.* (Nr. 123). – Telelis.

**Laskaratos I./Tsiames K.**, *Η νόσος του άνθρακα στο Βυζάντιο. Οι περιπτώσεις των Βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων Κων/νου Ε′ (741–775) και Λέοντα Δ′ (775–780).* (Nr. 1574). – Telelis.

**Lavermicocca N.**, *Bari bizantina, 1071–1156.* Il declino. Bari, Pagina 2006. IX, 186 p. [40] tav. f.t. ISBN 88-7470-029-6. – Continuazione di Lavermicocca N., «Bari bizantina. Capitale mediterranea» (BZ 98, 2005, no. 3240). – D'Aiuto. [641

**Lerou S.**, *Religion et politique: les entrées à Constantinople à l'époque des empereurs Comnènes.* (Nr. 697). – Berger.

**Lounghis T. C.**, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Safeguarding East Roman identity (407–1204).* (Nr. 1610). – Berger.

**Mansouri M. T.**, *Byzantium and the Arabs from the VIIth to XIth century.* (Nr. 874). – Berger.

**Morelli F.**, *'Amr e Martina: la reggenza di un'imperatrice o l'amministrazione araba d'Egitto.* ZPE 173 (2010) 136–157. – Berger. [642

**Moschonas N. G.**, *Η βενετική παρουσία στο Αιγαίο / La presenza veneziana nell'Egeo.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 35–54. – A short report on the Venetian presence in the Aegean sea from tenth to eighteenth century. – Gasparis. [643

**Olajos T.**, *Bizánc a magyar honfoglalás korában.* (Byzanz zur Zeit der ungarischen Landnahme). História 2008/2, 14–16. – Juhász. [644

**Pagliara A.**, *Contributo alla storia di Sicilia nel V sec. d. C. SEIA n. s. XIV.* Macerata, Edizioni Università di Macerata 2009. 94 p. ISBN 978-88-6056-207-4. – Berger. [645

**Panagopulu A. G.**, *Οι διπλωματικοί γάμοι στο Βυζάντιο (6ος–12ος αιώνας).* (Nr. 699). – Berger.

**Paul N. L.**, *A warlord's wisdom: literacy and propaganda at the time of the First Crusade.* (Nr. 26). – Kaegi.

**Prigent V.**, *La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs (6ème–8ème siècle).* – **Engels D./Geis L./Kleu M.** (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zum Spätmittelalter.* (Nr. 1795) 201–230. – Berger. [646

**Puccia M.**, *L'anonimo Carme di Supplica a Giorgio di Antiochia e l'elaborazione dell'idea imperiale alla corte di Ruggero II.* (Nr. 56). – Berger.

**Raev M.**, *The Russian-Byzantine treaty of 971. Theophilos and Sveneld.* (Nr. 1882). – Ronconi.

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα/Byzantina Symmeikta 19 (2009) 195–245. 6 tab., 6 maps. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/931. With Greek summary. – The apothekai, for which there is a good numerical sample of seals, are situated in regular war zones of the 7th and early 8th c. The presence of the warehouses' seals in the provinces of Asia Minor is the evidence for the efforts made by the central administration to reinforce the effectiveness of the military regiments. The apothekai system was initially enriched in the reigns of Constas II and Justinian II. Under Leo III the institution of the warehouses once again expanded all over the peninsula of Asia Minor. The re-establishment of the vassilika kommerkia, which probably reflects a far-reaching economic reform, also took place under Leo III. – Leontsini. [647

**Rotman Y.**, *Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Byzantine Italy: medieval conflicts in local perspective.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 223–235. – Stathakopoulos. [648

**Satta G.**, *La conquista araba di Siracusa, con l'Epistola di Teodosio monaco in appendice.* (Nr. 492). – Luzzi.

**Scheiner J. J.**, *Die Eroberung von Damaskus. Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit.* Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 76. Leiden, Brill 2010. XII, 816 p. ISBN 978-90-04-17684-3. – 10 detailed chapters of studies on the complex problems of the Muslim and Christian traditions for the initial Muslim capture of Damascus in the 630 s. Very careful scholarship. – Kaegi. [649

**Soto Chica J.**, *El día de Ağnadayn y los comienzos de la conquista árabe en Palestina.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 231–252. – Eine neue Datierung (29. August im Jahr 634) und geographische Deutung der entscheidenden Niederlage des Herakleios gegen die Araber wird vom Verf. durch eine vergleichende Analyse der arabischen, griechischen, syrischen, armenischen und hebräischen Quellen vorgeschlagen. – Signes. [650

**Stephenson P.**, *The rise of the middle Byzantine aristocracy and the decline of the imperial state.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 22–33. – Stathakopoulos. [651

**Stone A. F.**, *The missionaries of Manuel I.* (Nr. 325). – Ronconi.

**Strempel J.**, *Мечом и крестом* (By sword and cross). GEO 2010/12, 114–127. – A popular narrative on Basil II. – Ivanov. [652

**Tchkoidze E.**, *Μια πτυχή των πολιτικών σχέσεων Βυζαντίου-Γεωργίας τον 10ο αιώνα (Βάρδας Φωκάς και Δαυίδ κουροπαλάτης).* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 217–238. – Kotzabassi. [653

**Walmsley A.**, *Roads, travel and time 'across Jordan' in early Islamic times.* – **al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852) 459–466. – Useful information about speed and difficulty of travel. – Kaegi. [654

**Yeghiazaryan A.**, *Hay-Ap'xazakan paterazmnerě T'. d. 80-akan t'uakannerin ew Kłarĵk'i Kiwropałatut'iwně* (The Armenian-Abkhaz wars during the 80 s of the 9th century and the Couropalatisate of Qgharjk). Bazmavep 167 (2009) 182–192. – D'Aiuto. [655

**Živković T.**, *Sources de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète concernant le passé le plus ancien des Serbes et des Croates.* (Nr. 601). – Leontsini.

## c. 13.–15. Jahrhundert

**Albrecht S.**, *Vom Unglück der Sieger – Kreuzfahrer in Konstantinopel nach 1204.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 135–144. – Berger. [656

**Bliznyuk S.**, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern, Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert. Publikation von Dokumenten aus dem Archivio Segreto in Genua.* Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, 6. Frankurt/Main [u.a.], Peter Lang 2005. xvi, 409 p. ISBN 3-631-52906-6. – D'Aiuto. [657

**Coureas N.**, *Between the Latins and native tradition: The Armenians in Lusignan Cyprus, 1191–1473.* (Nr. 868). – D'Aiuto.

**Duran i Duelt D.**, *Diplomacia de cruzada. Las misiones de Manuel II Paleólogo a la Península Ibérica y la recaudación de subsidios.* – **Ramírez Vaquero E./Salicrú i Lluch R.** (eds.), *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media.* (Nr. 1805) 53–110. – Fundierte Studie über die drei byzantinischen Botschaften nach Aragón zwischen 1400 und 1410. Neue archivale Dokumente werden in Betracht gezogen. – Signes. [658

**Estangüi Gomez R.**, *Théodôra Palaiologina Philanthrôpènè et son lignage du 13e au 15e siècle.* REB 66 (2008) 125–172. – Riche étude concernant la reconstitution du grand lignage de Théodôra Palaiologina Philanthrôpènè (XIVe s.) grâce à l'analyse, entre autres, de documents édités (acte de Philothéou, n° 6) et inédites (un acte des archives de Vatopédi) concernant ses propriétés. – Ronconi. [659

**Ganchou Th.**, *Ilario Doria, le 'gambros' génois de Manuel Il Palaiologos: beau-frère ou gendre?* REB 66 (2008) 71–94. – L'idée reçue, selon laquelle le génois Ilario Doria aurait été le gendre de l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue, qui est basée sur une source diplomatique espagnole (XIVe s.), sur le témoignage de Laonikos Chalkokondylès (XVe s.), ainsi que sur l'Ekthésis chronikè et sur l'Historia politikè (sources patriarcales du XVIe s.), est trompeuse. Si le terme gambros, utilisé par deux témoignages grecs contemporains d'Ilario, signifie aussi bien gendre que beau-frère, une série de sources occidentales atteste qu'en réalité il était le beau-frère de l'empereur, ayant épousé une fille naturelle de Jean V Paléologue. – Ronconi. [660

**Gilles E.**, *"Nova Francia"?: kinship and identity among the Frankish aristocracy in conquered Byzantium, 1204–1282.* Volume 1. PhD dissertation, Princeton University 2010. 375 p. – "Considers the Franks' relationship to the west and their interactions with neighbors and subjects… the Franks made a varying set of accommodations to life in the east and the resulting culture was neither fully western nor wholly other." – Kaldellis. [661

**Hendrickx B./Sansaridou-Hendrickx Th.**, *The military organization and the army of the Despotate of the Tocco (14th–15th cent.).* Acta patriastica et byzantina 20 (2009) 215–231. – Berger. [662

**Kalusios D.**, *Ἕνα συνοδικὸ γράμμα τοῦ Νείλου Λαρίσης ὑπὲρ τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Μεγάλων Πυλῶν (Νοέμβριος 1381).* (Nr. 247). – Telelis.

**Kolditz S.**, *Des letzten Kaisers erste Frau: Konstantin Palaiologos und die Tocco.* JÖB 59 (2009) 147–161. – Rhoby. [663

**Kontogiannopulu A.**, *Η εσωτερική πολιτική του Ανδρονίκου Β´ Παλαιολόγου (1282–1328). Διοίκηση-Οικονομία.* Thessaloniki, Byzantine Research Centre 2004. 351 S. ISBN 960-785-615-5. – Kotzabassi. [664

**Lachmann R.** (Hrsg.), *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik.* (Nr. 592). – Berger.

**Markov N.**, *Завоюването на Константинопол от латините през 1204 година и войните им с българите (според анонимна френска хроника от края на XIII век)* (Nr. 593). – Nikolov.

**Matschke K.-P.**, *Rechtliche und administrative Organisation der Warenversorgung im byzantinischen Raum: Die Strukturen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts.* (Nr. 720). – Rhoby.

**Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 24. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 158 S. ISBN 978-3-7001-6685-6. – Ausgewählte Beiträge einer Konferenz zu „Sigismund von Luxemburg und seiner Zeit" in Oradea 2007, angezeigt hier als Nr. 24, 667, 669, 670, 675. – Rhoby. [665

**Mitsiou E.**, *Versorgungsmodelle im Nikänischen Kaiserreich.* (Nr. 722). – Rhoby.

**Morton N.**, *Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, and his claim to the Cypriot throne.* Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 19–35. – Parani. [666

**Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757). – Gasparis.

**Mureşan D. I.**, *Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue.* – **Mitsiou E./ Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665) 41–101. – Rhoby. [667

**Nanetti A.**, *Η πρώτη και η δεύτερη Ενετοκρατία στην Πυλία. Η περιοχή Πεταλίδι στα χρόνια της κυριαρχίας των Φράγκων, Ενετών, Βυζαντινών και Τούρκων. Ιστορικές και τοπογραφικές πληροφορίες περί των συνόρων της ενετικής Μεσσηνίας (1207–1500).* (Nr. 819). – Leontsini.

**Nturu-Eliopulu M.**, *Ειδήσεις για τους Δυτικούς στα νησιά του Αιγαίου (13ος–14ος αιώνας) / Notizie sui latini nelle isole dell'Egeo (13o–14o secolo).* (Nr. 831). – Gasparis.

**Perra Ph. B.**, *Ο Λέων της Μικράς Αρμενίας και ο «Λέων» της Βενετίας: Σχέσεις του Ρουπενίδη Λέοντα Β′ του Μεγάλου με τη Βενετική ναυτική δημοκρατία στις αρχές του 13ου αιώνα.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 261–272. – Kotzabassi. [668

**Popović M.**, *The Order of the Dragon and the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević.* – **Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665) 103–106. – Rhoby. [669

**Preiser-Kapeller J.**, *„Denn der Krieg umschließt uns von allen Seiten". Vorboten und Nachwehen der Schlacht von Nikopolis 1396 im Sprengel des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel.* – **Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665) 107–125. – Am Ende des Beitrages übersichtlicher Anhang „Ausgewählte kaiserliche und patriarchale Schreiben und Gesandtschaften an Destinäre und in Angelegenheiten außerhalb Konstantinopels vor und nach der Schlacht von Nikopolis (1396) bis zur Schlacht von Ankara (1402)". – Rhoby. [670

**Rader O. B.**, *Friedrich II. Ein Sizilianer auf dem Kaiserthron.* Biographie. München, Beck 2010. 592 S. ISBN 978-3-406-60485-0. – Tinnefeld. [671

**Ravegnani G.**, *Το δουκάτο του Αρχιπελάγους από τη βενετική κατάκτηση έως την επαύριο της πτώσης της λατινικής αυτοκρατορίας / Il ducato dell'Arcipelago dalla conquista veneziana all'indomani della caduta dell'impero latino.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 55–71. – The author focuses on the history of the Duchy of the Aegean from the its instauration to the end of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. – Gasparis. [672

**Saint-Guillain G.**, *Manouèl Kydônès (vers 1300–1341), diplomate byzantin, père de Dèmètrios Kydônès.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 341–357. – Le document de l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria inferiore, Notai, busta 42, notaio Andriolo Cristiano, quaderno 11 (qui renferme des minutes de documents concernant la période comprise entre mars 1390 et février 1391), contient l'annotation "D(ominus) Dimitri Quidoni de Constantinopoli quondam d(omini) Manulis". Concernant évidemment Démètrios Kydônès, la note en apprend le nom du père (Manulis = Manuel), dont on sait qui conduisit une ambassade chez les Mongoles de la Horde d'Or. Il permet aussi, à l'aide d'autres sources, de préciser la date de la mort de Manuel Kydônès. – Ronconi. [673

**Savvides A.**, *Ottoman-dominated Morea in the periods c. 1460–1699 and 1715–1833. A survey.* (Nr. 820). – Telelis.

**Schabel Ch./Minervini L.**, *The French and Latin dossier on the institution of the government of Amaury de Lusignan, Lord of Tyre, brother of King Henry II of Cyprus.* Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 75–119. – Parani. [674

**Simon A.**, *Annus mirabilis 1387. King Sigismund, the Ottomans and the Orthodox Christians in the late 1380 s and early 1390 s.* – **Mitsiou E./Popović M./ Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665) 127–152. – Rhoby. [675

**Sodi M.** (a cura di), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pius secundus, poeta laureatus, pontifex maximus. Atti del convegno internazionale 29 settembre – 1 ottobre 2005, Roma.* (Nr. 1781). – Berger.

# C. KULTUR- UND GEISTESGESCHICHTE

## a. Allgemein

**Al-Azmeh A.**, *Rome, New Rome and Baghdad: pathways of Late Antiquity.* (Nr. 602). – Berger.

**Ben-Zaken A.**, *Cross-cultural scientific exchanges in the eastern Mediterranean, 1560–1660.* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press 2010. 246 p. ill., maps. ISBN 978-0-8018-9476-3. – Challenges the idea of "incommensurable cultures" of the traditional narrative on idea exchanges in the Mediterranean world, and proposes a more realistic system of "mutually embraced zones" that brought together the Christian and Islamic spheres. – Touwaide. [676

**Den Heijer J./La Spisa P.**, *La migration du savoir entre les communautés. Le cas de la littérature arabe chrétienne.* Revue Res Antiquae 7 (2010) 63–72. – Laflı. [677

**Grivaud G.**, *Entrelacs chiprois. Essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans la royaume de Chypre, 1191–1570.* Nicosie, Moufflon Publications 2009. 359 S. ISBN 978-9963-642-29-8. – Parani. [678

**Herrin J.**, *Det bysantinska riket.* Höör, Agering 2009. 432 p. color ills. ISBN 978-91-86119-05-8. Swedish translation of Byzantium: The surprising life of a medieval Empire (2007). Translation H. Williamsson, expert reviewer J. O. Rosenqvist. – Nilsson. [679

**Holmes C.**, *Political literacy.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 137–148. – An "exploration of how written culture shaped the expectations and behaviour of those involved in politics" focusing on the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries. – Stathakopoulos. [680

**Kollig I. C./Jacinto Fragata M. J. J. /Alt K. W.**, *Anthropologische Forschungen zum Byzantinischen Reich – ein Stiefkind der Wissenschaft.* (Nr. 892). – Berger.

**Luttwak E. N.**, *Стратегия Византийской империи* (The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire). Moscow, Universitet Dmitrija Požarskogo 2010. 664 p. ISBN 978-5-91244-015-1. – Russian translation of Luttwak's 2009 book. – Ivanov. [681

**Mitsiou E./Popović M./Preiser-Kapeller J./Simon A.** (Hrsg.), *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World.* (Nr. 665). – Rhoby.

**Russell E.**, *Byzantine studies: a discussion of methodologies.* Perspectives [American Historical Association] 48/ 4 (2010) 25–27. – Emphasis on state of studies on Palaeologan cultural and spiritual history. – Kaegi. [682

**Troncarelli F.**, *Boezio a Costantinopoli: testi, contesti, edizioni.* Litterae Caelestes n.s. 3 (2008–2009 [2010]) 191–225. – Sul rapporto della Disputatio contra Acephalos del diacono Rustico (VI secolo) con la Consolatio boeziana, e sulla circolazione e fortuna di Boezio presso gli Anici e negli ambienti aristocratici della Costantinopoli giustinianea. – D'Aiuto. [683

## b. Verwaltung und Verfassung/Kaiser(tum)

### Verwaltung und Verfassung

**Cheynet J.-C.**, *Les structures administratives de l'Empire byzantin aux Xe–XIIe siècles.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 59–70. – Rhoby. [684

**Costanza S.**, *Aspetti e problemi della fiscalità nel tardo Impero romano. Normativa imperiale, fonti pagane e fonti cristiane a confronto.* Sintesi e proposte, 42. San Cataldo-Caltanissetta: Centro studi Cammarata-Lussografica 2005. 127 p. ISBN 88-8243-135-5. – D'Aiuto. [685

**De Simone A.**, *Note sui titoli arabi di Giorgio di Antiochia.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 283–308. – Berger. [686

**Di Paola L.**, *I «curiosi» in età tardoantica: riflessioni in margine al titolo VI,29 del Teodosiano.* (Nr. 1483). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Falkenhausen V. von**, *I funzionari greci nel regno normanno.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 165–202. – Berger. [687

**Matschke K.-P.**, *Rechtliche und administrative Organisation der Warenversorgung im byzantinischen Raum: Die Strukturen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts.* (Nr. 720). – Rhoby.

**Potter D.**, *The unity of the Roman Empire.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 13–32. – Tinnefeld. [688

**Ustjan A.R.**, *Византийская политология: теория и практика* (Political science in Byzantium: Theory and practice). Moscow 2010. 272 p. ISBN 978-5-903505-11-1. – Ivanov. [689

## Kaiser(tum)

**Szidat J.**, *Usurpator tanti nominis. Kaiser und Usurpator in der Spätantike (337–476 n. Chr.).* (Nr. 621). – Berger.

**Anagnostakis I.**, *Paroinia en pourpre: le pouvoir du vin et l'ivresse du pouvoir à Byzance. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 897–957. – Sull'accusa di παροινία (in senso concreto, ma anche metaforico come ebbrezza di un potere tirannicamente esercitato) quale elemento di Kaiserkritik. – D'Aiuto. [690

**Bauer F. A.**, *Byzantinische Geschenkdiplomatie.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 1–55. – Berger. [691

**Caltabiano M.**, *La comunità degli Elleni: cultura e potere alla corte dell'imperatore Giuliano.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 137–149. – Macé. [692

**Chausson F.**, *Stemmata Aurea. Constantin, Justine, Théodose. Revendications généalogiques et idéologie impériale au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* (Nr. 610). – Tinnefeld.

**Di Cosmo A. P.**, *Regalia Signa. Iconografia e simbologia della potestà imperiale.* Porphyra Supplemento 10 (2010). 67 p. http://www.porphyra.it/Supplemento10.pdf. – Berger. [693

**Flusin B.**, *Le triomphe des images et la nouvelle définition de l'orthodoxie. À propos d'un chapitre du De cerimoniis (I. 37).* (Nr. 124). – D'Aiuto.

**Gallina M.**, *L'ortodossia in armi? Liturgia imperiale e militarizzazione della società religiosa nell'impero bizantino.* Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 5 (2008) 45–71. – Pur in mancanza, a Bisanzio, di una sistematica riflessione dottrinale su guerra ed etica religiosa, si individuano alcuni punti di snodo ideologico – dal Tardo Antico al VII secolo, dalla contrapposizione con l'islam a quella con i Latini nel 1204 – dei concetti, più o meno larvati, di «guerra giusta», «guerra condotta sotto l'insegna di Dio», «martirio in guerra», «guerra santa». – D'Aiuto. [694

**Johnson M. J.**, *The Roman imperial mausoleum in late antiquity.* Cambridge, University Press 2009. XVIII, 296 S. 128 Abb., 16 Farbtafeln. ISBN 978-0-521-51371-5. – Tinnefeld. [695

**Künzl E.**, *Auf dem Weg in das Mittelalter: die Gräber Constantins, Theoderichs und Chlodwigs.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 3–22. – Berger. [696

**Lerou S.**, *Religion et politique: les entrées à Constantinople à l'époque des empereurs Comnènes.* – **Bérenger A./Perrin-Saminadayar E.** (éds.), *Les entrées royales et impériales. Histoire, représentation et diffusion d'une cérémonie publique, de l'Orient ancien à Byzance.* (Nr. 1792) 199–221. – Berger. [697

**Panagopulu A.**, *Ο βυζαντινός αυτοκρατορικός θεσμός στο στόχαστρο του πατριάρχη Φωτίου και των ηγεμόνων της δύσης τον 9ο αιώνα.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 231–257. – Kotzabassi. [698

**Panagopulu A. G.**, *Οι διπλωματικοί γάμοι στο Βυζάντιο (6ος–12ος αιώνας).* Athena, Libanes 2006. 550 S. ISBN 978-960-14-1369-3. – Überarbeitete Fassung einer Dissertation Ioannina 1991. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Berger. [699

**Tsamakda V.**, *König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 23–54. – Berger. [700

**Grünbart M.**, *Der Kaiser weint. Anmerkungen zur imperialen Inszenierung von Emotionen in Byzanz.* Frühmittelalterliche Studien (2009) 89–108. – Berger. [701

## c. Wirtschaft und Handel; Städte

### Wirtschaft und Handel

**Almuraikhi S. S.**, *Trade relations between the Gulf Area and the East coast of Africa from the 10th to the 15th century AD / 4th to 9th century AH.* (Nr. 855). – Telelis.

**Androshchuk F.**, *Vikings and farmers. Some remarks on the social interpretation of swords and long-distance contacts during the Viking Age.* – **Holmquist Olausson L./Olausson M.** (eds.), *The Martial Society: Aspects of warriors, fortifications and social change in Scandinavia.* (Nr. 1799) 93–104. – Nilsson. [702

**Aristeidu Ai. Ch.**, *Διοίκηση και οικονομία.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 101–119. – Parani. [703

**Baker J.**, *Νομίσματα, νομισματοκοπία και νομισματοκοπεία στις μεσαιωνικές Κυκλάδες. 13ος–15ος αιώνας / Monete, monetazione e zecche nelle Cicladi Medievali. 13o–15o secolo.* (Nr. 823). – Gasparis.

**Baloglou Ch. P.**, *Economic and social thought in the Byzantine times.* Yavanikā. Indo-Hellenic Studies 13 (2010) 37–71. – Troianos. [704

**Banaji J.**, *Late antique legacy and Muslim expansion.* (Nr. 626).

**Bliznyuk S.**, *Die Genuesen auf Zypern, Ende 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert. Publikation von Dokumenten aus dem Archivio Segreto in Genua.* (Nr. 657). – D'Aiuto.

**Bresc H.**, *Mer morte et oliviers perdus. Repli et survie de l'olivaie méditerranéenne (IVe–XIIe siècle). – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 55–106. – D'Aiuto. [705

**Christides V.**, *Transportation of elephants in Hellenistic and Byzantine Egypt.* (Nr. 854). – Rhoby.

**Coureas N.**, *Commercial relations between Cyprus and Constantinople during the fourteenth century.* Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 121–136. – Parani. [706

**Dimitrov D.**, *Търговията с вино на западночерноморския пазар през XIV в.* (Nr. 1885). – Nikolov.

**Duran i Duelt D.**, *Els mallorquins a la Romania (segles XIII–XVI).* – **Barceló Crespí M.**, *XXVI Jornades d'estudis històrics locals. El Regne de Mallorca: cruïlla de gents i de cultures (segles XIII–XV).* (Nr. 1709) 241–255. – Der Aufenthalt von mallorkinischen Händlern im byzantinischen Osten wird durch neue archivale Untersuchungen bewiesen. – Signes. [707

**Duran i Duelt D.**, *Presencia hispánica en Rodas. A propósito del albergue de la lengua de España.* Mramegh 19 (2009) 97–112. – Schwerpunkt ist die Anwesenheit von spanischen Händlern auf Rhodos im 14. Jh. – Signes. [708

**Gaffney V./Gaffney H.**, *Modelling routes and communications.* (Nr. 779). – Rhoby.

**Gasparis Ch.**, *The trade of agricultural products in the eastern Mediterranean and the regional sea routes from thirteenth to fifteenth century.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Wa-*

*renversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 93–104. – Rhoby. [709

**Greene M.**, *Catholic pirates and Greek merchants. A maritime history of the Mediterranean.* Princeton modern Greek studies. Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press 2010. XIV, 305 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-691-14197-8. – Investigates the intricacies of the Mediterranean maritime trade, where the Catholic Pirates are the Knight of St John in Malta, and their victims the Greek merchants, who were subjects of the Ottoman empire. Though out of the chronological frame of Byzantium, shows that the traditional partition of the Mediterranean world (Christians and Muslims) needs revision. – Touwaide. [710

**Haldon J.**, *Commodities and traffic routes: results and prospects. Current problems and current research.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 289–294. – Abschließende Betrachtung des Symposions. – Rhoby. [711

**Jacoby D.**, *Mediterranean food and wine for Constantinople: the long-distance trade, eleventh to mid-fifteenth century.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 127–147. – Rhoby. [712

**Jacoby D.**, *The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: trade, settlement, and politics.* Nikolau-Konnare A. (Hrsg.), Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη (BZ 103, 2009, Nr. 4029) 59–100. – Parani. [713

**Kaplan M.**, *La viticulture byzantine (VIIe–XIe siècle). – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 163–211. – Lamentando la mancanza di uno studio monografico sul tema di uva e vino a Bisanzio, intende rintracciare, grazie all'esame di un ampio dossier di fonti letterarie e documentarie, alcune linee generali di tendenza, evidenziando ulteriori piste di ricerca. – D'Aiuto. [714

**Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 18. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 304 S. mit zahlr. Abb., Karten u. Plänen. ISBN 978-3-7001-6680-1. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 684, 709, 711, 712, 716, 717, 718, 720, 722, 775, 779, 782, 786, 787, 821, 854, 899, 1299. – Rhoby. [715

**Kislinger E.**, *«Graecorum vinum» nel millennio bizantino.* (Nr. 761). – D'Aiuto.

**Koder J.**, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Problemstellung, Quellenlage und Methoden.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 13–24. – Thematische Einführung in den Sammelband. – Rhoby. [716

**Kolias T. G.**, *Die Versorgung des byzantinischen Marktes mit Tieren und Tierprodukten.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 175–184. – Rhoby. [717

**Külzer A.**, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Wirtschaftliche Aspekte byzantinischer Pilgerzentren.* (Nr. 787). – Rhoby.

**Ludwig C.**, *Erzeugung, Beschaffung und Konsum von Lebensmitteln in früh- und mittelbyzantinischer Zeit.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 197–204. – Rhoby. [718

**Maniatis G. C.**, *The corps of overseers of the equestrian trade market of Constantinople, tenth-twelfth centuries.* BMGS 34 (2010) 142–159. – Stathakopoulos. [719

**Matschke K.-P.**, *Rechtliche und administrative Organisation der Warenversorgung im byzantinischen Raum: Die Strukturen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 205–221. – Rhoby. [720

**McCormick M.**, *Le origini dell'economia europea. Comunicazioni e commercio 300–900 d.C.* Milano, Vita e Pensiero 2008. XXX,1170 p. ill. nel testo. ISBN 978-88-343-1156-1. – Traduzione in italiano di Michele Sampaolo del volume sul commercio nell'alto medioevo uscito nel 2001, cf. BZ 95, 2002, no. 2955. – Luzzi. [721

**Mitsiou E.**, *Versorgungsmodelle im Nikänischen Kaiserreich.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 223–240. – Rhoby. [722

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Der Handel mit byzantinischen Metallwaren aus archäologischer Sicht (Gürtelschnallen, Frauenschmuck, Zaumzeug, Bronzegefäße).* (Nr. 899). – Rhoby.

**Skinner P.**, *Commercio internazionale e politica locale nell'Amalfi medievale: le porte di bronzo e i loro donatori nell'XI secolo.* (Nr. 1254). – D'Aiuto.

**Soustal P.**, *Wirtschaft und Handelsleben auf dem Heiligen Berg Athos.* (Nr. 821). – Rhoby.

**Spadaro M. D.**, *Bisanzio e le vie del mare: rotte commerciali e militari.* (Nr. 791). – D'Aiuto.

## Städte

**Agosti G.**, *Reliquie argonautiche nella tarda antichità: un oracolo fra Cizico e Atene.* (Nr. 47). – D'Aiuto.

**Anagnostakes I.**, *Μετονομασίες-μετοικεσίες: Η περίπτωση της βυζαντινής Κορώνης* – **Pantazopulos P./Kulukea E.** (eds.), *Ομηρική Αίπεια – Αρχαία Κορώνη – Πεταλίδι. Παρελθόν, Παρόν και Μέλλον, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου (5–7 Αυγούστου 2005).* (Nr. 1766) 45–69. – The transformation of ancient Asine to Byzantine Korone dated in the reign of Nikephoros I., the partial abandon of the ancient site of Petalidi during the Early Byzantine period and the agricultural development of the region S. of Byzantine Korone are inscribed in the central policy of the population transfer as well the recovery of the local economy and the church and civil institutions of the middle-Byzantine period. The study follows the new topography of settlements through literature and archaeology. – Leontsini. [723

**Dančeva-Vassileva A.**, *Пловдив (Филипопол) по времето на династията на Комнините (1081–1185)* (Plovdiv [Philipopolis] in der Zeit der Dynastie der Komnenen, 1081–1185). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./ Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 118–119. – Behandelt wird die politische und soziale Geschichte der Stadt. Zwei der Religionsgemeinschaften: die Paulikianer und die Armenier zeichneten sich deutlich ab und waren Angriffsobjekte seitens der orthodoxen Christen. Nach dem 1. und dem 2. Kreuzzug entstand in der Stadt ein „Lateinerviertel". – Nikolov. [724

**Jacoby D.**, *The economy of Byzantine Constantinople, ca. 850–1453. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 92–101. – Dennert. [725

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* (Nr. 647). – Leontsini.

**Stančeva M.**, *София от древността до нови времена* (Sofia von der Antike bis zu den neueren Zeiten). Sofia, «Izdatelstvo na Nov bălgarski universitet» [2010]. 191 S. ISBN 978-954-535-579-0. – Geschichte Sofias von den urge-

schichtlichen Zeiten bis zum 17. Jh., basierend vornehmlich auf archäologischem Material. Ohne Fußnoten. Mit zahlreichen Farb- und schwarz-weiß-Fotos. Addenda: Ausgewählte Bibliografie von Magdalina Stančeva (185–191). – Nikolov. [726

## d. Gesellschaft

### Allgemein

**Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* (Nr. 259). – Berger/Kaegi.

**Garnsey P.**, *Roman patronage.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 33–54. – Tinnefeld. [727

**Grivaud G.**, *Une société en guerre: Chypre face à la conquête ottomane.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 194–203. – Parani. [728

**Guizzi F.**, *Per una definizione della povertà nel IV secolo.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) I 505–528. – Goria. [729

**Kaldellis A.**, *The study of women and children: methodological challenges and new directions.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 61–71. – Stathakopoulos. [730

**Kalopise-Berte S.**, *Επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες από τη βυζαντινή Μάνη.* (Nr. 950). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Kennedy H.**, *Syrian Elites from Byzantium to Islam: survival or extinction?* (Nr. 635). – Morrisson/Berger.

**Kitromelides P. M.**, *Κύπριοι στη Βενετία.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 207–217. – Parani. [731

**Konstantudake-Kitromelidu M.**, *Η Isabelle de Lusignan Καντακουζηνή και τα τιμαλφή της από τον Μυστρά στην Κρήτη.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 161–170. – Anhand eines notariellen Vertrags vom Jahr 1390 im Staatsarchiv von Venedig, in dem erwähnt wird, daß Isabelle de Lusignan Kantakuzene ihre Schmuckstücke, Silbergefäße etc. von einem Notar in Chandax/Kreta im Jahr 1390 persönlich abholte, sammelt die Autorin alle Nachrichten über die Persönlichkeit von Isabelle, Ehefrau des Manuel Kantakuzenos, Despoten von Mystra (1348–1380). – Kalopissi-Verti. [732

**Kovács Sz.**, *Alan women in the neighbouring foreign courts in the 11–12th centuries.* Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged 7–8 (2007–2008) 134–143. – Juhász. [733

**Kureas N.**, *Το γαλλικό στοιχείο στον πολιτισμό της Κύπρου επί Φραγκοκρατίας: Μια ποικιλόμορφη, διαχρονική και πολυδιάστατη σχέση.* Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών 8 (2007 [2008]) 28–46. – Parani. [734

**Laurence P.**, *Les femmes dans le Code Théodosien: perspectives.* (Nr. 1490). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Morris R.**, *Reciprocal gifts on Mount Athos in the tenth and eleventh centuries.* – **Davies W./Fouracre P.** (eds), *The languages of gift in the early Middle Ages.* (Nr. 1721) 171–192. – Stathakopoulos. [735

**Neville L.**, *Strong women and their husbands in Byzantine historiography.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 72–82. – Stathakopoulos. [736

**Panagiotide M.**, *Σχολιάζοντας τους ζωγράφους. Μερικά παραδείγματα τοιχογραφιών από τη Μάνη.* (Nr. 961). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Pennas Ch.**, *Βυζαντινή παράδοση και τοπική κοινωνία στην έδρα του δουκάτου της Νάξου. Η μαρτυρία των μνημείων / Tradizione bizantina e società locale nella sede del ducato di Nasso. La testimonianza dei monumenti.* (Nr. 833). – Gasparis.

**Phalangas A.**, *Όψεις της μεταβυζαντινής κοινωνίας του 16ου αιώνος. Οι άρχοντες στην Κωνσταντινούπολη και στις Ηγεμονίες.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 341–351. – Berger. [737

**Prinzing G.**, *Slaves and slavery.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 92–102. – Stathakopoulos. [738

**Saint-Guillain G.**, *«Ιππότες, φεουδάρχες, αστοί και άλλοι υποτελείς»: Οι μορφές κοινωνικής υπεροχής στις δεσποτείες των Κυκλάδων (13ος–15ος αιώνας) / «Cavalieri, feudatari, borghesi e altri vassali»: Le forme di notabilità nelle signorie delle Cicladi (13o–15o secolo).* (Nr. 834). – Gasparis.

**Schade K.**, *The female body in Late Antiquity: between virtue, taboo and eroticism.* – **Fögen Th./Lee M. M.**, *Bodies and boundaries in Graeco-Roman antiquity.* (Nr. 1796) 215–236. – Berger. [739

**Sogno C.**, *Roman matchmaking.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 55–71. – Zur Praxis der Heiratspolitik. – Tinnefeld. [740

**Soler E.**, *La législation impériale «De scaenicis» dans le Code Théodosien (XV, 7).* (Nr. 1500). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Tougher S.**, *Cherchez l'homme! Byzantine men: a eunuch perspective.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 83–91. – Stathakopoulos. [741

**Tougher S.**, *The eunuch in Byzantine history and society.* London [e. a.], Routledge 2008. XI, 244 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-415-42524-7. – Berger. [742

**Venticinque P. F.**, *Family affairs: guild regulations and family relationships in Roman Egypt.* GRBS 50/2 (2010) 273–294. – Kaegi. [743

**Watts E.**, *Riot in Alexandria: tradition and group dynamics in late antique pagan and Christian communities.* Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 46. Berkeley, University of California Press 2010. XV, 290 p. ISBN 978-0-5202-6207-2. – Examines how the groups involved in religious conflict in late fifth century Alexandria constructed and modified their identities and traditions, especially the pagan professoriate, the monks, the bishop, and the parabalani. / Draws on a range of 4th–7th century literary sources, including Eunapius, Damascius, monastic hagiographies, and polemical literature to offer a detailed and fresh analysis of cultural and social conflict in Alexandria and environs; includes excellent bibliography, and helpful appendix on Zacharias Scholasticus. – Kaldellis / Schott. [744

## Prosopographie

**Barker J. W.**, *Thoughts on Byzantine dynastic marriage policies: or, were the Palaiologoi really Italians?* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 47–56. – Berger. [745

**Di Branco M.**, *Da Ferrara a Firenze. Gli itinerari delle delegazioni conciliari (gennaio–febbraio 1439) e le visite di Eugenio IV e Giovanni VIII a Pistoia.* (Nr. 349). – D'Aiuto.

**Estangüi Gomez R.**, *Théodôra Palaiologina Philanthrôpènè et son lignage du 13e au 15e siècle.* (Nr. 659). – Ronconi.

**Handley M. A.**, *Two hundred and seventy-four addenda and corrigenda to the Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire from the Latin-speaking Balkans.* Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 113–158. – Based on inscriptions. – Kaldellis. [746

**Kaldellis A./Efthymiadis S.**, *The prosopography of Byzantine Lesbos 284–1355 A.D. A contribution to the social history of the Byzantine province.* Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 22. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 204 S. ISBN 978-3-7001-4005-4. – Alphabetische Auflistung der mit Lesbos in Verbindung stehenden Personen (299 Nummern). – Rhoby. [747

**Kolditz S.**, *Des letzten Kaisers erste Frau: Konstantin Palaiologos und die Tocco.* (Nr. 663). – Rhoby.

**Manini M.**, *Liber de Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae: prosopografia e sepolture imperiali.* (Nr. 125). – D'Aiuto.

**Nikolau-Konnare A.**, *Κύπριοι της διασποράς στην Ιταλία μετά το 1570/1: η περίπτωση της οικογένειας Δενόρες.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 218–239. – Parani. [748

**Patapiu N.**, *Ο πυροβολητής Angelo da Lago Trivisiano. Ειδήσεις από τη μικροϊστορία του πολέμου της Κύπρου (1570–1571).* Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 181–195. – Parani. [749

**Patapiu N.**, *Υπερασπιστές της Αμμοχώστου το 1570–1571 από τη Μεθώνη: οικογένεια Μεθωναίου (Da Modon) και οικογένεια Λυκουρέση.* Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 143–180. – Parani. [750

**Perentides S.**, *Ο Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς για τους προγόνους και την συγγένεια.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 279–289. – Berger. [751

**Troncarelli F.**, *Boezio a Costantinopoli: testi, contesti, edizioni.* (Nr. 683). – D'Aiuto.

## e. Bildung und Unterricht

**Bianconi D.**, *Umanesimi d'Oriente e d'Occidente: Massimo Planude e Francesco Petrarca.* (Nr. 193). – D'Aiuto.

**Cooper K./Hillner J.** (eds.), *Religion, dynasty, and patronage in early Christian Rome, 300–900.* Cambridge [e. a.], Cambridge University Press 2007. XV, 327 p. ISBN 978-0-521-87641-4. – Berger. [752

**Di Branco M.**, *L'affaire Ipazia.* Archeo 26/304 (2010) 28–41. num. fig. – Articolo divulgativo sulla celebre filosofa alessandrina della fine del IV secolo. – Bianchi. [753

**Karathanases A. E.**, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς δραστηριότητος τῶν Ζυγομαλάδων.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 197–205. – Berger. [754

## f. Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur

**Akyürek E.**, *Death in Byzantine society. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 166–177. – Dennert. [755

**Albrecht S.**, *Warum tragen wir einen Gürtel? Der Gürtel der Byzantiner – Symbolik und Funktion.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 79–95. – Berger. [756

**Ball J.**, *The missing link: filling the gap in the evolution of medieval domestic looms.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 40–46. – Berger. [757

**Barmina V. E.**, *Феномен женственности в культуре средневековья (На материале артефактов письменной культуры Византии и Древней Руси)* (The phenomenon of femininity in Medieval culture, on the basis of the evidence of written culture of Byzantium and Old Rus'). D1 degree dissertation in Cultural Studies. Yekaterinburg State University 2009. 146 p. – Ivanov. [758

**Chajredinova E.**, *Byzantinische Elemente in der Frauentracht der Krimgoten im 7. Jahrhundert.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 59–94. – Berger. [759

**Crogiez-Pétrequin S.**, *Le terme «mansio» dans le Code Théodosien: une approche de définition.* (Nr. 1481). – Goria/D'Aiuto.

**Dennis G. T.**, *Some notes on hunting in Byzantium.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 131–134. – Berger. [760

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

**Kislinger E.**, *«Graecorum vinum» nel millennio bizantino. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 631–670. – Studio dedicato a «provenienza e vendita del vino e, in concomitanza, qualità e apprezzamento dei vari tipi», in connessione anche con l'accettazione sociale del suo consumo e alle motivazioni che le stanno dietro. – D'Aiuto. [761

**Kokoszko M./Gibel-Buszewska A.**, *The term Kandaulos/Kandylos in the Lexicon of Photius and the Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem of Eustathius of Thessalonica.* BZ 104 (2011) 125–145. – Berger. [762

**Kyriakidis S.**, *The division of booty in late Byzantium (1204–1453).* (Nr. 1609). – Rhoby.

**Martin J.-M.**, *Les bains dans l'Italie méridionale au Moyen Âge (VIIe–XIIIe siècle).* – **Guérin-Beauvois M./Martin J.-M.** (a cura di), *Bains curatifs et bains hygiéniques en Italie de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge.* (Nr. 1734) 53–78. – D'Aiuto. [763

**Pitarakis B.**, *Daily life in Byzantine Constantinople. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 144–155. – Dennert. [764

**Rabinowitz A./Sedikova L./Henneberg R.**, *Daily life in a provincial late Byzantine city: recent multidisciplinary research in the southern region of Tauric Chersonesos (Cherson).* (Nr. 1066). – Berger.

**Russo F.**, *La guerra del fuoco.* Archeo 26/300 (2010) 104–109. num. fig. – Articolo divulgativo ma interessante su ritrovamenti archeologici relativi al cosiddetto "fuoco greco", già noto, secondo l'autore, nel IV secolo. – Bianchi. [765

**Tsiames K.**, *Ο λοιμός του Ιουστινιανού κατά τους Βυζαντινούς χρονογράφους και ιστορικούς.* Δελτίο Ελληνικής Μικροβιολογικής Εταιρείας 46 (5) (2001) 534–542. – The Justinianic plague as recorded by the Byzantine chronographers and historians. – Telelis. [766

**Tsiamis C.**, *Behavior parallels between pagan and Christian epidemics (Thucydides Syndrome and Justinian plague).* Asclepios 3 (22) (2009) 11–15. – Telelis. [767

**Witte J.**, *Freizeitbeschäftigung in Amorium: die Spiele.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 387–394. – Berger. [768

## g. Volkskunde, Volksglauben, Magie

**Bulgares S.-K.**, *Εκ Βουλγάρεων. Ένα οικογενειακό χρονικό. Πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Βαλκανική.* (Nr. 1602). – Leontsini.

**Katsaros B.**, *Περὶ τοῦ ἰαματικοῦ περγαμηνοῦ χειρογράφου Εὐαγγελίου τῆς μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος Καρδαμύλης τῆς επαρχίας Οἰτύλου τῆς Μάνης.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 99–115. Taf. V, 18–20. – Kommentare zu einem spätbyzantinischen Evangeliarcodex (13./14. Jh.) aus dem Kloster der Verklärung Christi in Kardamyle/Mane, dem heilkräftige Eigenschaften zugeschrieben worden sind; heute befindet sich der Kodex in der Dauerausstellung im Pikulakes-Turm in Areopolis/Mane. – Kalopissi-Verti. [769

**Kokkore B.**, *Ἐάν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεύς …: βασιλικά όνειρα στο Ὀνειροκριτικόν τοῦ Ἀχμέτ.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 195–216. – Kotzabassi. [770

**Patera M.**, *Gylou, démon et sorcière, du monde byzantin au monde néo-grec.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 311–327. – Analyse concernant Gylou/Gélou et les Géloudes (figures féminines dotées de pouvoirs surnaturels qui nuisent aux petits enfants), menée à l'aide d'une ample documentation comprenant, pour l'époque byzantine, la Vie du patriarche Tarasios d'Ignace le Diacre, un texte de Michel Psellos, plusieurs exorcismes anonymes contenus dans des manuscrits de périodes variées ainsi qu'inscrits sur des amulettes – Ronconi. [771

# 6. GEOGRAPHIE, TOPOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE

## A. GEOGRAPHIE UND TOPOGRAPHIE

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Farkas Cs.**, *Bizánc.* – **Szántó R.** (ed.), *Középkori egyetemes történelem (térképvázlatok gyűjteménye)* (Nr. 773) 168–189. – Juhász. [772

**Kislinger E.**, *Verkehrsrouten zur See im byzantinischen Raum.* (Nr. 786). – Rhoby.

**Koder J.**, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Problemstellung, Quellenlage und Methoden.* (Nr. 716). – Rhoby.

### b. Quellen, Kartenwerke, Sammelwerke

**Barakov V.**, *Крепостното строителство по горното течение на реките Росица и Янтра през късната античност и средновековието* (Nr. 1901). – Nikolov.

**Cavazzana Romanelli F.**, *Oltre la mappa di Leonida Attar. Itinerari di ricerca archivistica.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 264–280. – Parani. [774

**Dančeva-Vassileva A.**, *Пловдив (Филипопол) по времето на династията на Комнините (1081–1185)* (Nr. 724). – Nikolov.

**Stančeva M.**, *София от древността до нови времена* (Nr. 726). – Nikolov.

**Szántó R.** (ed.), *Középkori egyetemes történelem (térképvázlatok gyűjteménye)* (Mittelalterliche Weltgeschichte. Karten). Szeged/Miskolc, JATE Press 2007 (2. Auflage). ISBN 963-9704-19-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 772. – Juhász. [773

### c. Pilgerfahrt und Reise

**Belke K.**, *Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im Byzantinischen Reich.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 45–58. – Rhoby. [775

**Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* Thessalonike, University Studio Press 2008. 542 S. Ill. ISBN 978-960-88423-6-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 314, 386, 520, 521, 777, 778, 781, 784, 785, 788, 789, 790, 792, 793, 917, 925, 927, 934, 938, 956,

970, 976, 977, 987, 1013, 1070, 1074, 1079, 1089, 1093, 1095, 1108, 1207. – Berger. [776

**Elad A.**, *Pilgrims and pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Hebron during the early Muslim period.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 349–359. – Berger. [777

**Foukaneli G.**, *Pilgrimage to South Sinai: Biblical traditions and the veneration of saints in the environment of the Sinai monastic community.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 341–347. 1 fig. Griechischer Text 515–517. – Berger. [778

**Gaffney V./Gaffney H.**, *Modelling routes and communications.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 79–91. – Rhoby. [779

**Grishin S.**, *A Byzantine pilgrim: Bars'kyj's manuscript and its real and imagined audiences.* – **Kratzmann G.** (ed.), *Imagination, Books & Community in Medieval Europe.* (Nr. 1743) 145–152. – Moffatt. [780

**Hadjitryphonos E.**, *The Pilgrimage monument as space in Eastern Mediterranean, The "Egeria" Project.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 31–48. 23 fig. – Berger. [781

**Haldon J.**, *Commodities and traffic routes: results and prospects. Current problems and current research.* (Nr. 711). – Rhoby.

**Hild F.**, *Verkehrswege zu Lande: Die Wege der Kreuzfahrer des Ersten und Zweiten Kreuzzuges in Kleinasien.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 105–125. – Rhoby. [782

**Jašaeva T.**, *Pilgerandenken im byzantinischen Cherson.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 479–491. – Berger. [783

**Karagianni F.**, *Pilgrimage churches as ecclesiastical centres and places of worship.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 331–340. 10 fig. Griechischer Text 511–514. – Berger. [784

**Kislinger E.**, *Making for the Holy Places (7–10th centuries): the sea-routes.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 119–124. – Berger. [785

**Kislinger E.**, *Verkehrsrouten zur See im byzantinischen Raum.* – **Kislinger E./ Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 149–174. – Rhoby. [786

**Külzer A.**, *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Wirtschaftliche Aspekte byzantinischer Pilgerzentren.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 185–196. – Rhoby. [787

**Lidov A.**, *The Mandylion over the Gate. A mental pilgrimage to the holy City of Edessa.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 179–192. 13 fig. – Berger. [788

**Ljungkvist J.**, *Influences from the Empire: Byzantine-related objects in Sweden and Scandinavia – 560/570–750/800 AD.* (Nr. 893). – Berger.

**Miljković B.**, *Serbia and the Holy Land from the 12th to the 15th century.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 160–165. – Berger. [789

**Re M.**, *From Greek southern Italy to Jerusalem: Monks, saints and pilgrims.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 171–176. Italienischer Text 491–493. – Berger. [790

**Spadaro M. D.**, *Bisanzio e le vie del mare: rotte commerciali e militari.* – **Saitta B.** (a cura di), *Città e vita cittadina nei paesi dell'area mediterranea. Secoli XI–XV. Atti del Convegno internazionale in onore di Salvatore Tramontana, Adrano-Bronte-Catania-Palermo, 18–22 novembre 2003.* (Nr. 1779) 285–299. – D'Aiuto. [791

**Szabo Th.**, *The Pilgrims' way through medieval Italy towards the Mediterranean was more than the mere Route.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 107–116. – Berger. [792

**Taviakis I.**, *The history of pilgrimages to Mount Athos. An initial approach.* (Nr. 970). – Berger.

**Vanni F.**, *Overland Balkan routes in the middle ages. Summary, with a special focus on cultural-political implications.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 125–144. – Berger. [793

**Vikan G.**, *Early Byzantine pilgrimage art.* Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, 5. Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks 2010. 109 p. ISBN 978-0-88402-358-6. – Überarbeitete Neuauflage der zuerst 1982 erschienenen Arbeit. – Berger. [794

## d. Regionen und Orte

### (aa) Konstantinopel und Umgebung

**Asutay-Effenberger N./Effenberger A.**, *Zum Verlauf der Konstantinsmauer zwischen Marmarameer und Bonoszisterne und zu den Toren und Straßen.* JÖB 59 (2009) 1–35. – Fortsetzung des Beitrages in JÖB 58 (2008) 13–44. – Rhoby. [795

**Başgelen N.**, *Tarihi Fotoğraflarla Mermer Kule'den Ayvansaray'a İstanbul'un Karasurları* (Fortification Walls of Istanbul from Mermer Kule to Ayvansaray through Historical Photographs). Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları 2010. 76 p. ISBN 978-60-5396-090-4. – Laflı. [796

**Berger A.**, *Konstantinopel – Gründung, Blüte und Verfall einer mediterranen Metropole.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 3–24. – Berger. [797

**Berger A.**, *Konstantinopel. Geschichte, Topographie, Religion.* Standorte in Antike und Christentum, 3. Stuttgart, Hiersemann 2011. 216 S. 10 Abb. ISBN 978-3-7772-1027-8. – Kurzgefasste Stadtgeschichte der Frühzeit, mit einem „Reiseführer Konstantinopel" für die Stadt im Zustand um 600 (S. 58–97) und einem Anhang übersetzter Quellentexte (S. 98–176). – Berger. [798

**Croke B.**, *Reinventing Constantinople: Theodosius I's imprint on the imperial city.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 241–264. – Kaldellis. [799

**Crow J./Turner S.**, *Silivri and the Thracian hinterland of Istanbul: an historical landscape.* Anatolian Studies 59 (2009) 167–181. – Laflı. [800

**Durak K.**, *Through an eastern window: Muslims in Constantinople and Constantinople in early Islamic sources.* – *From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of*

*a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 102–111. – Dennert. [801

**Ergin N.**, *İstanbul Hamam Kültüründe Süreklilik ve Değişim: Çemberlitaş Hamamı'nın Öyküsü* (Continuity and change of the Hamam culture at Istanbul: story of Çemberlitaş Hamam). Arkeoloji ve Sanat 133 (2010) 115–133. – Laflı. [802

**Featherstone J. M.**, *De Cerimoniis and the Great Palace.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 162–174. – Stathakopoulos. [803

**Jacoby D.**, *Mediterranean food and wine for Constantinople: the long-distance trade, eleventh to mid-fifteenth century.* (Nr. 712). – Rhoby.

**Laniado A.**, *Belisarius in the City of God. Stephanus Antecessor on three ceremonies in Constantinople and Antioch.* (Nr. 613). – Berger.

**Lerou S.**, *Religion et politique: les entrées à Constantinople à l'époque des empereurs Comnènes.* (Nr. 697). – Berger.

**Magdalino P.**, *Constantinople as an imperial and religious capital. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 84–91. – Dennert. [804

**Necipoğlu N.**, *Constantinople on the eve of the Ottoman conquest. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 180–187. – Dennert. [805

**Piltz E.**, *Sturzenbecher om topografin i Konstantinopels omgivningar* (Sturzenbecher on the topography of Constantinople's surroundings). Bysantinska sällskapet, Bulletin 27 (2009) 63–71. With a short English abstract on p. 71 and 4 color illustrations. – Adolph Frederic Sturzenbecher worked as a chaplain at the Swedish legation in Constantinople 1780–1784, and among his papers at Uppsala University library (Carolina Rediviva) is this topographical description of the Bosphorus. – Nilsson. [806

**Velculescu C.**, *La poartă la Ţarigrad şade-un fecior de-mpărat / At the gates of Tsarigrad stands the son of an emperor. – Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* (Nr. 216) 47–60, 97–110. – Berger. [807

## (bb) Balkanhalbinsel

### Europäische Türkei (Thrakien)

**Koçel Erdem Z.**, *Tekirdağ Ganos 2009 Survey.* Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010) 305–320. 18 Abb. – Auch zahlreiche byzantinische Siedlungsspuren. – Dennert. [808

## Bulgarien

**Oppermann M.**, *Das frühe Christentum an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres und im anschließenden Binnenland.* Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes, 19. Langenweißbach, Beran & Beran 2010. IV, 363 S. 98 Taf. ISB N978-3-941171-30-5. – Berger. [809

**Aladžov A.**, *The Byzantine empire and the establishment of the early medieval city in Bulgaria.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 113–158. – Berger. [810

## Rumänien

**Zahariade M./Lungu V./Covaceff Z.**, *Scythia Minor. A history of a later Roman province (284–681).* Pontic provinces of the later Roman Empire, 1. Amsterdam, Hakkert 2006. VIII, 291 S. Ill. ISBN 978-90-256-1212-2. – Berger. [811

## Serbien

**Jeremić G.**, *Saldum. Roman and early Byzantine fortification.* Cahiers des Portes de Fer; Monographies, 6. Belgrade, Institute of Archaeology 2009. 237 S. Ill. Kt. ISBN 978-86-80093-68-0. – Laflı. [812

## Makedonien (ehemalige jugoslavische Republik)

**Smolčić-Makuljević S.**, *Two models of sacred space in the Byzantine and medieval visual culture of the Balkans. The monasteries of St Prohor of Pčinja and Treskavac.* JÖB 59 (2009) 191–202. – Analyse anhand des zuletzt vor allem von A. Lidov entwickelten Konzepts „Sacred Spaces“. – Rhoby. [813

## (cc) Griechenland

### Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

**Anagnostakes I.**, *Μετονομασίες-μετοικεσίες: Η περίπτωση της βυζαντινής Κορώνης* (Nr. 723). – Leontsini.

**Bulgares S.-K.**, *Εκ Βουλγάρεων. Ένα οικογενειακό χρονικό. Πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Βαλκανική.* (Nr. 1602). – Leontsini.

**Cherf W.**, *Procopius' De Aedificiis 4.2.122 and the Oíte-Kallídhromos frontier barrier.* BZ 104 (2011) 71–113. – Berger. [814

**Dapergolas N.**, *Τοπωνυμικά και ανθρωπωνυμικά τεκμήρια σλαβικών εγκαταστάσεων στην περιοχή του Παγγαίου κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 239–260. – Kotzabassi. [815

**Drakules D. P.**, *Πόλεις, κώμες και χωριά της Επαρχίας Ελλάδος στην πρώιμη βυζαντινή περίοδο (4ος–6ος αιώνας).* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 39–101. – Kotzabassi. [816

**Giannopulos P. A.**, *Η περιστασιακή επισκοπή Ναυπλίου κατά τον Θ' και Ι' αιώνα.* (Nr. 328). – Leontsini.

**Gkoutzioukostas A.**, *Judges of the velum and judges of the Hippodrome in Thessalonike (11th c.).* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα/Byzantina Symmeikta 20 (2010) 67–84. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/970. With English summary and one table. – The judicial officers coming from Constantinople to Thessalonike in the 11th century were in charge of trying cases in the region. From the second fifth of the 11th century their jurisdiction was extended to the greater unit of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike, while lead seals and documents from the archives of the monasteries of Athos, prove that many of the krites of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike had been previously krites of the velum and judges of the hippodrome in the capital. From the 14th century on, as Macedonia developed its own law schools, a person who had acquired legal training and judicial experience in Thessalonike could continue his judicial career in Constantinople. – Leontsini. [817

**Hendrickx B./Sansaridou-Hendrickx Th.**, *The military organization and the army of the Despotate of the Tocco (14th–15th cent.).* (Nr. 662). – Berger.

**Katsaros B.**, *Μεσολόγγι: ένα βυζαντινό περιγραφικό τοπωνύμιο. Αναθεώρηση του προβλήματος της ονομασίας του.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 45–61. – Kotzabassi. [818

**Mavrommate K.**, *Οι "Κατηχήσεις" του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη. Χρονολόγηση και ιστορική προσέγγιση.* (Nr. 479). – Leontsini.

**Nanetti A.**, *Η πρώτη και η δεύτερη Ενετοκρατία στην Πυλία. Η περιοχή Πεταλίδι στα χρόνια της κυριαρχίας των Φράγκων, Ενετών, Βυζαντινών και Τούρκων. Ιστορικές και τοπογραφικές πληροφορίες περί των συνόρων της ενετικής Μεσσηνίας (1207–1500).* – **Pantazopulos P./Kulukea E.** (eds.), *Ομηρική Αίπεια – Αρχαία Κορώνη – Πεταλίδι. Παρελθόν, Παρόν και Μέλλον, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου (5–7 Αυγούστου 2005).* (Nr. 1766) 106–130. – On the administrative changes of the district of Pylia and the evolution of the defense sites in Petalidi and its area under Byzantine, Venetian and Turkish control. – Leontsini. [819

**Pantazopulos P./Kulukea E.** (eds.), *Ομηρική Αίπεια – Αρχαία Κορώνη – Πεταλίδι. Παρελθόν, Παρόν και Μέλλον, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου (5–7 Αυγούστου 2005).* (Nr. 1766). – Leontsini.

**Savvides A.**, *Ottoman-dominated Morea in the periods c. 1460–1699 and 1715–1833. A survey.* Journal of Oriental and African Studies 18 (2009) 95–114. – Survey of Ottoman-dominated Morea with detailed bibliographical précis on recent publications and further bibliographical addenda. – Telelis. [820

**Soustal P.**, *Wirtschaft und Handelsleben auf dem Heiligen Berg Athos.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 275–287. – Rhoby. [821

**Weilhartner J.**, *Testimonia. Die literarischen Zeugnisse über das antike Aigina von Homer bis in byzantinische Zeit.* Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 23. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 384 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-3-7001-6061-8. – Rhoby. [822

## Ägäis

**Baker J.**, *Νομίσματα, νομισματοκοπία και νομισματοκοπεία στις μεσαιωνικές Κυκλάδες. 13ος–15ος αιώνας / Monete, monetazione e zecche nelle Cicladi Medievali. 13o–15o secolo.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 333–385. – The author uses seven medieval coin hoards and other coins found in Cyclades to explain the numismatic system in the Duchy of the Aegean from the 13th to the 15th c. – Gasparis. [823

**Foskolos M.**, *Η επιτυχής επανάσταση της Τήνου στα 1538 / Una rivolta riuscita: Tino, 1538.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 221–253. – The Ottomans conquered Tinos in 1538 and kept it for some months. The author describes all the events during the successful revolt of the year 1538 on the island of Tinos, whereby the island remained a Baker Venetian colony. – Gasparis. [824

**Gaspares Ch.**, *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου και η Κρήτη (13ος–14ος αιώνας) / Il ducato dell'Egeo e Creta (13o–14o secolo).* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 205–220. – The relations between the Duchy of the Aegean and Crete were quite close during the 13th and especially the 14th c. – Gasparis. [825

**Gumatianos A.**, *Η οργάνωση των αγιορειτικών μετοχίων στην υστεροβυζαντινή Λήμνο.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 259–282. – Kotzabassi. [826

**Kaldellis A./Efthymiadis S.**, *The prosopography of Byzantine Lesbos 284–1355 A.D. A contribution to the social history of the Byzantine province.* (Nr. 747). – Rhoby.

**Kasdagle A.**, *Συλλογική μνήμη και κοινωνική πραγματικότητα. Οι αρχοντικές οικογένειες της Νάξου μετά την πτώση του δουκάτου / Memoria collettiva e realtà sociale. Le famiglie nobili di Nasso dopo la caduta del ducato.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 439–454. – The

author tries to investigate how the past, i. e. the Duchy of Naxos, has influenced the society of Naxos during the 16th and 17th c. Ottoman period. – Gasparis. [827

**Katsenis G.**, *Οι Ασσίζες της Ρωμανίας και το δουκάτο του Αρχιπελάγους / Le Assise di Romania e il ducato dell'Arcipelago.* (Nr. 1529). – Gasparis.

**Kotsakes A.**, *Σχέσεις Ελλήνων Ορθοδόξων και Λατίνων στις Κυκλάδες κατά την εποχή του δουκάτου του Αιγαίου (13ος–16ος αι.) / Rapporti fra Greci Ortodossi e Latini nelle Cicladi al tempo del ducato dell'Egeo (13o–16o secolo).* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 309–331. – A concise history of the relations between the orthodox and the catholic community in the Cyclades during the times of the Duchy of the Aegean. – Gasparis. [828

**La Corte F.**, *Le torri di avvistamento genovesi nell'isola di Chios.* Ligures 6 (2008 [2009]) 33–50. – Studio-inventario sulle torri di guardia erette dai genovesi nell'isola di Chios, che «raggiunse forse l'apogeo della sua importanza economica e commerciale nel tardo Medioevo, quando i Genovesi – dapprima con gli Zaccaria (1304–1329) e successivamente con le Maona (1347–1566) – ne fecero il fulcro dei loro traffici marittimi nel Levante». – Luzzi. [829

**Moschonas N. G.**, *Η βενετική παρουσία στο Αιγαίο / La presenza veneziana nell'Egeo.* (Nr. 643). – Gasparis.

**Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757). – Gasparis.

**Nafpliotes-Sarantinos I.**, *Οικόσημα της εποχής των δουκών στη Νάξο / Stemmi dell'epoca ducale a Nasso.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 387–437. – A presentation of about 60 crests from the time of the dukes of Naxos (14th–16th c.). – Gasparis. [830

**Nturu-Eliopulu M.**, *Ειδήσεις για τους Δυτικούς στα νησιά του Αιγαίου (13ος–14ος αιώνας) / Notizie sui latini nelle isole dell'Egeo (13o–14o secolo).* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 73–85. – The author offers information about the presence of Latin people (Italian, French, Catalans) in the Duchy of the Aegean during the 13th and 14th c. – Gasparis. [831

**Panopulu A.**, *Οι λατινικές θρησκευτικές αδελφότητες των Κυκλάδων / Le confraternite religiose latine delle Cicladi.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 283–307. – The author focuses on the Latin religious confraternities in 16th and 17th c. Cyclades. – Gasparis. [832

**Pennas Ch.**, *Βυζαντινή παράδοση και τοπική κοινωνία στην έδρα του δουκάτου της Νάξου. Η μαρτυρία των μνημείων / Tradizione bizantina e società locale nella sede del ducato di Nasso. La testimonianza dei monumenti.* – **Moschonas N. G./ Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 149–185. – The author tries to explore the local society of Naxos and its byzantine tradition through the names of the donators contained in inscriptions on 13th and 14th c. churches. – Gasparis. [833

**Ravegnani G.**, *Το δουκάτο του Αρχιπελάγους από τη βενετική κατάκτηση έως την επαύριο της πτώσης της λατινικής αυτοκρατορίας / Il ducato dell'Arcipelago dalla conquista veneziana all'indomani della caduta dell'impero latino.* (Nr. 672). – Gasparis.

**Saint-Guillain G.**, *«Ιππότες, φεουδάρχες, αστοί και άλλοι υποτελείς»: Οι μορφές κοινωνικής υπεροχής στις δεσποτείες των Κυκλάδων (13ος–15ος αιώνας) / «Cavalieri, feudatari, borghesi e altri vassali»: Le forme di notabilità nelle signorie delle Cicladi (13o–15o secolo).* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 123–147. – The author focuses on the social group of the "notables", apart from that of the dominants of the islands of the Cyclades, trying to analyze its composition and its position in the society of the Duchy of the Aegean from 13th to 15th c. – Gasparis. [834

**Slot B.**, *Ο μύθος του δουκάτου του Αρχιπελάγους / Il Mito del ducato dell'Arcipelago.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 455–475. – The author writes about the last dukes of Naxos and the heirs of the ducal title, as well as about the myth of the Duchy of the Aegean in Europe during the 17th c. – Gasparis. [835

**Stylianude M.-G. L.**, *Οι Ασσίζες της Ρωμανίας και η «κληρονομία» των μεσαιωνικών Κυκλάδων στο εθιμικό δίκαιο / Le Assise di Romania e l' "eredità" delle Cicladi medievali nel diritto consuetudinario.* (Nr. 1532). – Gasparis.

**Tsiknakes K.**, *Η Νάξος, επίκεντρο επαναστατικής δράσης κατά τον τέταρτο βενετοτουρκικό πόλεμο (1570–1573) / Nasso, epicentro di rivolta durante la quarta guerra turco-veneta (1570–1573).* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 255–281. – The author offers information about the events in the Aegean during the fourth war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Naxos was conquered by Venice in August 1570, but in the spring of 1571 the Ottomans took it back. – Gasparis. [836

## Kreta

**Lamprinos K. E.**, *Michiel Gradenigo. Νοτάριος στη δουκική γραμματεία του Χάνδακα. Libro 1593–1617.* (Nr. 248). – Gasparis.

**Gaspares Ch.**, *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου και η Κρήτη (13ος–14ος αιώνας) / Il ducato dell'Egeo e Creta (13o–14o secolo).* (Nr. 825). – Gasparis.

## Zypern

**Arbel B.**, *The Venetian domination of Cyprus: cui bono?* Nikolau-Konnare A. (Hrsg.), Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη (BZ 103, 2009, Nr. 4029) 45–55. – Parani. [838

**Lequeux X.**, *Vignes, élevages et piété populaire en Chypre vers la fin du Moyen Âge. Les conseils pratiques du ms. Parisinus gr. 2244.* (Nr. 502). – Macé.

**Patapiu N.**, *Νέα στοιχεία για τη Μονή της Παναγίας της Ελεούσας στη Λευκωσία.* Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 197–236. – Parani. [837

**Schabel Ch./Richard J.** (eds.), *Bullarium Cyprium. Vol I: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1196–1261, vol. 2: Papal letters concerning Cyprus 1261–1314.* (Nr. 594). – Berger.

## (dd) Asiatische Türkei

### Allgemein

**Kostenec J./Zäh A.**, *Wissenschaftlicher Nachlass der deutsch-böhmischen archäologischen Expedition nach Lykaonien, Ostpamphylien und Isaurien (Kleinasien), durchgeführt im Jahre 1902.* Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 393. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 136 S. ISBN 978-3-7001-6497-5. – Rhoby. [839

### Asien (Provinz)

**Korkmaz M.**, *XVI. Yüzyılda Kilisehisar: Bizans Şehrinden Osmanlı Köyüne* (Kilisehisar in 16th century: from a Byzantine town to a Ottoman village). Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi/Journal of Social Sciences Institute 7/11 (2004) 97–134. – Laflı. [840

**Külzer A.**, *Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit: ein historischer Überblick.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 521–539. – Berger. [841

**Ladstätter S.**, *Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit. Das letzte Kapitel der Geschichte einer antiken Großstadt.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 493–519. – Berger. [842

**Pülz A.**, *Das Stadtbild von Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit.* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 541–571. – Berger. [843

## Bithynien und Pontos

**Artopulos I. G.**, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὸν Νικήτα Παφλαγόνα.* Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 16 (2009) 107–118. With English summary. – The writer proposes that Niketas Paphlagon lived as a bishop in Dadybra of Paphlagonia after 913 until his death. His relics were treasured up very likely in the church of St. Stephanos and, according to a mention of the Typikon in the codex A 104 of the Royal Library of Dresde, were still there during a Turkish attack in the middle of the 12th c. – Leontsini. [844

**Erciyas B./Sökmen E.**, *An overview of Byzantine period settlements around Comana Pontica in north-central Turkey.* BMGS 34 (2010) 119–141. – Stathakopoulos. [845

**Lampsides O.**, *Συνεχὴς ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ στὸ Μικρασιατικὸ Πόντο. Παράγοντες ποὺ συνέβαλαν στὴν ἐπιβίωσή του.* Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 16 (2009) 25–53. – A republication of a lecture on the strategic position and the ethnography of Pontos in the Byzantine period and beyond, with relevant bibliography. – Leontsini. [846

**Mitsiou E.**, *Versorgungsmodelle im Nikänischen Kaiserreich.* (Nr. 722). – Rhoby.

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* (Nr. 647). – Leontsini.

## Kilikien

**Aydınoğlu Ü.**, *Surveys of urbanization and agricultural organization in Rough Cilicia in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 152–156. 3 Abb. – Dennert. [847

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* (Nr. 647). – Leontsini.

**Tülek F.**, *Archaeological Surveys in Osmaniye 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 159–164. 8 Abb. – Spätantik-byzantinische Siedlungen im ebenen Kilikien. – Dennert. [848

### Galatien

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* (Nr. 647). – Leontsini.

### Lykien und Pamphylien

**Ragia E.**, *The geography of the provincial administration of the Byzantine Empire (ca 600–1200): I.1. The apothekai of Asia Minor (7th–8th c.)* (Nr. 647). – Leontsini.

## (ee) Nördlicher Schwarzmeerraum

### Rußland

**Androshchuk F.**, *The place of Dereva and Volhynia in Norse-Slav relations in the 9th to 11th centuries.* Situne Dei (2009) 7–20. – Nilsson. [849

## (ff) Vorderer Orient, Afrika

### Syrien

**Bührig C.**, *The 'Eastern City Area' of Gadara (Umm Qays): preliminary results on the urban and functional structures between the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods.* – **al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852) 369–376. – Kaegi. [850

**Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* (Nr. 259). – Berger/Kaegi.

**Picirillo M.**, *A symbol of peaceful coexistence Umm ar-Rasas/Kastron Mefaa on the world heritage list.* – **al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852) 757–766. – Kaegi. [851

**Scheiner J. J.**, *Die Eroberung von Damaskus. Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit.* (Nr. 649). – Kaegi.

**Walmsley A.**, *Roads, travel and time 'across Jordan' in early Islamic times.* (Nr. 654). – Kaegi.

**al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* Amman, Department of Antiquities 2009. 966 p. – The relevant articles are listerd as nos. 654, 850, 851, 1149, 1323. – Kaegi. [852

## Israel

**Leibner U.**, *Settlement and history in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Galilee: an archaeological survey of the eastern Galilee.* Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 127. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck 2009. XII, 471 S. Ill., graph. Darst., Kt. ISBN 978-3-16-149871-8. – Laflı. [853

## Ägypten

**Christides V.**, *Transportation of elephants in Hellenistic and Byzantine Egypt.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 71–77. – Rhoby. [854

**Richter S.**, *Greek, Coptic, and the 'language of the Hijra': rise and decline of the Coptic language in late antique and medieval Egypt.* (Nr. 264). – Kaegi.

**Venticinque P. F.**, *Family affairs: guild regulations and family relationships in Roman Egypt.* (Nr. 743). – Kaegi.

## Äthiopien und Sudan

**Almuraikhi S. S.**, *Trade relations between the Gulf Area and the East coast of Africa from the 10th to the 15th century AD / 4th to 9th century AH.* Journal of Oriental and African Studies 17 (2008) 7–26. – Telelis. [855

## Sonstiges

*Contrôle et distribution de l'eau dans le Maghreb antique et médiéval.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 426. Rome, École française de Rome 2009. 294 p. ill. n&b et coul. ISBN 978-2-7283-0797-5. – Les textes recueillis dans cet ouvrage forment les actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunisie et l'École Française de Rome, à Tunis, du 22 au 25 mars 2002. – Laflı. [856

## (gg) Italien

**Arcuri R.**, *La Calabria nella Guerra gotica di Procopio di Cesarea. Evoluzione storica, funzione strategica e ruolo economico del territorio brettio nel VI secolo.* (Nr. 603). – D'Aiuto.

**Bresc H.**, *Arabi per lingua, greci per rito, i Mozarabi di Sicilia con e dopo Giorgio.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 263–282. – Berger. [857

*Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative.* (Nr. 1714). – Luzzi.

**Cioce M.**, *Aspetti della ritualità funeraria fra la fine del Tardoantico e l'alto Medioevo.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 531–536. – Bianchi. [858

**De Santis P.**, *Caratteri insediativi della Puglia centrale nell'alto Medioevo.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 487–494. – Bianchi. [859

**Depalo M. R.**, *Necropoli e territorio, necropoli e società tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo nella Puglia centrale.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 525–529. – Bianchi. [860

**Lavermicocca N.**, *Bari bizantina 1156–1261: Bisanzio dopo Bisanzio.* Bari, Edizioni di Pagina 2010. X, 190 S. ISBN 978-88-7470-114-8. – Tinnefeld. [861

**Lavermicocca N.**, *Bari bizantina, 1071–1156.* (Nr. 641). – D'Aiuto.

**Nuzzo D.**, *Caratteri insediativi della Puglia centrale in età tardoantica.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 473–481. – Bianchi. [862

**Pagliara A.**, *Contributo alla storia di Sicilia nel V sec. d. C. SEIA n. s. XIV.* (Nr. 645). – Berger.

**Prigent V.**, *La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs (6ème–8ème siècle).* (Nr. 646). – Berger.

**Storchi P.**, *La viabilità nella provincia di Reggio Emilia: la via di val d'Enza. Elementi per l'individuazione di una tramite fra Italia centrale e settentrionale.* Orizzonti. Rassegna di archeologia 9 (2008 [2009]) 101–105. 7 fig. – Si ipotizza la sopravvivenza del percorso viario anche successivamente alle guerre greco-gotiche. – Bianchi. [863

**Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* Atti del Convegno di studi, Bari 15–16 maggio 2009. Roma, Bretschneider 2010. 695 p. 79 fig. 72 tav. ISBN 978-88-7689-249-3. – Si veda in particolare la sezione "Archeologia della Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo (IV–XI sec. d.C.)", 463–541, contenente i contributi recensiti qui come no. 858, 859, 860, 862, 1107, 1117, 1145, 1179, 1238, 1310. – Bianchi. [864

## (hh) Westlicher Mittelmeerraum

### Inseln

**Curchin L. A.**, *A Babel of Tongues. The ancient names of the Balearic Islands and their meaning.* Philologus 154 (2010) 155–160. – Tinnefeld. [865

### Nordafrika

**Riedlberger P.**, *Recherches onomastiques relatives à la composition ethnique du personnel militaire en Afrique byzantine (546–548).* (Nr. 617). – Berger.

**Kaegi W. E.**, *Muslim expansion and Byzantine collapse in North Africa.* (Nr. 633). – Berger.

## B. ETHNOGRAPHIE

### a. Quellen und allgemeine Darstellungen

**Bulgares S.-K.**, *Εκ Βουλγάρεων. Ένα οικογενειακό χρονικό. Πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Βαλκανική.* (Nr. 1602). – Leontsini.

**Hoyland R.**, *Arab Kings, Arab tribes and the beginnings of Arab historical memory in late Roman epigraphy.* – **Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* (Nr. 259) 374–400. – Kaegi. [866

**Kılıç M. E.**, *Hermesler Hermesi. İslam Kaynakları Işığında Hermes ve Hermetik Düşünce* (Hermes of Hermoi. Hermes according to Islamic sources and Hermotic thought). Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları 2010. 198 p. ill. ISBN 975-605-396-091-1. – Laflı. [867

### b. Einzelvölker (alphabetisch)

### Armenier

**Billarsky I.**, *Old Testament Models and the State in Early Medieval Bulgaria.* (Nr. 416). – Schott.

**Coureas N.**, *Between the Latins and native tradition: The Armenians in Lusignan Cyprus, 1191–1473.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 205–214. – D'Aiuto. [868

**Dančeva-Vassileva A.**, *Пловдив (Филипопол) по времето на династията на Комнините (1081–1185)* (Nr. 724). – Nikolov.

**Kouymjian D.**, *Armenians in Constantinople 1453–1600.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 139–150. – D'Aiuto. [869

**Perra Ph. B.**, *Ο Λέων της Μικράς Αρμενίας και ο «Λέων» της Βενετίας: Σχέσεις του Ρουπενίδη Λέοντα Β' του Μεγάλου με τη Βενετική ναυτική δημοκρατία στις αρχές του 13ου αιώνα.* (Nr. 668). – Kotzabassi.

## Georgier und kaukasische Völker

**Kovács Sz.**, *"Keresztények és régóta a rómaiak barátai." A kaukázusi alánok és a kereszténység a 10. században* ("They are Christians and friends of the Romans". The Alans and the Christianity in the 10th century). – **Balogh L./Kovács Sz.** (eds.), *Térítés – megtérés. A világvallások terjedése Kelet-Európa népei között* (Nr. 1790) 79–92. – Juhász. [870

## Germanische Völker

**Dumanov B.**, *Насоки в развитието на римската и готската идентичност през 6 в. Преглед на съвременните източници* (Richtungslinien in der Entwicklung der römischen und gotischen Identität im 6. Jh. Übersicht über die zeitgenössischen Quellen). – **Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./Nikolov V./ Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1699) 468–479. – Die Erscheinungsformen der gotischen Identität sind ein Phänomen für die Epoche der Spätantike und lassen sich schwer mit den Selbstbestimmungsarten anderer Ethnien vergleichen. – Nikolov. [871

**Vojkov I.**, *Християнски печат от Абритус* (Nr. 1425). – Nikolov.

## Juden

**De Lange N.**, *The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews.* (Nr. 419). – Schott.

**Déroche V.**, *Regards croisés des hérésiologues, des canonistes et des hagiographes sur les Juifs à Byzance.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 61–78. – D'Aiuto. [872

**Falkenhausen V. von**, *Auf der Suche nach den Juden in der byzantinischen Literatur.* (Nr. 3). – Berger.

## Slaven

**Olajos T.**, *Заметки к хронологии вторжения ранних славян в Византию* (Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der frühen slavischen Invasion von Byzanz). Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica 2 (2008) 39–45. – Juhász. [873

## Syrer, Araber

**Bresc H.**, *Arabi per lingua, greci per rito, i Mozarabi di Sicilia con e dopo Giorgio.* (Nr. 857). – Berger.

**Donner F.**, *Muhammad and the believers: at the origins of Islam.* (Nr. 629). – Kaegi.

**Mansouri M. T.**, *Byzantium and the Arabs from the VIIth to XIth century.* Mediterranean World 20 (2010) 57–67. – Berger. [874

**Mansouri M. T.**, *The Arabs through Skylitzes' miniatures.* (Nr. 107). – Berger.

**Millar F.**, *Rome's ›Arab‹ allies in Late Antiquity. Conceptions and representations from within the frontiers of the empire.* (Nr. 614). – Berger.

## Turkvölker

**Bonev S.**, *Амулет „печенежки“ тип – за първи път в Преслав* (Nr. 1902). – Nikolov.

**Durak K.**, *Defining the 'Turk': mechanism of establishing contemporary meaning in the archaizing language of the Byzantines.* JÖB 59 (2009) 65–78. – Rhoby. [875

**Kardaras G.**, *The Bulgarians and the Avar Chaganate, 6th–9th c. A.D.* – **Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1698) 105–118. – Nikolov. [876

**Kovács Sz.**, *A kunok és a keleti kereszténység* (The Cumans and the Eastern Christianity). – **Kovács Cs./Székely I./Székely T.** (eds.), *X. RODOSZ Konferenciakötet 2009. Kolozsvár.* (Nr. 1742) 233–245. – Juhász. [877

## Ungarn

**Balogh L.**, *Megjegyzések a PVL fehér és fekete magyarjaihoz* (Some notes on the White Ugrians/Hungarians and Black Ugrians/Hungarians in the PVL). Acta Universitatis Szegediensis Acta Historica 121 (2005) 31–46. – Juhász. [878

**Balogh L.**, *Восточные корни ритуала утверждения языческого венгерского вождя.* Российская Академия Наук Общество Востоковедов Бюллетень 12 (2005) 7–22. – Juhász. [879

**Makk F.**, *Etelköz et la Mésopotamie de l'Occident.* Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica 1 (2007) 39–48. – Juhász. [880

**Makk F.**, *La Hongrie entre l'Empire Allemand et Byzance. La naissance du Royaume de Hongrie.* – **Homoki-Nagy M.** (ed.), *Emlékkönyv dr. Ruszoly József egyetemi tanár 70. születésnapjára.* (Nr. 884) 489–498. – Juhász. [881

**Makk F.**, *Le pays des Hongrois et les quartiers des tribus princiéres au Xe siécle.* – **Szotyori-Nagy Á.** (ed.), *Rationale Obsequium. A hatvanéves Rokay Zoltán köszöntése.* (Nr. 1686) 283–290. – Juhász. [882

**Olajos T.**, *De la théorie de «double conquête» hongroise du Bassin des Carpathes.* Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica 1 (2007) 49–61. – Juhász. [883

**Homoki-Nagy M.** (ed.), *Emlékkönyv dr. Ruszoly József egyetemi tanár 70. születésnapjára.* Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Juridica et Politica, 73. Szeged, Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam-és Jogtudományi Kar 2010. 1018 S. ISBN 978-963-9927-20-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 881. – Juhász. [884

### Sonstige

**Pubblici L.**, *Dal Caucaso al Mar d'Azov. L'impatto dell'invasione mongola in Caucasia fra nomadismo e società sedentaria (1204–1295).* Firenze, Firenze University Press 2007. XV, 254 p. ISBN 978-88-8453-437-8. – D'Aiuto. [885

# 7. ARCHÄOLOGIE UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE

## A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN

**Cormack R.**, *Does art tell us the same story as history books? – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 114–123. – Dennert. [886

**Cortés Arrese M.**, *Bizancio. El triunfo de las imágenes sagradas.* Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva 2010. 158 p. Con 20 láminas. ISBN 978-84-9940-078-5. – Das Werk besteht aus drei verschiedenen Teilen, die als unabhängige Studien konzipiert sind: "La fascinación de Constantinopla" (S. 19–46), über die justinianische Zeit (Schwerpunkte sind die Denkmäler von Ravenna und Konstantinopel); "El triunfo de las imágenes" (S. 47–94), über den Bilderstreit und den Sieg der Orthodoxie nach 843; und "Un sistema de imágenes sagradas" (S. 95–129), über das ikonographische Programm der byzantinischen Kirchen. – Signes. [887

**Crow J./Turner S.**, *Unlocking historic landscapes in the eastern Mediterranean: two pilot studies using historic landscape characterisation.* Antiquity 84/323 (2010) 216–229. – Archaeological methodology. – Kaegi. [888

**Cutler A.**, *Magnificience and the necessity of luxury in Byzantium. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 136–143. – Dennert. [889

**Eisler C.**, *Humility studies: historiography as biography, kunstgeschichte as need.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 143–147. – Berger. [890

**Karimian H.**, *Cities and social order in Sasanian Iran – the archaeological potential.* (Nr. 612). – Kaegi.

**Kiilerich B.**, *Billedets væsen. Reflektioner over den Byzantinske billedstrid.* DIN – Tidsskrift for religion og kultur 3–4 (2010) 85–99. – Berger. [891

**Kollig I. C./Jacinto Fragata M. J. J. /Alt K. W.**, *Anthropologische Forschungen zum Byzantinischen Reich – ein Stiefkind der Wissenschaft.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 479–491. – Berger. [892

**Ljungkvist J.**, *Influences from the Empire: Byzantine-related objects in Sweden and Scandinavia – 560/570–750/800 AD.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 419–441. – Berger. [893

**Maguire H.**, *Metaphors of the Virgin in Byzantine literature and art.* (Nr. 410). – Rhoby.

**Milwright M.**, *An introduction to Islamic archaeology.* The New Edinburgh Islamic surveys. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 2010. 260 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-0-7486-2311-2 – Zahlreiche Berührungspunkte auch zur frühbyzantischen Archäologie im Vorderen Orient. – Dennert. [894

**Révész É.**, *A keleti keresztény temetkezési rítus X. századi sírleletekben* (Der orthodoxe Begräbnisritus in Gräbern des 10. Jahrhunderts). – **Révész É./Halmágyi M.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 5. Az V. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2007. június 7–8.) előadásai.* (Nr. 1774) 141–150. – Juhász. [895

**Révész É.**, *Beitrag zum Anhängsel von Piliny-Leshegy.* Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica 1 (2007) 63–75. – Juhász. [896

**Révész É.**, *Bizánci keresztek a X–XI. századi sírokban* (Pektoralkreuze in Gräbern des 10.–11. Jahrhunderts). – **G. Tóth P./Szabó P.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6: A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4–5.) előadásai.* (Nr. 1789) 189–201. – Juhász. [897

**Révész É.**, *Gedanken über die sog. ‚Orans'-Handhaltung.* Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica 2 (2008) 55–59. – Juhász. [898

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Der Handel mit byzantinischen Metallwaren aus archäologischer Sicht (Gürtelschnallen, Frauenschmuck, Zaumzeug, Bronzegefäße).* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 241–273. – Rhoby. [899

**Shepard J.**, *Imperial outliers: building and decorative works in the borderlands and beyond.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 372–385. – This is a discussion of the use of Byzantine craftsmen outside the Empire. – Stathakopoulos. [900

**Vikan G.**, *Early Byzantine pilgrimage art.* (Nr. 794). – Berger.

## B. REGIONEN UND ORTE

### (aa) Konstantinopel und Umgebung

**Anderson B.**, *Leo III and the Anemodoulion.* BZ 104 (2011) 41–54. – Berger. [901

**Asutay-Effenberger N.**, *Die justinianische Hagia Sophia: Vorbild oder Vorwand?* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 113–125. – Berger. [902

**Barsanti C./Guiglia A.**, *The sculptures of the Ayasofya Müzesi in Istanbul. A short guide.* (Nr. 1172). – Dennert.

**Berger A.**, *Konstantinopel. Geschichte, Topographie, Religion.* (Nr. 798). – Berger.

**Çetinkaya H.**, *Arap Camii in Istanbul: its architecture and frescoes.* Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010) 169–188. 14 Abb. – Dennert. [903

**Dalgıç Ö.**, *Pre-Constantinian floor mosaics in Istanbul.* (Nr. 1183). – Berger.

**Dalgiç Ö.**, *The corpus of floor mosaics from Istanbul.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 127–134. – Berger. [904

**Dennert M.**, *«Übersehene» Kapitelle. Anmerkungen zur mittelbyzantinischen Architekturplastik aus Konstantinopel.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 55–67. 9 Abb. – Berger. [905

**Efthymiades S.**, *Le monastère de la source à Constantinople et ses deux recueils de miracles. Entre Hagiographie et patriographie.* (Nr. 392). – Ronconi.

**Flaminio R.**, *La decorazione scultorea della chiesa di Cristo Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) a Costantinopoli.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 39–53. 12 fig. – Berger. [906

*From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı Museum 2010. 510 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-605-4348-04-6. – Katalog einer Ausstellung zur Stadtgeschichte von Istanbul. Neben dem eigentlichen Katalog der ausgestellten Objekte mit zahlreichen Höhepunkten byzantinischer Kunst

enthält der reich bebilderte Band folgende hier anzuzeigende Beiträge: Nr. 725, 755, 764, 801, 804, 805, 886, 889, 911, 1235. – Dennert. [907

**Grobe L. O./Hauck O./Noback A.**, *Das Licht in der Hagia Sophia – eine Computersimulation.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 97–111. – Berger. [908

**Grélois J.-P.**, *Note sur la disparition de Saint-Jean au Dihippion.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 369–372. – Un passage de la Rélation d'un voyage en Orient (inédite, contenue dans le manuscrit Paris. fr. 18076) de Julien Bordier, assistant de l'ambassadeur du roi de France Henri IV au début du XVIIe s., apporte des renseignements utiles à la connaissance de la situation, de la forme et du décor de l'église constantinopolitaine de Saint-Jean au Dihippion. – Ronconi. [909

**Krausmüller D.**, *Abbots and monks in eleventh-century Stoudios. An analysis of rituals of installation and their depictions in illuminated manuscripts.* (Nr. 387). – Ronconi.

**Ousterhout R.**, *Constantinople and the construction of medieval urban identity.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 334–351. – Stathakopoulos. [910

**Ousterhout R.**, *The architectural heritage of Byzantine Constantinople. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 124–135. – Dennert. [911

**Ronchey S./Braccini T.**, *Il romanzo di Costantinopoli. Guida letteraria alla Roma d'Oriente.* Torino, Einaudi 2010. XXXI, 958 p. ISBN 978-88-06-18921-1. – Ein literarischer Reiseführer durch das byzantinische Konstantinopel, bestehend aus alten und modernen Texten zu den Monumenten der Stadt und ihrer Umgebung. – Berger. [912

**Stichel R. H. W.**, *Die Hagia Sophia Justinians, ihre liturgische Einrichtung und der zeremonielle Auftritt des frühbyzantinischen Kaisers.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 25–27. – Berger. [913

**Svenshon H.**, *Das Bauwerk als »aistheton soma«. Eine Neuinterpretation der Hagia Sophia im Spiegel antiker Vermessungslehre und angewandter Mathematik.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 59–95. – Berger. [914

**Tümer Erdem Y.**, *Atatürk Dönemi Arkeoloji Çalışmalarından Biri: Sultanahmet Kazısı* (A work of Atatürk's period archaeology: excavation of Sultanahmet). Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi 62/21 (2005) 747–774. – Geschichte der britischen Hippodrom-Grabung 1927–1928. – Dennert. [915

**Waksman S. Y./Erhan N./Eskalen S.**, *Caractérisation des céramiques produites dans les ateliers de Sirkeci (Istanbul). Résultats de la campagne 2009.* (Nr. 1344). – Dennert.

**Yalcın A.-B.**, *Eski ve Ortaçağda Bogaziçi* (Der Bosporos in Antike und Mittelalter). – **Uysal A. O.** u.a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 448–456. 10 Abb. – Survey byzantinischer Denkmäler am oberen Bosporos. – Dennert. [916

## (bb) Balkanhalbinsel

### Bulgarien

**Bakalova E.**, *A Locus Sanctus in Bulgaria: The Monastery of St John of Rila and its sacred topography.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 309–327. 19 fig. – Berger. [917

**Barakov V.**, *Крепостното строителство по горното течение на реките Росица и Янтра през късната античност и средновековието* (Nr. 1901). – Nikolov.

**Bavant B./Vanderheyde C.**, *Sculptures byzantines conserves à Pomorie.* (Nr. 1143). – Nikolov.

**Borisov B.**, *Периодизация и хронология на античното и ранновизантийско селище до Караново, Новозагорско* (Division into periods and chronology of the Antique and Early Byzantine settlement at Karanovo, Nova Zagora district). Archeologia 50/3–4 (2009) 38–47. With num. ill. With English summary. – The last coins of Justinian I (527–565) date the Byzantine period to the second half of the 6th c. – Nikolov. [918

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна оловна икона (евлогия) от Преслав* (Nr. 1909). – Nikolov.

**Grigorov V.**, *The Byzantine fortress »Krasen« near Panagyurishte.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 779–806. – Berger. [919

**Milanova A.**, *La production d'un atelier de sculpture en Bulgarie byzantine à la fin du Xe ou au début du XIe siècle.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 163–181. 15 fig. – Berger. [920

**Milanova A.**, *Амвон от Созопол от края на XI-началото на XII в. Към проблема за средновизантийските амвони* (Ambon byantin de Sozopolis de la fin du XIe-début du XIIe siècles. Le problème des ambons mésobyzantins). –

**Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 179–194. Avec résumé en français. – Nikolov. [921

**Radeva M.**, *Оловна ампула от Сливен* (Nr. 1251). – Nikolov.

**Stančeva M.**, *София от древността до нови времена* (Nr. 726). – Nikolov.

**Štereva I.**, *Новооткрита поклонническа ампула от Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1926). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *За изображенията върху оловна ампула – кутрувия от музея в Шумен* (Nr. 1927). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *Нагръдна икона с изображения на св. Георги-войн и Христос Пантократор* (Nr. 1928). – Nikolov.

## Serbien

**Cvetković B.**, *Two medieval swords from the Regional Museum in Jagodina.* (Nr. 1905). – Dželebdžić.

**Duval N.** (éds.), *Caričin Grad III. L'Acropole et ses monuments.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 75/3. Rome, Ecole française de Rome / Belgrade, Institut archéologique de Belgrade 2010. XLI, 661 p. – Dritter Band der Grabungspublikation mit Beiträgen zahlreicher Verfasser; hier einzeln angezeigt Nr. 1647. – Berger. [922

**Gabelić S.**, *Manastir Konče* (The monastery of Konče). (English). Beograd, Filozofski Fakultet, Institut za Istoriju Umetnosti 2008. 247 S. [32] Bl. Zahlr. Ill., Kt. ISBN 978-86-86563-41-5. – Dželebdžić. [923

**Ivanišević V.**, *Caričin Grad – the fortifications and the intramural housing in the lower town.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 747–775. – Berger. [924

**Marjanović-Dušanić S.**, *The monastery of Dečani: sacred space and the centre of pilgrimage.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 193–201. – Berger. [925

**Pejić S.**, *Manastir Sveti Nikola Dabarski* (The monastery of St Nicholas Dabarski). Studije i monografije / Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Beograd, 16. Beograd, Republički Zavod za Zaštitu Spomenika Kulture 2009. 296 p. ill. ISBN 978-86-80879-84-0. With English summary. – Krsmanović. [926

**Popović D.**, *Paying devotions to the Holy Hermit. The shrine of St Prochorus of Winja.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International*

*symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 215–226. 10 fig. – Berger. [927

**Popović D.**, *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Under the Auspices of sanctity. The cult of holy rulers and relics in Medieval Serbia). Posebna izdanja / Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Balkanološki Institut, 92. Beograd, Balkanološki Inst. SANU 2006. 363 p. ill. ISBN 86-7179-044-4. With English summary. – Krsmanović. [928

**Stevović I.**, *Kalenić: Bogorodičina crkva u arhitekturi poznovizantijskog sveta* (Kalenić: die Muttergotteskirche in der spätbyzantinischen Architektur). Beograd, Filozofski fakultet interprint 2006. 210, [64] S. Zahlr. Ill. ISBN 86-82263-48-3. – Krsmanović. [929

## Kroatien (bes. Dalmatien, Istrien)

**Gauthier N./Marin E./Prévot F.** (éd.), *Salona. IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe–VIIe siècles.* Collection de l'École française de Rome 194/4. Rome, École française de Rome 2010. 2 vol. 1363 p. ill. n/b. ISBN 978-2-7283-0847-7. – Ce volume regroupe 825 inscriptions de la cité de Salone (Dalmatie), de 306 au début du VIIe siècle: 742 textes latins (45 inédits) et 83 grecs (4 inédits), présentés avec bibliographie, illustration, traduction, et commentaire détaillé. – Laflı. [930

## Makedonien (ehemalige jugoslavische Republik)

**Filipova S.**, *Sculptures médiévales des XIe et XIIe siècles dans l'ancienne République yougoslave de Macédoine.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 183–197. 8 fig. – Berger. [931

## Albanien

**Hodges R.**, *Creare il parco nazionale di Butrinto in Albania.* Archeologia medievale 36 (2009) 7–19. 9 fig. – Si presenta, con illustrazione della storia del luogo e degli scavi succedutisi, un progetto per la salvaguardia della zona archeologica di Butrinto. – Bianchi. [932

**Muçaj S.**, *La sculpture décorative des IXe–XIe siècles de l'église de la Vierge à Ballsh (Glavinitza).* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 199–213. 11 fig. – Berger. [933

**Vitaliotis I.**, *The Basilica of the Forty Martyrs, Albania: pilgrimage church of the early Christian period.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the*

*medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 403–413. 18 fig. Griechischer Text 522–525. – Berger. [934

## (cc) Griechenland

### Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

**Agrebe M.**, *Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Έξω Νύφι της Κάτω Μάνης. Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις σε ένα άγνωστο σύνολο τοιχογραφιών του 1284/85.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 171–196. Taf. VII, 31–33. – Die neu entdeckte Nikolauskirche im Dorf Exo Nyphi in Kato Mani, ein einschiffiger tonnengewölbter Bau, weist 5 Phasen von Wandmalereien auf (12. Jh., 1. H. 13. Jh., 1284–85, 1326 und 18. Jh.). Die Autorin beschränkt sich auf die ikonographische Analyse der Fresken der 3. Phase. Am interessantesten sind die dazugehörenden Inschriften, die bezeugen, dass die Wanddekoration dieser Phase (1284–85) auf eine kollektive Spende der Einwohner des Dorfes Nyphi zurückgeht. – Kalopissi-Verti. [935

**Andrudes P.**, *Γύρω από κάποια μεσοβυζαντινά τέμπλα του Αγίου Όρους.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 263–283. 21 Abb. – Berger. [936

**Andrulidake A.**, *Οι εργασίες αποκατάστασης των ναών των Αγίων Ασωμάτων στο Κουλούμι και της Αγίας Βαρβάρας στην Έρημο.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 117–125. Taf. VI, 21–23. – Zu Restaurierungsarbeiten in den Kirchen von Hagioi Asomatoi in Kulumi, die mehrere Bauphasen aufweist (11. Jh., 13. Jh. und postbyzantinische Zeit), und Hagia Barbara in Heremos/Mane (2. H. 12. Jh.). – Kalopissi-Verti. [937

**Bakirtzis Ch.**, *The pilgrims' Xenodocheion at Philippi.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 367–371. 1 fig. Griechischer Text 518–520. – Berger. [938

**Barales I./Tsekes G.**, *Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά από την Αργολίδα.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 359–373. 5 Abb. – Berger. [939

**Belenes G.**, *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της Παναγίας των Χαλκέων στη Θεσσαλονίκη.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 231–247. 9 Abb. – Berger. [940

**Charalampus D.**, *Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του ναού της Αγίας Βαρβάρας στην Έρημο Μάνης.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 197–212. Taf. VIII–IX, 34–36. – Ikonographische und stilistische Analyse der zwei Malschichten des Wanddekors in der eingeschriebenen Kreuzkuppelkirche (Zweisäulentypus) der Hagia Barbara in Eremos/Mane. Die älteste Schicht wird inschriftlich auf das Jahr 1299/1300 datiert, die zweite geht auf das 18. Jh. zurück. – Kalopissi-Verti. [941

**Chouliaras I. P.**, *Η κτητορική επιγραφή του ναού των Αγίων Αναργύρων στα Σέρβια Κοζάνης.* Makedonika 38 (2009) 49–57. – Kotzabassi. [942

**Diamante K.**, *Το έργο της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας για τη διάσωση των μνημείων της Μάνης.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 45–59. Taf. I–II, 1–6. – Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Archäologischen Dienstes für die Erhaltung der byzantinischen Denkmäler in der Mani. – Kalopissi-Verti. [943

**Drandakes N.**, *Χρονολογημένα βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης του 11ου και του 12ου αιώνα.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 409–417. 12 Abb. – Berger. [944

**Eleutheriu E.**, *Βυζαντινές μαρμάρινες ψευδοσαρκοφάγοι στη Μέσα Μάνη.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 143–160. Taf. 29–30. – Eingehende Untersuchung der wenigen zu Pseudo-Sarkophagen gehörenden Marmorreliefplatten, die sich in Kirchen der Mani befinden. Die Autorin führt sie treffend auf das 11. und frühe 12. Jh. zurück. – Kalopissi-Verti. [945

**Etzeoglu R./Konstaninide Ch.**, *Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου στὴν Κίττα τῆς Μέσα Μάνης (1321). Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 213–219. Taf. X, 37–38. – Zu der Georgskirche in Kitta, Mesa Mani, einer einschiffigen, tonnengewölbten und mit Wandmalereien versehenen Kirche. Interessant ist die an der Westwand des Naos angebrachte Stifterinschrift, die u.a. mehrere Stifternamen und ihre Spenden – Felder, Häuser, Bäume, Olivenbäume –, sowie den Maler Theodosios und das Datum 1321 erwähnt. – Kalopissi-Verti. [946

**Etzeoglu Rh.**, *Μεσοβυζαντινό τέμπλο στην Κάτω Πόλη της Μονεμβασίας.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 393–407. 13 Abb. – Berger. [947

**Gkioles N.**, *Η ανασκαφή στο Τηγάνι της Μέσα Μάνης.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 61–77. Taf. III, 7–11. – Interessanter Überblick über die Bautätigkeit auf der Halbinsel von Tegani/Mane, die mit der Festung von Mane identifiziert worden ist. Drei Bauphasen der ausgegrabenen dreischiffigen Basilika wurden festgestellt. Die erste Phase geht auf das späte 5. / frühe 6. Jh. zurück. In den dazugehörenden Kistengräbern wurden u.a. Schmuck (Ringe, Ohrringe, Glasperlen), Brustkreuze, Kleidungszubehör (Knöpfe, Schnallen) und Glasgefäße gefunden. Die zweite, dem späten 7. Jh. angehörende Phase umfaßt die dreischiffige Basilika mit drei dreiseitig ummantelten Apsiden, deren Ruinen noch heute zu sehen sind. Die dritte Phase, in der eine einschiffige tonnengewölbte Kirche im Mittelschiff der frühchristlichen Basilika errichtet wurde, geht auf das 12. Jh. zurück und wird mit dem Bestreben der Komnenen verbunden, die Verteidigung der Seewege vor der neuen Gefahr aus dem Westen zu verstärken. Bedeutende Baureliefs und Inschriften gehören dieser Phase an. – Kalopissi-Verti. [948

**Gulules S. G.**, *Η «αοίκητος» Λάρισα και η αναστήλωση του καθεδρικού ναού του αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ Τρικάλων (c. 1332, 1362): βιβλικά αρχέτυπα και ιστορικά αντίτυπα.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 163–197. – Kotzabassi. [949

**Kalopise-Berte S.**, *Επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες από τη βυζαντινή Μάνη.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 89–99. Taf. IV, 15–17. – Übersicht über die in den Kirchen der Mane erhaltenen Inschriften und Bewertung ihrer Nachrichten über historische Personen, Würdenträger, lokale Archonten, Auftraggeber, Handwerker, Meister etc. Nachrichten zur sozialen Schichtung und finanziellen Lage der Einwohner sowie Fragen über die Herkunft, Sprache und Bildung der Bevölkerung werden diskutiert. – Kalopissi-Verti. [950

**Kazamia-Tsernu M. I.**, *Μνημειακή Τοπογραφία της Χριστιανικής Θεσσαλονίκης. Οι ναοί 4ος–8ος αι., Ι.* Thessalonike, Graphema 2009. 579 S. 169 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. ISBN 978-960-6865-19-0. – Trotz des Titels (Monumentale Topographie des christlichen Thessalonike) beschränkt sich die Autorin auf die Behandlung von fünf Kirchen in Thessalonike, die in den Zeitraum vom 4.–8. Jh. datiert werden: Rotunde, Acheiropoietos, Hosios David, Hl. Demetrios und Hagia Sophia. Die Geschichte der Denkmäler, die Bau- und Dekorationsphasen werden weitläufig untersucht. Quellen, Bibliographie, Indices und eine reiche Illustration ergänzen den Band. – Kalopissi-Verti. [951

**Manolessu E. G.**, *Γλυπτά από τη συλλογή της Τράπεζας του Οσίου Λουκά.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 317–337. 14 Abb. – Berger. [952

**Marke E.**, *Οι τόποι αθλήσεως των Θεσσαλονικέων μαρτύρων και η συμβολή της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στον εντοπισμό τους.* (Nr. 512). – Troianos.

**Mentzos A.**, *Εργαστήριο γλυπτικής στη Θεσσαλονίκη στον 11ο αιώνα.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 217–230. 7 Abb. – Berger. [953

**Mentzos A.**, *Ο άγιος Ανδρέας και η Εκκλησία της Θεσσαλονίκης.* – *Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 183–202. 5 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Identisch mit dem BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 1066 angezeigten Aufsatz. – Troianos. [954

**Mexia A.**, *Άγνωστοι βυζαντινοί ναοί στον Μαντοφόρο του Πύργου Διρού.* (Nr. 1159). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Mpuras Ch.**, *Διάτρητα μαρμάρινα μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά στην Ελλάδα.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 469–485. 9 Abb. – Berger. [955

**Nikonanos N.**, *The Mountain of Cells.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 290–295. 4 fig. Griechischer Text 509–511. – Ein wenig bekannter, vom 11. bis zum 19. Jh. bewohnter Mönchsberg bei Ayia in Thessalien. – Berger. [956

**Oikonomu-Laniado A.** (†), *Η αρχιτεκτονική και ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του καθολικού της Παλαιάς Μονής Ταλαντίου.* – **Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008).* (Nr. 1762) 215–220, Taf. 47–52. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Kommentar zur Architektur des im 15 Jh. errichteten Katholikons des alten Talantiou-Klosters. Die Wandmalereien werden auf einen wahrscheinlich auf Kreta ausgebildeten Maler des ausgehenden 15. / beginnenden 16. Jh.s zurückgeführt. – Kalopissi-Verti. [957

**Oikonomu-Laniado A.** (†), *Το Άργος κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο.* – **Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008).* (Nr. 1762) 205–214. Taf. 43–46. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die durch Grabungen in der Stadt Argos ans Tageslicht gebrachten Funde ergänzen die

von den schrifltichen Quellen bekannten Nachrichten und tragen zur Erforschung der Topographie des mittelbyz. Argos bei. – Kalopissi-Verti. [958

**Paisidu M./Chatzeioannides A.**, *Αρχαιολογικές παρατηρήσεις στα βόρεια τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης.* Makedonika 38 (2009) 21–30. – Kotzabassi. [959

**Palles G.**, *Spolia γλυπτών από την περιοχή Αμαρουσίου Αττικής.* – **Pennas Ch./ Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 303–315. 6 Abb. – Berger. [960

**Panagiotide M.**, *Σχολιάζοντας τους ζωγράφους. Μερικά παραδείγματα τοιχογραφιών από τη Μάνη.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 221–232. Taf. XI–XII, 39–43. – Die Autorin untersucht drei Malwerkstätten in der Mani, die ins 10. sowie in die 1. H. und in die 2. H. des 13. Jh.s datiert werden, und kommt zu Schlüssen in Bezug auf die lokalen Maler und ihre Arbeitsmethoden im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen Bauerngesellschaft von Mani. – Kalopissi-Verti. [961

**Pantu E.**, *Οι ατομικοί κολασμοί των αμαρτωλών σε μεταβυζαντινούς ναούς της Μάνης.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 233–258. Taf. XIII–XIV, 44–47. – Zu den individuellen Strafen der Verdammten in der Szene des Jüngsten Gerichtes in den Kirchen des 18. Jh.s in der Mani. – Kalopissi-Verti. [962

**Pazaras Th.**, *Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου στο Άγιον Όρος.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 249–261. 10 Abb. – Berger. [963

**Pazaras Th. N.**, *Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στην περιοχή της Επανομής Θεσσαλονίκης: Το νεκροταφείο στο Λιμόρι και η παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική στο Μπγιαδούδι.* Byzantina Mnemeia, 16. Thessaloniki, Byzantine Research Centre 2009. 320 S. ISBN 978-960-785-631-9. – Kotzabassi. [964

**Penna B./Lampropulu A./Anagnostakes E.**, *Γλυπτά μεταβατικών χρόνων από τη βασιλική του Θεάτρου της αρχαίας Μεσσήνης.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 375–392. 14 Abb. – Berger. [965

**Philippa-Touchais A.**, *Ο ναός των Αγίων Κωνστανίνου και Ελένης (πρώην τζαμί) στο Άργος: συμβολή στη μελέτη του μνημείου.* – **Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008).* (Nr. 1762) 177–204, Taf. 35–42. Mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Zur Kirche der Hl. Konstantin und Helena in Argos, einer ehemaligen Moschee, die wahrscheinlich im

16. Jh. neben einer frühchristlichen dreischiffigen Basilika errichtet wurde. – Kalopissi-Verti. [966

**Pikoulas G. A.**, *Βυζαντινά λιθόστρωτα.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 79–87. Taf. 12–14. – Zu den Konstruktionsmerkmalen der byzantinischen steingepflasterten Wege in Lakonien und in anderen Gegenden der Peloponnes. – Kalopissi-Verti. [967

**Sklabu-Mauroeide M.**, *Στοιχεία του γλυπτικού διακόσμου ναών της Αθήνας τον 10ο αιώνα.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 287–301. 14 Abb. – Berger. [968

**Taddei A.**, *I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis.* Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 86 (2008 [2010]) 253–310. 23 fig. – Illustrazione storico topografica degli scavi dell'acropoli di Amphipolis in Macedonia orientale. Si analizzano i resti delle due cinte murarie e di varie costruzioni pubbliche e private, in particolare delle cinque basiliche presenti, delle quali si fornisce una datazione sulla base dei rinvenimenti, dettagliati puntualmente, dell'arredo scultoreo e dei mosaici pavimentali, e alla cronologia dei reperti monetari; le tre basiliche più antiche (B, Γ, Δ) non mostrano elementi anteriori alla fine del V secolo, le altre due (A, E) si collocano all'inizio del VI secolo. Il sito mostra segni di abbandono agli inizi del VII secolo. – Bianchi. [969

**Taviakis I.**, *The history of pilgrimages to Mount Athos. An initial approach.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 166–170. Griechischer Text 488–491. – Berger. [970

**Tsigaridas E. N.**, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησίου του Αγίου Ευθυμίου (1302/3) στον ναό του Αγίου Δημητρίου. Έργο του Μανουήλ Πανσελήνου στην Θεσσαλονίκη.* Thessalonikē, Purnara 2008. 317 p. ill. ISBN 978-960-242383-7. With English summary. – Krsmanović. [971

**Tutos N./Phusteres G.**, *Εὑρετήριον τῆς μνημειακῆς ζωγραφικῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, 10ος–17ος αἰῶνας.* Athenai, Κέντρο Ἔρευνας Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Τέχνης 2010. 461 S. Zahlr. Pläne, Zeichn. und s/w-Abb. ISBN 978-960-404-173-2. – Berger. [972

**Vanderheyde C.**, *Les sculptures découvertes lors des fouilles de trois églises byzantines à Corinthe: un témoignage en faveur d'une occupation continue de la ville du VIIe au XIIe siècle?* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 341–357. 9 fig. – Berger. [973

**Veikou M.**, *"Rural towns" and "in-between" or "third" spaces settlement patterns in byzantine Epirus (7th–11th centuries) from an interdisciplinary approach.* Archeologia medievale 36 (2009) 43–54. 3 fig. – Studio di modelli di insediamenti bizantini, con analisi del caso specifico dell'Epiro tra VII e XI secolo, e delle funzioni in relazione alle disposizioni spaziali, inclusa la riconsiderazione dei concetti di "urbano" e "rurale". – Bianchi. [974

## Ägäis

**Archontopulos Th.** (†), *Ο ναός της Αγίας Αικατερίνης στην πόλη της Ρόδου και η ζωγραφική του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα στα Δωδεκάνησα (1309–1453).* Rodos/Athen, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαιακών Σπουδών 2010. 358 S. 3 Farbtaf. 70 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. ISBN 978-960-88-3874-1. – Ein grundlegendes Buch über die Monumentalmalerei des späten Mittelalters im Dodekanes. Ausgehend von einer minutiösen ikonographischen und stilistischen Analyse der beiden Malereiphasen der Hl. Katharina-Kirche in der Stadt Rhodos (letztes V. des 14. Jh.s und ca. 1400) untersucht der Autor den historischen, sozialen und kulturellen Hintergrund von Rhodos zur Zeit der Johanniter sowie die künstlerischen Entwicklungen nicht nur auf Rhodos, sondern auch auf den anderen Inseln des Dodekanes. Eine bedeutende Arbeit mit zahlreichen neuen archäologischen und kunstgeschichtlichen Angaben, die zur ERforschung der Folgen der Symbiose von Griechen und Franken in den östlichen Mittelmeerländern beträchtlich beiträgt. – Kalopissi-Verti. [975

**Brouskari E.**, *Examples of successive religious cults on Cos (ancient funerary monuments and Christian worship).* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 281–289. 11 fig. Griechischer Text 506–509. – Berger. [976

**Christofidou A.**, *Nea Moni, Chios: Cultural landmark and enduring place of pilgrimage in the Northeast Aegean. The restoration of the Catholicon.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 417–429. 10 fig. Griechischer Text 526–531. – Berger. [977

**Gratsia E.**, *Η αρχιτεκτονική κληρονομιά της Νάξου της περιόδου της βενετικής και οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας. Διαχείριση και προστασία / Il patrimonio architettonico di Nasso nel periodo della dominazione veneziana e ottomana: Gestione e tutela.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 187–203. – The author proposes ways of administration and protection of medieval monuments on the island of Naxos. – Gasparis. [978

**Melitze E.**, *Τμήματα μεσοβυζαντινών τέμπλων από την Κω.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 421–445. 11 Abb. – Berger. [979

**Pennas Ch.**, *Βυζαντινή παράδοση και τοπική κοινωνία στην έδρα του δουκάτου της Νάξου. Η μαρτυρία των μνημείων / Tradizione bizantina e società locale nella sede del ducato di Nasso. La testimonianza dei monumenti.* (Nr. 833). – Gasparis.

**Pennas Ch.**, *Νέα στοιχεία αποκατάστασης και ερμηνείας του τέμπλου της Παναγίας Κρήνας στη Χίο.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 447–463. 8 Abb. – Berger. [980

**Voyadjis S.**, *The Katholikon of Nea Moni in Chios unveiled.* JÖB 59 (2009) 229–242. – Darbietung einer Chronologie der Bauphasen mit vier Faltplänen. – Rhoby. [981

## Kreta

**Andrianakes M.**, *Το έργο της 28ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 34–47. 38 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Projekte des 28. Ephorates für byzantinische Altertümer in den Bezirken Rhethymnon und Chania während des Zeitraums 2004–2008. (Stadt Rethymnon: Festung Fortezza, Kirche von Agios Frankiskos, Kara Musa Pascha-Moschee, Kirche Hagia Sophia. Präfektur von Rhethymnon: Kirchen von Panagia in Kyrianna und Lambini, Agios Ioannis in Episkopi, Klöster von Bali, Vossakos und Preveli. Stadt Chania: Wiederherstellung der Firka-Festung im alten Hafen, Kirchen von Agios Nikolaos und Agios Rokkos in Splanzia. Präfektur von Chania: Ausgrabungen in Kastel Selino. Restaurierung in der Rotunde des Erzengels Michael in Episkopi, in den Erzengel Michael-Kirchen in Aradena und Sarakena, und in den Klöstern von Agios Georgios in Karydi und Gouvernetto. – Foskolou. [982

**Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705). – Foskolou.

**Andrianakes M.**, *Το έργο της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής ανάδειξης βυζαντινού και βενετσιάνικου οχυρωματικού περιβόλου Χανίων.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 93–107. 26 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Präsentation des Projektes für die Restaurierung der by-

zantinischen und venezianischen Festungsanlagen von Chania und der bis jetzt abgeschlossen Arbeit. – Foskolou. [983

**Andrianakis M.**, *Aghios Ioannis Xenos and his cult.* (Nr. 520). – Berger.

**Barthalitu P.**, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στο Φουρφουρά Αμαρίου.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 555–567. 8 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Südöstlich von Fourfouras/Rhethymnon, in einem Ort namens Livada oder Arkolio, liegen die Überreste eines Klosters, von denen nur die kleine gewölbte Kirche der Gottesmutter in gutem Zustand erhalten ist. Während der Restaurierung des Gebäudes kamen zwei Bauphasen und die ersten Wandmalereien der Kirche ans Tageslicht, die ins späte 14. Jh. zu datieren sind. – Foskolou. [984

**Baruchakes B./Phiolitake A./Psarakes K.**, *Ψηφιοποίηση των εικόνων και κειμηλίων των Μονών Γωνιάς Χανίων και Πρέβελη Ρεθύμνου και της βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής κεραμικής Νομού Χανίων.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 803–813. 9 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über das Forschungsprogramm der Katalogisierung und Digitalisierung der Ikonen und Reliquien des Klosters Gonia in Chania und des Preveli-Klosters in Rhethymnon, sowie der byzantinischen und nachbyzantinischen Keramik der Präfektur Chania. – Foskolou. [985

**Bolanakes I.**, *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο της 13ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων κατά την περίοδο 2004–2008.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 55–73. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zu den Projekten des 13. Ephorates für byzantinische Altertümer in der Präfektur von Heraklion und Lassithi auf Kreta, im Zeitraum 2004–2008. – Foskolou. [986

**Chronake D.**, *Στοιχεία διαμόρφωσης όψεων σε μεσοβυζαντινά μνημεία του Νομού Λασιθίου.* (Nr. 1150). – Foskolou.

**Delinikola E./Kalomoirakis D./Chronaki D.**, *Restoration of the dominican church of St Peter in Herakleion, Crete.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 430–440. 9 fig. Griechischer Text 531–534. – Berger. [987

**Epitropakes P.**, *Ο Ναός της Μεταμόρφωσης του Σωτήρα στο Λευκοχώρι Ηρακλείου Κρήτης.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 390–401. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Präsentation der kleinen Kirche der Verklärung in Leukochori/Herakleion auf Kreta, die mit sehr interessanten Wandmalereien vom Beginn des des 14. Jh.s ausgestattet ist. – Foskolou. [988

**Giankake A.**, *Εντοιχισμένα πινάκια σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης: μια ερευνητική πρόταση.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 827–840. 2 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Erste Darstellung eines Forschungsprojektes über die sog. bacini, an den Fassaden der Kirche eingemauerte Keramik. – Foskolou. [989

**Gkratziu O.**, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής.* Ηράκλειο, Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης 2010. 336 S. 331 meist farbige Abb. ISBN 978-960-524-301-2. – Thema des Buches ist die Architektur Kretas zwischen dem 13. Jahrhundert und der Zeit um 1500, und umfasst damit die ersten Jahrhunderte der venezianischen Herrschaft auf der Insel. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Kirchenbaukunst, da sich Beispiele profaner Architektur aus diesem Zeitraum kaum erhalten haben. Einer Zusammenfassung des Forschungsstandes folgen acht Kapitel, in denen das umfangreiche Material unter kunsthistorischen, politischen und kirchenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht wird. Nach der venezianischen Eroberung der Insel setzte eine rege Bautätigkeit ein, verbunden mit der schnellen Entwicklung der Steinmetzkunst, neuer Bauornamentik und neuen Bautechniken. Eindrücklich dargestellt wird die große Verbreitung einschiffiger, gewölbter Kapellen auf dem Land und die Vielzahl von Doppelkirchen, die mit ihren zwei Apsiden für den Gebrauch sowohl römisch-katholischer als auch griechisch-orthodoxer Gottesdienste interpretiert werden. Die Umgestaltung älterer Kirchen in gewölbte, dreischiffige Räume geht mit dem Zurücktreten der typisch byzantinischen Kuppelkirchen einher. Mit der Umdatierung der Kuppelkirche in Prinos bei Rhethymno in die zweite Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts gelingt es der Autorin, die direkten Auswirkungen der Union von Ost- und Westkirche der Kirchen auf die Kirchenbaukunst zu belegen. Gleich nach der Synode von Florenz (1439) weist die Gestaltung und Dekoration der Kirche in Prinos den Versuch auf, beide kirchlichen Traditionen zu verknüpfen. Das Buch legt reiches, vielfältiges Material vor, das der bisherigen Forschung zum großen Teil nur lückenhaft bekannt war. Durch ihre eindringliche Behandlung ist es der Verfasserin gelungen die vielen ländlich-bescheidenen Kirchen Kretas als Nachweis sowohl verloren gegangener ziviler Architektur heranzuziehen, als auch als Beispiel für die religiösen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der griechisch-orthodoxen Mehrheit der Bevölkerung und der lateinischen Minderheit, die jedoch die ökonomische und politische Macht besaß. Der Einfluss der neuen religiösen Bewegung der Bettelorden, die Übernahme westlicher Gotik und ihre Umsetzung in der lokalen Bauornamentik sind weitere Belege für die intensiven West-Ost-Beziehungen im Spätmittelalter. Das Buch ist ein wichtiger und anregender Beitrag zu diesem schon viel diskutierten Thema. / Besprechung oben S. 199–208. – Foskolou/Berger. [990

**Katephore M.**, *Ανασκαφή στο Ναό των Αγίων Αποστόλων στην Κάτω Επισκοπή Σητείας: Επίσκεψη σε ένα βυζαντινό λουτρό.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 211–222. 4 Abb. Mit englischer Zusam-

menfassung. – Über die Ausgrabung und die Restaurierungsarbeit in der Apostelkirche in Kato Episkopi, Sitia/ Kreta. Es wird gezeigt, dass das Gebäude ursprünglich, d. h. im 11. Jh., ein Bad war und in spätvenezianischen Zeit zur Bestattung der Bewohner der Siedlung diente. Neben der Gesamtzahl der Gräber wurden verschiedene Reste der sanitären Anlagen des mittelbyzantinischen Bades entdeckt. – Foskolou. [991

**Longo F./Mpredake M./Benzi M.**, *Πρόγραμμα «Φαιστός». Μια ιταλο-ελληνική συνεργασία για τη μελέτη του οικισμού από τη νεολιθική εποχή μέχρι την ύστερη αρχαιότητα.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 348–361. – Über das „Phaistos-Projekt“, eine italienisch-griechische Zusammenarbeit zur Erforschung der Siedlung von Phaistos vom Neolithikum bis in die Spätantike. – Foskolou. [992

**Mare M.**, *Διερεύνηση βυζαντινού τείχους στην Κάτω Μερά Ιεράπετρας.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 200–210. 6 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Untersuchung der byzantinischen Festung in Kato Mera, Ierapetra auf Kreta, die in die frühbyzantinische Zeit datiert ist. – Foskolou. [993

**Moschobe G.**, *Κατασκευαστικοί και μορφολογικοί μετασχηματισμοί σε ναούς της πρώιμης Βενετοκρατίας στο Νομό Λασιθίου.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 251–263. 14 Abb. 10 Zeich. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Sanierungsarbeiten an den Kirchen Panagia Kera in Kritsa, Ai-Giorgis bei Kroustas und Hagio Pneuma bei Limnakaro in der Hochebene von Lassithi, die im Zeitraum 2005–2008 durchgeführt wurden. Es wurde festgestellt, daß die ursprünglich einschiffige Kuppelkirche der Panagia Kera im 14. Jh. radikal umgebaut und mit zwei Seitenschiffen erweitert wurde. Im 14 Jh. wurden auch die Kirchen Ai-Giorgis in Kroustas und Hagio Pneuma in Limnakaro errichtet. – Foskolou. [994

**Mprokolakes G.**, *Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Μπουρούνι: αναστηλωτικές και ανασκαφικές εργασίες.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 223–232. 10 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Ausgrabung und die Restaurierungsarbeiten in der Kirche des Hl. Nikolaos in Bourouni, Lassithi/Kreta, die wegen ihrer anikonischen Wandmalereien bekannt ist. – Foskolou. [995

**Mpurmpu Ch.**, *Η ανασκαφή του νεκροταφείου στο Ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής (Αλικιανός).* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 754–766. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Notgrabung, die im Inneren der Kirche der Zoodochos Pigi (Alikianos, Chania) durchgeführt wurde, brachte einen umfangreichen Friedhof ans Tageslicht, der aus 21 Grä-

bern im Inneren der Kirche und 56 Gräbern im Außenbereich bestand. Die Studie ist ein vorläufiger Bericht über die Funde der Ausgrabung (Architektur der Gräber, Kleinfunde und Beobachtungen zu den Skelettresten), die auf eine Datierung des Friedhofes am Ende des 11. oder am Beginn des 12. Jh.s hinweisen. – Foskolou. [996

**Mylopotamitake K./Mauritsake M./Marnellou N.**, *Ο μεσοβυζαντινός Ναός της Αγίας Τριάδας Λιγορτύνου και η ανασκαφή του.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 378–389. 26 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung der Hagia-Triada-Kirche in Ligortynos/Herakleion Kreta. Es handelt sich um eine eingeschriebene Kreuzkuppelkirche, die ins 11. Jh. datiert wird. Die ans Tageslicht gekommene Keramik wird in den Zeitraum vom 11. bis 16. Jh. datiert. – Foskolou. [997

**Panagopoulos S.**, *Αποκατάσταση του Ναού Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στην Κυριάννα Ρεθύμνου.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 568–571. 10 Abb., 5 Zeich. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Restaurierung der Kirche der Koimesis in Kyrianna/Rethymnon auf Kreta. Der Komplex besteht aus zwei Gebäuden, von denen das nördliche das ältere ist. Seine erste Phase wird an den Anfang des 11. Jh. datiert. Die Kirche wurde in den ersten Jahren der venezianischen Herrschaft nach Westen hin erweitert. Am Anfang des 17. Jh. wurde die Kapelle der Hl. Paraskevi im Süden hinzugefügt. – Foskolou. [998

**Phantakes G.**, *Παλαιοχριστιανική και Πρωτοβυζαντινή Κίσαμος. Σωστική ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Βεργεράκη – Μαλεφάκη – Παπασταματάκη.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 732–744. 24 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Funde (Keramik, Münzen, Metallobjekte), die bei einer Notgrabung auf einem Grundstück im östlichen Stadtviertel von Kissamos/Chania ans Tageslicht gebracht wurden, sprechen für die Existenz einer frühbyz. Siedlung des 6.–7. Jh.s in der Gegend. – Foskolou. [999

**Phiolitake A.**, *Ανασκαφική έρευνα στη θέση «Κεφάλα» πλησίον του οικισμού των Βρυσών του Δήμου Κρυονερίδας, Νομού Χανίων.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 745–753. 8 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Notgrabung im Ort Kephala in der Nähe des Dorfes Vrisses bei Chania. Die Daten und Kleinfunde der Ausgrabung sprechen für ein Bauernhaus, das im 6. Jh. und in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jh.s bewohnt war. – Foskolou. [1000

**Phraidake Ath.**, *Ανασκαφή της παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής στο Πέραμα Δήμου Γεροποτάμου 2004–2006 (αγρός Χωνιανάκη).* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 532–542. 11 Abb. 3 Zeich. Mit

englischer Zusammenfassung. – Ausgrabung einer frühchristlichen dreischiffigen Basilika in Mylopotamos, Kreta. Die Platzierung des Baptisteriums im östlichen Teil des nördlichen Seitenschiffes führt zusammen mit der dort gefundenen Keramik zur Vermutung, daß die Basilika in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh.s entstanden ist. – Foskolou. [1001

**Psarakes K.**, *Αποκατάσταση Ιερού Ναού Μιχαήλ Αρχαγγέλου Σαρακήνας.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 767–778. 6 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Restaurierungsarbeiten in der Kirche des Erzengels Michael in Selino/Chania auf Kreta, welche die architektonischen Reste einer früheren dreischiffigen Basilika mit Narthex ans Tageslicht brachten. Darüber hinaus ermöglicht die Konsolidierung der Fresken ihre Erforschung und Datierung. Die Ikonographie und der Stil der Wandmalereien weisen auf das Werk eines der produktivsten Maler auf Westkreta hin, Ioannis Pagomenos, der in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jh.s aktiv war. – Foskolou. [1002

**Pyrrou N.**, *Ανασκαφικές εργασίες στο Ναό του Αγίου Δημητρίου στη Βιράν Επισκοπή Ρεθύμνου – Τα πρώτα αποτελέσματα.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 543–555. 20 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die Kirche des Agios Demetrios in Viran Episkopi, Rhethymno/Kreta, eine dreischiffige Basilika mit einer kleinen gewölbten Anlage im Süden. Der unregelmäßige Grundriss des Gebäudes weist mehr als vier Bauphasen auf. Die laufende Ausgrabung sowie die Restaurierungsarbeiten, die vom 28. Ephorat für byzantinische Altertümer durchgeführt werden, haben Elemente ans Tageslicht gebracht (Zisternen, eingemauerte Tubuli und eine kleine Konstruktion aus hydraulischem Mörtel), die in der Regel in Badehäusern anzutreffen sind. – Foskolou. [1003

**Ricciardi M.**, *Το βαπτιστήριο στη Μητρόπολη Μεσαράς: Έρευνα και πρώτες υποθέσεις για ένα πρόγραμμα αποκατάστασης.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 336–347. 7 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Über die sog. „Rotonda", d. h. das Baptisterium von Metropolis in Gortys/Kreta, das auf Grund der Ausgrabungsfunde um die Mitte oder gegen Ende des 5. Jh.s n. Chr. datiert wird. – Foskolou. [1004

**Sideropulos K.**, *Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Μπουρούνι, Τα νομίσματα.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 233–237. 2 Abb. – Über die Münzen, die bei der Ausgrabung der Kirche des Hl. Nikolaos in Bourouni, Lassithi/Kreta gefunden worden sind. – Foskolou. [1005

**Sythiakake B.**, *Βασιλική Β Χερσονήσου: απόπειρα νέας ανάγνωσης των ανασκαφικών δεδομένων.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.*

(Nr. 1705) 362–377. 8 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Ausgrabung an der Basilika B von Chersonisos/Kreta im Jahr 2008 bewies, daß die Apsis auf den Ruinen eines früheren römischen Gebäudes stand, das einen größeren rechteckigen Grundriß hatte. Die frühchristliche Kirche hatte also nie eine eingeschriebene Apsis, die in der syrischen kirchlichen Architektur üblich war, wie allgemein angenommen worden war. Die frühchristliche Basilika, die wahrscheinlich die Bischofskirche der Stadt war, wurde bald nach der Zerstörung des römischen Gebäudes durch das Erdbeben von 448 erbaut. Sie wurde vor 616 umfassend umgebaut und in der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Herakleios engültig aufgegeben. – Foskolou. [1006

## Zypern

**Imhaus B.**, *Le Monastère de Saint-Macaire en Chypre.* (Nr. 395). – D'Aiuto.

**Jones M./Milward Jones A.** (ed.), *The canopy of heaven. The ciborium in the church of St. Mamas, Morphou.* Supporting Activities that Value the Environemnt (SAVE) 2010. 221 S. Abb. ISBN 978-9963-9702-1-6. – Parani. [1007

**Loizu Chatzegabriel L.**, *Το Λεβέντειο Δημοτικό Μουσείο Λευκωσίας. Ιστορικές μαρτυρίες της Βενετοκρατίας από τις συλλογές του Μουσείου.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 290–298. – Parani. [1008

**Michaelidu L.**, *Η Κύπρος των Βενετών. Πηγές από τις συλλογές του Πολιτιστικού Ιδρύματος Τραπέζης Κύπρου.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 281–289. – Parani. [1009

**Neal D. S.**, *The basilica at Soli Cyprus: a survey of the buildings and mosaics.* Supporting Activities that Value the Environment (SAVE) Project [ohne Jahr]. 102 S. 77 Abb. [ohne ISBN.] – Parani. [1010

**Papageorgiu A.**, *Η χριστιανική τέχνη στο κατεχόμενο από τον τουρκικό στρατό τμήμα της Κύπρου.* Λευκωσία, Ιερά Αρχιεπισκοπή Κύπρου 2010. 473 S. Abb. ISBN 978-9963-561-63-6. – Parani. [1011

**Perdikes S./Myriantheus D.**, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στον Μουτουλλά.* Οδηγοί Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Κύπρου. Λευκωσία, Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Τραπέζης Κύπρου και Ιερά Μητρόπολις Μόρφου 2009. 94 S. Abb. ISBN 978-9963-42-878-6. – Parani. [1012

**Philotheou G.**, *The church and tomb of Aghios Athanasios Pentaschoinitis: An significant place of pilgrimage on Cyprus.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 227–242. 36 fig. Griechischer Text 493–497. – Berger. [1013

## (dd) Asiatische Türkei

### Allgemein

**Niewöhner Ph.**, *Byzantinische Stadtmauern in Anatolien. Vom Statussymbol zum Bollwerk gegen die Araber.* – **Lorenzen J. /Pirson F./Schröder P. I./Wulff-Rheidt U.** (Hrsg.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen. Kolloquium 9./10. Februar 2007 in Istanbul.* (Nr. 1747) 239–260. 9 Abb. – Dennert. [1014

**Ötüken Y.**, *Neue Aspekte zur Datierung der mittelbyzantinischen Bauplastik in Kleinasien.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 105–121. 8 Abb. – Berger. [1015

**Strzygowski J.**, *Kleinasien. Ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte.* Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish (Montana) 2010. 245 S. 162 s/w-Abb. (Fotos und Strichzeichnungen). ISBN 978-1-1601-2720-2. – Erster fotomechanischer Nachdruck des ersten Buchs über den kleinasiatischen Kirchenbau überhaupt, durch Reproduktion eines Originalexemplars der Ausgabe Leipzig 1903. Der Verlag gibt auf dem äußeren Umschlag und im Vertrieb irrtümlich John Winter Crowfoot sowie J. I. Smirnov als Autoren an. Crowfoot steuerte zwar einige Beschreibungen in englischer Sprache (S. 1–20, 28, 32–34), Fotos und Bautenzeichnungen (so auch Smirnov) zum Gesamtwerk bei (vgl. dazu erklärend deren Erstnennung auf der Frontispiz des Originals), alleiniger Hrsg. und Hauptautor ist jedoch Josef Strzygowski, einer der langjährigen Gründungsmitarbeiter der BZ. Zur Genese des Werks vgl. jetzt Kostenec/Zäh, BZ 104, 2011, Nr 860. Verf. bereitet, wie bereits andernorts (JÖB 57, 2007, 225 f.) angekündigt, weiter einen aktuellen wiss. Kommentar zu dem Werk vor. – A. Zäh. [1016

### Asien (Provinz)

**Arslan N./Böhlendorf-Arslan B.**, *Assos. An archaeological guide.* Homer Archaeological Guides, 10. Istanbul, Homer Kitabevi 2010. 180 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-9944-483-30-8. – S. 137–157 zu Assos in byzantinischer Zeit. – Dennert. [1017

**Büyükkolancı M.**, *Quelques exemples de plaques de parapet des VIIe–XIIe siècles provenant de Saint Jean à Éphèse.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 71–79. 11 fig. – Berger. [1018

**Çoruhlu T.**, *2007 Dönemi Ören (Adramytteion Antik Kenti) Kazı Çalışmaları ve Ortaçağ Buluntularının Değerlendirilmesi* (Ausgrabungen 2007 in Ören, Adramytteion, und Auswertung der mittelalterlichen Funde). – **Uysal A. O.** u.a.

(Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 473–478. 11 Abb. – Dennert. [1019

**Ivantchik A./Von Kienlin A./Summerer L.**, *Recherches à Kélainai – Apamée Kibôtos en 2008–2009. Rapport préliminaire.* Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010) 109–140. 26 Abb. – U.a. Neubearbeitung der 1892 von G. Weber publizierten frühbyz. Kirche östlich von Dinar. – Dennert. [1020

**Kessener P.**, *Stone sawing machines of Roman and early Byzantine times in the Anatolian Mediterranean.* Adalya 13 (2010) 283–303. 20 Abb. – Zu den spätantiken Steinsägen von Ephesos und Gerasa und den Produktionsmethoden. – Dennert. [1021

**Klinkott M.**, *Die byzantinischen Wehrmauern von Pergamon als Abbild der politisch-militärischen Situationen im westlichen Kleinasien.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 831–861. – Berger. [1022

**Koob M./Pfarr M./Grellert M.**, *Ephesos – byzantinisches Erbe des Abendlandes. Digitale Rekonstruktion und Simulation der Stadt Ephesos im 6. Jahrhundert.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 731–729. – Berger. [1023

**Mercangöz M.**, *Ostentatious life in a Byzantine province: some selected pieces from the finds of the excavation in Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia (Prov. Aydın, TR).* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 181–198. – Berger. [1024

**Mercangöz Z.**, *Reflexions sur le décor sculpté byzantin d'Anatolie occidentale.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 81–103. 28 fig. – Berger. [1025

**Niewöhner Ph.**, *Aizanoi, Anatolien und der Nahe Osten. Siedlungsentwicklung, Demographie und Klima in frühbyzantinischer Zeit.* – **Rheidt K.** (Hrsg.), *Aizanoi und Anatolien. Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie des westlichen Kleinasien.* (Nr. 1030) 146–153. Abb. 147–155. – Dennert. [1026

**Nuzzo L./Leucci G./Negri S.**, *GPR, ERT and magnetic investigations inside the Martyrium of St Philip, Hierapolis, Turkey.* Archaeological Prospection 16 (2009) 177–192. 8 Abb. – Dennert. [1027

**Özhanlı M.**, *Excavations at Pisidian Antioch in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 81–85. 5 Abb. – Arbeiten in der Nordkirche und der Großen Basilika. – Dennert. [1028

**Otten Th.**, *Das byzantinische Pergamon – ein Überblick zu Forschungsstand und Quellenlage.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 809–830. – Berger. [1029

**Rheidt K.** (Hrsg.), *Aizanoi und Anatolien. Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie des westlichen Kleinasien.* Mainz, Von Zabern 2010. 200 S. 188 Abb. ISBN 978-3-8053-4169-1. – Auch zu den frühbyzantinischen Bauten in Aizanoi. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1026. – Dennert. [1030

**Say Özer Y.**, *Kaunos Kubbeli Kilisesi'nin Abon'u* (Nr. 1174). – Dennert.

**Steskal M.**, *Badewesen und Bäderarchitektur von Ephesos in frühbyzantinischer Zeit.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 573–591. – Berger. [1031

**Üstündağ H.**, *Palaeopathological evidence for social status in a Byzantine burial from Kuşadası, Kadikalesi/Anaia: a case of »diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis« (DISH).* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 199–211. – Berger. [1032

**Wefers S./Mangartz S.**, *Die byzantinischen Werkstätten von Ephesos.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 713–744. – Berger. [1033

**Wiplinger G.**, *Die Wasserversorgung von Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 593–613. – Berger. [1034

## Bithynien und Pontos

**Pekak M. S.**, *Trilye (Zeytinbağı) Fatih Camisi. Bizans Kapalı Yunan Haçı Planı.* Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları 2009. 203 S. 88 Abb. 34 Pläne. ISBN 978-605-396-089-8 – Monographische Vorlage der mittelbyzantinischen Kreuzkuppelkirche; leider ohne Zusammenfassung in einer westlichen Sprache. – Dennert. [1035

**Çetinkaya H.**, *A Byzantine chapel at Apolyont/Gölyazı.* Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010) 163–168. 5 Abb. – Dennert. [1036

## Kilikien

**Autret C./Yağcı R./Rauh N. K.**, *An LRA Amphora Kiln Site at Soli/Pompeiopolis* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 203–207. 8 Abb. – Produktionsstätte für spätrömische Amphoren des 5.–7. Jh.s. – Dennert. [1037

**Aydınoğlu Ü.**, *The farms in Rough Cilicia in the Roman and early Byzantine periods.* Adalya 13 (2010) 243–282. 16 Abb. – Dennert. [1038

**Aydın A.**, *Mersin Kiliseleri* (Kirchen in Mersin). – **Özdemir Y.** (Hrsg.), *Mersin Sempozyumu: 19–22 Kasım 2008, bildiriler.* (Nr. 1761) 35–42. – Laflı. [1039

**Köroğlu G.**, *Excavation in the Medieval Strata at Yumuktepe Höyüğü in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 111–114. 7 Abb. – Dennert. [1040

**Köroğlu G.**, *Mersin, Yumuktepe Höyüğünde 2006-2007-2008 Yılları Ortaçağ Kazı Çalışmaları* (Ausgrabungen der mittelalterlichen Schichten des Yumuktepe Hüyük, Mersin, in den Jahren 2006-2007-2008). – **Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 400–412. 14 Abb. – Dennert. [1041

**Zoroğlu L.**, *Excavations at Kelenderis in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 31–36. 4 Abb. – Fortsetzung der Arbeiten in der Basilika auf der Agora. – Dennert. [1042

## Kappadokien

**Gabelić S.**, *Iz programa crkve Svetog Jovana (Ajvali kilise) u Kapadokiji* (From the painted program of Saint John [Ayvali Kilise], Cappadocia). Zograf 33 (2009) 33–41. 3 photos, 3 drawings. With English abstract and summary. – The research concentrates on a unique two-figure composition (913–920) that has so far been unnoticed in secondary literature. The ensemble depicts a monk (identified with Archippos, an old custodian from the legend of the miracle of Archangel Michael at Kollosai/Chonai), addressing the colossal figure of Archangel Michael. – Dželebdžić. [1043

**Jolivet-Lévy C.**, *Les cavaliers de Karbala.* Zograf 33 (2009) 19–31. 12 photos, 1 drawing. With English abstract and Serbian summary. – A new interpretation of the recently published composition (N. Thierry in DChAE 30, 2009) from a funerary church at Güzelyurt (ancient Karbala) in western Cappadocia (9th–10th c.). Two officers of the Byzantine army are depicted on horseback, in keeping with the iconographic scheme of representing holy horsemen. They are attacking an infantryman depicted between them. It is a commemorative representation of two soldiers, which presumably tends to celebrate military activities and justifies killings committed in war. According to the epigraph, the soldiers were Leon, a skribôn, who was buried there, and Michael, a turmarch. – Dželebdžić. [1044

**Kalas V.**, *Middle Byzantine art and architecture in Cappadocia: the Ala Kilise in Belisırma in the Peristrema Valley.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 184–194. – Berger. [1045

**Koçyiğit F.**, *Tağar (St. Theodore) Kilisesi Duvar Resimleri* (The wall paintings of Tağar [Theodore] church). Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 26/1 (2009) 141–164. 1 Plan, 9 Abb. – Volltext im Internet: http://sbe.erciyes.edu.tr/dergi/sayi_26/10-%20_141–164.%20syf._.pdf. – Dennert. [1046

**Okuyucu D.**, *Kapadokya Bölgesi Yeraltı Şehirlerinde Bulunan Şaraphanelerden Birkaç Örnek* (Some examples of wineries in underground cities of the Cappadocia Region). Adıyaman Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 1/1 (2008) 138–149. 26 Abb. – Volltext im Internet: http://www.adiyaman.edu.tr/akabirim/sbe/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/dokuyucu.pdf. – Dennert. [1047

## Galatien

**Ivison E. A.**, *Kirche und religiöses Leben im byzantinischen Amorium.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 309–343. – Berger. [1048

**Ivison E. A.**, *Middle Byzantine sculptors at work. Evidence from the Lower City Church at Amorium.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 487–513. 22 fig. – Berger. [1049

**Lightfoot Ch. S.**, *Die byzantinische Stadt Amorium: Grabungsergebnisse der Jahre 1988 bis 2008.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 293–307. – Berger. [1050

**Salkitzoglu T. A.**, *Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Χαρίτωνος στὴ Σύλλη τοῦ Ἰκονίου.* (Nr. 399). – Leontsini.

**Schoolman E. M.**, *Kreuze und kreuzförmige Darstellungen in der Alltagskultur von Amorium.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 373–386. – Berger. [1051

## Lykien und Pamphylien

**Alpaslan-Doğan S.**, *La sculpture byzantine en Lycie et sa place dans l'évolution de l'art byzantin.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 123–138. 15 fig. – Berger. [1052

**Çevik N./u. a.**, *A unique discovery in Lycia: the ancient synagogue at Andriake, port of Myra.* Adalya 13 (2010) 335–366. 44 Abb. – In Andriake wurde ein neben dem Horreum ein frühbyzantinisches Gebäude mit Apsis freigelegt. Auf Grund zweier Marmorpanele mit Darstellung einer Menorah und von Stifterinschriften mit jüdischem Namen wird der Bau als Synagoge identifiziert. – Dennert. [1053

**Çevik N./Kızgut İ./Bulut S.**, *Rhodiapolis as a unique example of Lycian urbanism.* Adalya 13 (2010) 29–63. 19 Abb. – Auf der ummauerten „Akropolis" eine Kirche und „Bischofsresidenz". – Dennert. [1054

**Demirel Gökalp Z./Yıldırım Ş.**, *Lykia Olympos'unda Bir Restitüsyon Denemesi* (A restitution proposal for a church in Lycian Olympos). Adalya 13 (2010) 367–387. 20 Abb. – Dennert. [1055

**Ötüken S. Y./Çorağan Karakaya N./Fındık E. F.**, *Excavations at the church of St. Nicholas in Myra-Demre and the conservation, restoration and documentation of the wall paintings in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 61–65. 2 Abb. 2 Pläne. – Dennert. [1056

**Olcay Uçkan B. Y.**, *Excavation at Olympos in 2009.* ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas 8 (2010) 66–72. 8 Abb. – Arbeiten an der Querhausbasilika A, Freilegung eines Baptisteriums. – Dennert. [1057

**Ruggieri V.**, *Addendum architettonico a Tristomon (Üçağız) e Pinara. Cyrillo Vasil' episcopo dicatum.* OCP 76 (2010) 339–365. 4 Pläne, 37 s/w-Abb. – Ruggieri berichtigt und erweitert hier vor allem das fehlerhafte Pinara-Lemma aus TIB 8 (2004) „Lykien und Pamphylien", S. 812. Die bisher in diesem westlykischen Ort festgestellten drei großen frühbyzantinischen, leider nur mäßig erhaltenen Kirchenruinen werden korrekt benannt und beschrieben und erstmals anhand von Grundrißskizzen und zahlreichen Fotos vorgestellt. Sämtliche Kirchen befinden sich in der südlichen Stadt. Es sind die erstaunlicherweise unmittelbar nebeneinander errichteten, in den Dimensionen ähnlichen Kirchen A und B (TIB 8, Abb. 321–322 = Basilika B, nicht die östlichste Kirche C!) sowie die östlich abseits von diesem Komplex gelegene große Basilika C (la chiesa dell' Unterburg bzw. terza chiesa), die größte Kirche von Pinara (Maße: Länge 34, 30 m mit Narthex, Breite 17, 30 m). Die Kirche A verlässt als einzige das typologische Grundrissmuster des Orts, indem sie außen eine polygonal anstatt rund ummantelte Apsis aufweist und aufgrund ihres Befunds ggf. als Kuppelbasilika (des 6. Jh.s?, Anm. des Verf.) zu rekonstruieren wäre. Einleitend bringt R. noch den Grundriss der am besten erhaltenen Basilika des an der zentrallykischen Küste gelegenen byzantinischen Dorfs Tristomon, die über einen stattlichen Komplex von Annexbauten verfügt. Die kunsthistorisch interessante und überaus spannende Frage, welche von den Kirchen Pinaras nun die Marienkirche ist, die in der Vita (Kap. 69) des Nikolaus Sionites erwähnt wird und deren Bau (im Jahr 550) 400 Nomismata kostete, könnten erst weitere, vor allem archäologische, zukünftige Untersuchungen aufklären helfen. Dies möchte R. durch diese Vorlage anregen. Die bisher gesammelten Indizien reichen für eine wirklich gesicherte Zuweisung leider noch nicht aus. – A. Zäh. [1058

**Yalçın A. B.**, *Le sculture mediobizantine di Yalvaç.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 139–159. 20 fig. – Berger. [1059

### Türkisches Armenien und Georgien

**Arbuckle B. S.**, *Chalcolithic caprines, dark age dairy and Byzantine beef. A first look at animal exploitation at middle and late holocene Çadır Höyük, North Central Turkey.* Anatolica 35 (2009) 179–224. – Laflı. [1060

### Türkisches Mesopotamien und Syrien

**Brasse Ch.**, *Von der Stadtmauer zur Stadtgeschichte. Das Befestigungssystem von Antiochia am Orontes.* – **Lorenzen J. /Pirson F./Schröder P. I./Wulff-Rheidt U.** (Hrsg.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen. Kolloquium 9./10. Februar 2007 in Istanbul.* (Nr. 1747) 261–282. 22 Abb. – Dennert. [1061

## (ee) Nördlicher Schwarzmeerraum

### Ukraine

**Ajbabin A.**, *Das frühbyzantinische Chersonesos/Cherson.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 397–423. – Berger. [1062

**Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791). – Etinhof.

**Beljaev S. A.**, *Послесловие редактора к статье Е.Н. Жеребцова* (Foreword of the editor to the article by E.N. Žerebcov). – **Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791) 150–151. – Etinhof. [1063

**Beljaev S. A.**, *Предисловие редактора к статье Н. И. Репникова* (Afterword of the Editor to the article N. I. Repnikov). – **Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791) 152–153. – Etinhof. [1064

**Chajredinova E.**, *Byzantinische Elemente in der Frauentracht der Krimgoten im 7. Jahrhundert.* (Nr. 759). – Berger.

**Filippov A. E.**, *Росписи раннехристианских склепов Херсонеса Таврического в контексте художественной традиции: синтез с архитектурой, символика, литургическая основа* (Wallpaintings of the early Christian burial vaults in Chersonesus of Tauris in the context of artistic tradition: synthesis with the architecture, symbolic, liturgical basis). – **Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791) 193–303. – Etinhof. [1065

**Rabinowitz A./Sedikova L./Henneberg R.**, *Daily life in a provincial late Byzantine city: recent multidisciplinary research in the southern region of Tauric Chersonesos (Cherson).* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 425–478. – Berger. [1066

**Schreg R.**, *Zentren in der Peripherie: landschaftsarchäologische Forschungen zu den Höhensiedlungen der südwestlichen Krim und ihrem Umland.* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 95–112. – Berger. [1067

**Soročan S. B.**, *Об архитектурном комплексе большой агоры византийского Херсона* (On the architectural complex of the Great Agora in Byzantine Chersonesus). VV 68 (93) (2009) 170–193. – Etinhof. [1068

**Žerebcov E. N.**, *Раскопки базилики 1935 г. В Херсонесе. Замечания к археологической ситуации* (The excavations of the Basilica in 1935 in Chersonesus. Notes on the archaeological situation). – **Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791) 139–149. – Etinhof. [1069

## Georgien

**Didebulidze M.**, *Georgian pilgrimage routes and sites.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 145–155. 6 fig. – Berger. [1070

**Endolceva E. Ju.**, *Рельефы Анакопии и архитектурная пластика Абхазского царства: к постановке проблемы* (Relieves from Anakopy and architectural sculpture of kingdom in Abchazia: statement of a problem). VV 68 (93) (2009) 225–242. – Etinhof. [1071

**Iamanidze N.**, *Art and identity of the 8th century Georgia: the case of sculpture.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 228–232. – Berger. [1072

**Khroushkova L. G.**, *Les dalles de chancel de Tsebelda en Abkhazie.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 577–587. 2 fig. – Berger. [1073

## (ff) Vorderer Orient, Afrika

## Syrien

**Al-Laham S.**, *St George-Homeyra. "A historical place that makes history a living reality".* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 459–465. 9 fig. – Berger. [1074

**Biscop J.-L.**, *The roof of the octagonal drum of the martyrium of Saint-Symeon.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 879–892. – Berger. [1075

**Bührig C.**, *The 'Eastern City Area' of Gadara (Umm Qays): preliminary results on the urban and functional structures between the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods.* (Nr. 850). – Kaegi.

**Fansa M./Bollmann B.** (Hrsg.), *Die Kunst der frühen Christen in Syrien. Zeichen, Bilder und Symbole vom 4. bis 7. Jh. Führer durch die Sonderausstellung im Landesmuseum Natur und Mensch Oldenburg.* Schriftenreihe des Landesmuseums Natur und Mensch, 60. Mainz, Zabern 2008. 240 S. 270 Farbabb. ISBN 978-3-8053-3919-3. – Tinnefeld. [1076

**Kiilerich B.**, *The mosaic of the female musicians from Mariamin, Syria.* Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historium pertinentia 22 (2009 [2010]) 87–107. – Berger. [1077

**Mundell Mango M.**, *Androna in Syria: questions of environment and economy.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 245–290. – Berger. [1078

**Picirillo M.**, *A symbol of peaceful coexistence Umm ar-Rasas/Kastron Mefaa on the world heritage list.* (Nr. 851). – Kaegi.

**Saybaa L.**, *The historical church of Samt George in Izraa, Hauran.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 372–379. 8 fig. – Berger. [1079

**Shahîd I.**, *The Ghassanid structure outside Sergiopolis/Rusafa: church or praetorium?* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 283–287. – Berger. [1080

**Strube Ch.**, *Al Andarin, das antike Androna.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 211–243. – Berger. [1081

## Jordanien

**Politis K. D.**, *The Monastery of Aghios Lot at Deir 'Am 'bata in Jordan.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 155–178. – Berger. [1082

**Keller D. R./Tuttle C. A.**, *Archeology in Jordan, 2008 and 2009 Seasons.* AJA 114 (2010) 505–545. – A large early "Early Byzantine" house at Gadara/Umm Qeis used until the Umayyad period (p. 508); three of the five known Byzantine churches at Humayma. – Cutler. [1083

## Israel

**Calderon R.**, *Pottery from the late Byzantine remains near Shiqmona.* 'Atiqot 63 (2010) 183–208. – Laflı. [1084

**Eshed V.**, *Bones from the late Byzantine remains near Shiqmona.* 'Atiqot 63 (2010) 225–226. – Laflı. [1085

**Geiger J.**, *Ascalon as a Hellenic intellectual center in the fifth and sixth centuries.* (Nr. 168). – Laniado.

**Gorin-Rosen Y.**, *Glass from late Byzantine remains near Shiqmona.* 'Atiqot 63 (2010) 209–218. – Laflı. [1086

**Kletter R.**, *Late Byzantine remains near Shiqmona: a monastery, a cemetery and a winepress.* 'Atiqot 63 (2010) 147–182. – Laflı. [1087

**Kool R.**, *Coins from the late Byzantine remains near Shiqmona.* 'Atiqot 63 (2010) 219–223. – Laflı. [1088

**Millar F.**, *Jerome and Palestine.* (Nr. 397). – Laniado.

**Mitropoulos Th.**, *The restoration of the Church of Golgotha in the Holy Sepulchre Church and the authenticity of the site of the Crucifixion.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 441–458. 18 fig. Griechischer Text 534–542. – Berger. [1089

**Porat L.**, *A site from the Iron Age until the early Islamic period near Tamra in the Lower Galilee.* 'Atiqot 58 (2008) 47–56. – Laflı. [1090

**Taxel I.**, *Khirbet Es-Suyyagh: A Byzantine monastery in the Judaean Shephelah.* Salvage Excavation Reports 6, Tel Aviv University – Institute of Archaeology 2009. – Publications of the salvage excavation of a Byzantine monastery, with various findings (pottery, glass, stone, bone and metal objects, marble furnishings, coins, faunal remains) stretching from the Hellenistic to the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods. – Laniado. [1091

**Vitto F.**, *A Byzantine church at Qiryat Ata.* 'Atiqot 60 (2008) 165–176. – Laflı. [1092

## Libanon

**Slim S.**, *The Balamand monastery and the monasteries of el-Kurah region.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 296–308. 22 fig . – Berger. [1093

## Ägypten

**Bonnet Ch.** et al., *Le temple des faubourgs de l'antique Péluse et l'église tétraconque de Tell el-Farama (Égypte Nord Sinaï).* Genava 57 (2009) 135–165. Zahlr. Abb. – Dennert. [1094

**Foukaneli G.**, *Pilgrimage to South Sinai: Biblical traditions and the veneration of saints in the environment of the Sinai monastic community.* (Nr. 778). – Berger.

**Fyssas N.**, *Moses honoured as patron of the monastery of Sinai.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 243–255. Griechischer Text 497–503. – Berger. [1095

**Severin H.-G.**, *On the architectural decoration and dating of the church of Dayr Anbā Bīsūy ("Red Monastery") near Sūhağ in Upper Egypt.* DOP 62 (2008) 75–112. – When considered in its architectural context, the well-preserved sculpture of the "Red Monastery" suggests a date for the church in the middle third of the sixth century. – Cutler. [1096

**Witte Orr J.**, *Kirche und Wandmalereien am Karm al-Aḫbarīya.* JbAC Ergänzungsband, 36. Münster, Aschendorff 2010.190 S., [9], 34 Bl. Ill. ISBN 978-3-402-08117-4. – Berger. [1097

## (gg) Italien

**Appella A.**, *Il monastero dei SS. Anastasio ed Elia a Carbone in Lucania. Nuove note ed osservazioni.* (Nr. 390). – D'Aiuto.

**Augenti A.**, *Storie di una città scomparsa.* Archeo 26/305 (2010) 20–41. num. fig. – Articolo riassuntivo ma molto chiaro sulla storia e sugli scavi recenti del centro portuale di Classe, frutto della collaborazione della Fondazione RavennAntica con l'Università di Bologna e la Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia-Romagna. – Bianchi. [1098

**Barsanti C.**, *Una nota sulla diffusione della scultura a incrostazione nelle Regioni adriatiche del meridione d'Italia tra XI e XIII secolo.* – **Pennas Ch./ Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 515–557. 22 fig. – Berger. [1099

**Bertelli G.**, *La Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo: una revisione e nuovi dati su testimonianze relative alla produzione pittorica e scultorea.* (Nr. 1179). – Bianchi.

**Bertelli G./Attolico A.**, *L'VIII secolo in Puglia: un secolo contraddittorio.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 195–203. – Berger. [1100

**Brodbeck S.**, *Les saints de la cathédrale de Monreal en Sicile. Iconographie, hagiographie et pouvoir royal à la fin du XIIe siècle.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 432. Rome, Ecole française 2010. XI, 771 p. ISBN 978-2-7283-0864-4. – Berger. [1101

**Cacciaguerra G.**, *La ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale in Sicilia: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca.* (Nr. 1304). – Bianchi.

**Castagnola V.**, *Il casale medievale di Balsignano. Ricostruzione delle fasi cronologiche attraverso il rilievo e la lettura stratigrafica degli elevati.* Taras 26 (2006) [2010] 65–86. fig. 32. – Il sito, di origine bizantina, è citato in una pergamena del 962 e nel Chronicon di Lupo Protospata del 988, che racconta delle distruzioni ad opera dei Saraceni. – Bianchi. [1102

**Cioce M.**, *Aspetti della ritualità funeraria fra la fine del Tardoantico e l'alto Medioevo.* (Nr. 858). – Bianchi.

**Coroneo R.**, *Arte in Sardegna nell'VIII secolo.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 204–210. – Berger. [1103

**Ćurčić S.**, *Byzantine aspect of church towers in Norman Sicily.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 65–85. – Berger. [1104

**De Santis P.**, *Caratteri insediativi della Puglia centrale nell'alto Medioevo.* (Nr. 859). – Bianchi.

**Depalo M. R.**, *Necropoli e territorio, necropoli e società tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo nella Puglia centrale.* (Nr. 860). – Bianchi.

**Di Liberto R.**, *Il pavimento a tarsie marmoree e motivi figurati della chiesa normanna di Santa Maria dell'Ammiragli in Palermo.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 127–153. – Berger. [1105

**Disantarosa G.**, *Le anfore: indicatori socio-economici della Puglia centrale tra età tardoantica e protobizantina.* (Nr. 1310). – Bianchi.

**Fedeli L.**, *Il territorio dell'antica Mylae in età tardo-antica.* Geo-archeologia 2006/2 (2007) 15–33. 11 fig. – Illustrazione e riconsiderazione delle testimonianze archeologiche della presenza bizantina. In particolare: il sepolcreto bizantino rinvenuto nel 1959; la necropoli tardo-romana e bizantina scoperta nel 1990; un tesoretto di 74 pezzi rinvenuto nel 1937, con monete di Costante II

e Costantino Pogonato; due chiese nel territorio di pertinenza della città, S. Caterina di Alessandria e S. Maria del Boschetto al Parco, probabilmente di fondazione bizantina. – Bianchi. [1106

**Felle A.**, *La Puglia centrale dall'età tardoantica all'alto Medioevo: stato dell'arte e prospettive della ricerca.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 465–472. – Bianchi. [1107

**Filangeri del Pino C.**, *Greek, Byzantine and Latin architectural influences in Sicily.* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 393–402. 17 fig. Italienischer Text 520–522. – Berger. [1108

**Kiilerich B.**, *The rhetoric of materials in the Tempietto Longobardo at Cividale.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 93–102. – Berger. [1109

**La Mantia S.**, *'Santi su misura': la parete di Paolo I a Santa Maria Antiqua.* – **Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* (Nr. 1764) 149–161. – Berger. [1110

**Lepore G.**, *Architettura e tecnica edilizia nella Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo: tradizione e nuove esperienze.* (Nr. 1145). – Bianchi.

**Lidova M. A.**, *Икона из римской базилики Санта Мария ин Трастевере в контексте ранневизантийской культуры* (The icon from the Basilica Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome in the context of early Byzantine culture). VV 68 (93) (2009) 203–219. – Etinhof. [1111

**Lidova M. A.**, *Образ «Санта Мария ин Трастевере». Римские иконы Богоматери в контексте ранневизантийской культуры. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения* (The image "Santa Maria in Trastevere". Icons of the Virgin from Rome in the context of early Byzantine culture. Dissertation abstract, Doctor of the 1st degree). Moscow, 2010. 34 p. – Etinhof. [1112

**Minuto D./Venoso S. M.**, *Luoghi di culto bizantini nella vallata del Torrido (provincia di Reggio Calabria).* (Nr. 1160). – Luzzi.

**Montorsi W.**, *Neobizantino e romanico in Puglia: la basilica di San Nicola nell'età lanfranchiana.* Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi, Biblioteca, ser. spec. 27. Modena, Aedes Muratoriana 2005. VIII, 301 p. ill. – D'Aiuto. [1113

**Nobili P. G.**, *Tra tardoantico e X secolo, gli scenari attorno agli affreschi di Castelseprio. Uno status quaestionis storiografico.* Porphyra Supplemento 11 (2010). 61 p. http://www.porphyra.it/Supplemento11.pdf. – Berger. [1114

**Nuzzo D.**, *Caratteri insediativi della Puglia centrale in età tardoantica.* (Nr. 862). – Bianchi.

**Puliatti S.**, *Ravenna, San Vitale e il «tempo dei vescovi». Iconologia di una rappresentazione.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 165–187. – Goria. [1115

**Rizzi M.**, *Prodotti di oreficeria e manufatti in metallo tra tradizione e innovazione.* (Nr. 1238). – Bianchi.

**Saporetti C.**, *Breve storia dei ruderi di Roma, I.* Geo-archeologia 2007/2 (2008) 71–82. – Breve sintesi a carattere storico degli avvenimenti bellici, e delle loro conseguenze sugli edifici della città, a Roma tra IV e VI secolo, fino al termine della guerra greco-gotica. – Bianchi. [1116

**Sassi G.**, *Dalla villa alla grotta. Il Tardoantico alla luce della ricerca archeologica nel sud-ovest tarantino.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 483–486. – Bianchi. [1117

**Scarlata M.**, *Lo spazio del potere civile e religioso nella Palermo normanna. S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio, S. Maria del Cancelliere, S. Maria Nuova o dei Marturano.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 309–339. – Berger. [1118

**Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864). – Bianchi.

**Zago F.**, *La Cattolica di Stilo e i suoi affreschi.* Zograf 33 (2009) 43–61. 14 photos, 6 drawings. With English abstract and Serbian summary. – The chronological and stratigraphical problems of the frescos preserved in this Calabrian church are analyzed. Byzantine layers date from the end of the 10th to the end of the 13th centuries. Special attention is devoted to the unusual scene of the Crucifixion (although not unique), wherein the prophet David appears. The painting of this important church seems to have been a model for many painters in various regions of Italy. – Krsmanović. [1119

## (hh) Westlicher Mittelmeerraum

### Spanien und Portugal

**Paz de Hoz M.**, *Posible divorcio de dos orientales en la Valencia tardoantigua.* – **Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* (Nr. 1674) 329–336. – Ein in der Stadtmitte von Valencia aufgefundenes Ostrakon aus den 5./6. Jh. mit griechischen Inschriften auf beiden Seiten, die über einen damals stattgefundenen Scheidungsprozeß Belege liefern. – Signes. [1120

# C. IKONOGRAPHIE UND SYMBOLIK

## a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Agrebe M.**, *Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Έξω Νύφι της Κάτω Μάνης. Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις σε ένα άγνωστο σύνολο τοιχογραφιών του 1284/85.* (Nr. 935). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Batalova S.**, *Квадратният нимб – традиция и трансформация в образа на текста* (The square nimbus: tradition and transformation in the image and text). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 448–476. num. ill. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1121

**Brubaker L.**, *Gifts and prayers: the visualization of gift-giving in Byzantium and the mosaics at Hagia Sophia.* – **Davies W./Fouracre P.** (eds), *The languages of gift in the early Middle Ages.* (Nr. 1721) 33–61. – Stathakopoulos. [1122

**Lidov A. M.**, *Святой Лик – Святое Письмо – Святые Врата: образ-парадигма «благословенного града» в христианской иеротопии* (Nr. 310). – Etinhof.

**Marsengill K. L.**, *Portraits and icons: between reality and holiness in Byzantium.* Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 2010. 561 p. – "There existed a range of images in the spectrum between icon and portrait that eludes our attempts to classify them definitively." – Kaldellis. [1123

**Vinogradova E.**, *Theological controversy, heresy and Byzantine art: an approach.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 159–172. – D'Aiuto. [1124

**Warland R.**, *Die Valenz der Bilder in byzantinischen Liturgien.* – **Juwig C./Kost C.** (Hrsg.), *Bilder in der Archäologie – eine Archäologie der Bilder?* (Nr. 1739) 223–234. 6 Abb. – Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zu drei Aspekten byzantinischer Bilder: 1) Zeremoniell und Liturgie als Visualsierung der Gottesherrschaft, 2) Bewegen der litrugischen Bilder als Aktivierung der Heilszusagen, 3) rhetorische Aufladung der Bilder durch ihre Verortung im Kirchenraum. – Dennert. [1125

**Woodfin W.T**, *Celestial hierarchies and earthly hierarchies in the art of the Byzantine church.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 303–319. – Stathakopoulos. [1126

## b. Christus, Maria, Heilige

**Bacci M.**, *Nicodemo e il Volto Santo.* (Nr. 579). – D'Aiuto.

**Çoşkuner B.**, *İsa'nın Doğum Sahnesinin Yazılı ve Görsel Kaynakları (Kapadokya Örnekleri)* (Written and visiual sources for the birth of Jesus: samples

from Cappadocia). Arkeoloji ve Sanat 133 (1020) 101–114. – Laflı/Dennert. [1127

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна бронзова икона с изображения на Христос Пантократор и Богородица Кириотиса от района на Преслав* (Nr. 1908). – Nikolov.

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна оловна икона (евлогия) от Преслав* (Nr. 1909). – Nikolov.

**Gabelić S.**, *Iz programa crkve Svetog Jovana (Ajvali kilise) u Kapadokiji* (Nr. 1043). – Dželebdžić.

**Grotowski P. Ł.**, *Arms and armours of the warrior saints. Tradition and innovation in Byzantine iconography (843–1261).* The Medieval Mediterranean, 87. Leiden, Brill 2010. xxv, 483 p. 82 figs. on tables, partly in colour. ISBN 978-90-04-18548-7. – Berger. [1128

**Hársvölgyi V.**, *Tejjel Tápláló Szentséges Istenszülő* (Galaktotrophousa). Budapest, Ad Librum 2008. 120 S. ISBN 978-963-9888-05-0. – The Theotokos and the Child are presented as Galaktotrophousa ("she who nourishes with milk") iconography: the arms of the Theotokos embracing Christ, who is holding his mother's breasts with his arms and is feeding. The Mother of God turns her head tenderly to the Child, who's crossing legs referring to the Passion. The Galaktotrophousa existed on portable icons before the Iconoclast era (726–843), but the story of this type reaches back to the 6th century Coptic wall-paintings, for example in the monastery of Saint Jerome. Isis nursing the child Horus was the prototype for the latter. The type is connected to Byzantium, is derived in Western art from the earlier model and becomes a unique representation as the child doesn't appear as the Lord of the World anymore but as a living child. – Juhász. [1129

**Jolivet-Lévy C.**, *Les cavaliers de Karbala.* (Nr. 1044). – Dželebdžić.

**Leontakianakou I.**, *Une création post-byzantine: l'archange Michel triomphant et psychopompe.* Zograf 33 (2009) 145–158. 9 photos. With English abstract and Serbian summary. – The paper deals with a specific iconographic type of Archangel Michael, preserved on four icons (16th–17th centuries): he is shown bearing a soul in the form of a swaddled infant, while subduing an old man wearing only a loincloth. Who is Michael's enemy? Although three possible answers are considered (Satan, an anonymous sinner and Hades), the author proposes a combined interpretation. – Dželebdžić. [1130

**Maguire H.**, *Metaphors of the Virgin in Byzantine literature and art.* (Nr. 410). – Rhoby.

**Nees L.**, *On the image of Christ crucified in early medieval art.* – **Ferrari M. C./ Meyer A.** (a cura di), *Il volto santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000).* (Nr. 1729) 345–385. 12 ill. – D'Aiuto. [1131

**Paribeni A.**, *I rilievi in marmo rappresentanti la Vergine e altri personaggi religiosi: considerazioni sulla cronologia e sui loro ruolo nella liturgia.* (Nr. 1169). – Berger.

**Pavlović D.**, *Богородичин циклус у Благовештенској цркви манастира Градца* (The cycle of the life of the Virgin in the Church of the Annunciation in the Gradac monastery). Zograf 33 (2009) 75–92. 9 photos, 4 drawings. With English abstract and summary. – Special attention is devoted to the iconographic analysis of the cycle, consisting of scenes from the life of the Virgin. Numerous analogies are highlighted between the Gradac compositions and the relevant scenes in important contemporary and slightly later Byzantine churches (Peribleptos in Ohrid, St. Demetrios in Mistra, Kalinić monastery). – Krsmanović. [1132

**Radeva M.**, *Оловна ампула от Сливен* (Nr. 1251). – Nikolov.

**Salvadori Sh.**, *Sin and redemption, sexuality and gender: Adam and Eve in the funerary art of late antique Rome.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Ἀναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 271–282. – Berger. [1133

**Shoemaker S. J.**, *The cult of fashion: The earliest life of the Virgin and Constantinople's Marian relics.* (Nr. 506). – Kaldellis.

**Starodubcev T.**, *Култ Богородице Ζωοδόχος Πηγή и његов одјек у сликарству у доба Палеолога* (The cult of the Virgin Ζωοδόχος Πηγή and its reflection in the painting of the Palaiologan era). Zograf 33 (2009) 101–119. 5 photos, 5 drawings. With English abstract and summary. – The paper discusses the ways in which the miraculous cult and newly established liturgy of the shrine of the Virgin "Ζωοδόχος πηγή" near Constantinople influenced the formation of a specific presentation of the Mother of God in the Palaiologan era, both in the Byzantine Empire and in the Eastern Christian lands, where the liturgy was not performed in the Greek language. – Dželebdžić. [1134

**Štereva I.**, *Новооткрита поклонническа ампула от Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1926). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *За изображенията върху оловна ампула – кутрувия от музея в Шумен* (Nr. 1927). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *Нагръдна икона с изображения на св. Георги-войн и Христос Пантократор* (Nr. 1928). – Nikolov.

**Tsamakda V.**, *König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers.* (Nr. 700). – Berger.

**Yangaki A. G.**, *The scene of »the holy women at the tomb« on a ring from ancient Messene and other rings bearing the same representation.* – Berger. [1135

**Zago F.**, *La Cattolica di Stilo e i suoi affreschi.* (Nr. 1119). – Krsmanović.

### c. Verschiedenes

**Bolman E. S.**, *The iconography of the eucharist? Early Byzantine painting, the Prothesis,and the Red Monastery.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 57–66. – Berger. [1136

**Cutler A.**, *The Lansdowne fragment and the sex of Angels.* – **Alchermes J. D./ Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 118–123. – Berger. [1137

**Giannoulis M.**, *Die Moiren. Tradition und Wandel des Motivs der Schicksalsgöttinnen in der antiken und byzantinischen Kunst.* JbAC Ergänzungsband, Kleine Reihe, 6. Münster, Aschendorff 2010. VI, 201 S. 44 teils farb. Taf. mit 110 Abb. ISBN 978-3-402-10913-7. – Berger. [1138

**Maguire H.**, *The disembodied hand, the prokypsis, and the templon screen.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 230–235. – Berger. [1139

**Maguire H.**, *Unofficial art and the resistance to Orthodoxy.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 320–333. – Discusses, inter alia, the depiction of nudity and sexuality in Byzantine art. – Stathakopoulos. [1140

**Pantu E.**, *Οι ατομικοί κολασμοί των αμαρτωλών σε μεταβυζαντινούς ναούς της Μάνης.* (Nr. 962). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Scortecci D.**, *Rappresentare la vite e l'olivo nell'Oriente altomedievale. – Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1763) 835–867. 41 figg. f.t. – Con particolare riguardo ai mosaici pavimentali degli edifici di culto siro-palestinesi fra V e VII secolo, ma anche al repertorio bacchico come rappresentato, ad esempio, in tessuti o avori. – D'Aiuto. [1141

**Sekulovski G.**, *Judas a-t-il sa place dans la composition iconographique de la Comunion des Apotres?* – **Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* (Nr. 1748) 211–226. – Velkovska. [1142

## D. ARCHITEKTUR

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Bavant B./Vanderheyde C.**, *Sculptures byzantines conserves à Pomorie.* – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 33–45. Avec un résumé en bulgare. – Nikolov. [1143

**Ćurčić S.**, *Secular and sacred in Byzantine architecture.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 110–117. – Berger. [1144

**Grünbart M.**, *Zusammenstellen vs. Zusammenstehlen. Zum Traditionsverständnis in der byzantinischen Kultur.* (Nr. 5). – Rhoby.

**Lepore G.**, *Architettura e tecnica edilizia nella Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo: tradizione e nuove esperienze.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 503–511. – Bianchi. [1145

**Mangartz F.**, *Die byzantinische Steinsäge von Ephesos – Baubefund, Rekonstruktion, Architekturteile.* Monographien des RGZM, 86. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2010. 113 S. Zahlr. s/w-Abb. und 23 Farbtafeln. ISBN 978-3-88467-149-8. – Laflı. [1146

**Mihaljevic M.**, *Constantinopolitan architecture of the Komnenian era (1080–1180) and its impact in the Balkans.* Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 2010. 427 p. – Kaldellis. [1147

**Ousterhout R.**, *New temples and new Solomons: the rhetoric of Byzantine architecture.* (Nr. 429). – Schott.

**Skhirtladze Z.**, *The apse decoration of the Akhiza cathedral: documents and materials in the museums of Georgia.* Anatolian Studies 59 (2009) 139–146. – Laflı. [1148

## b. Kirchliche Architektur

**Andrulidake A.**, *Οι εργασίες αποκατάστασης των ναών των Αγίων Ασωμάτων στο Κουλούμι και της Αγίας Βαρβάρας στην Έρημο.* (Nr. 937). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Aydın A.**, *Mersin Kiliseleri* (Nr. 1039). – Laflı.

**Bolman E. S./Davis S. J./Pyke G.**, *Shenoute and a recently discovered tomb chapel at the White Monastery.* (Nr. 385). – Schott.

**Chapman D. W./Smith R. W.**, *Continuity and variation in Byzantine Church architecture at Abila: evidence from the 2006 excavation.* – **al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852) 525–534. – Kaegi. [1149

**Chronake D.**, *Στοιχεία διαμόρφωσης όψεων σε μεσοβυζαντινά μνημεία του Νομού Λασιθίου.* – **Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* (Nr. 1705) 238–250. 14 Abb. – Dekorative Elemente der Fassaden der mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen der Lassithi Präfektur auf Kreta. – Foskolou. [1150

**Ćurčić S.**, *Byzantine aspect of church towers in Norman Sicily.* (Nr. 1104). – Berger.

**Fedeli L.**, *Il territorio dell'antica Mylae in età tardo-antica.* (Nr. 1106). – Bianchi.

**Gkratziu O.**, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής.* (Nr. 990). – Foskolou/Berger.

**Godovanec A. Ju.**, *Свет в архитектурном пространстве византийской купольной базилики VI века. Св. София Константинопольская. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения* (Light in architectural space of the Byzantine domed Basilica from the 6th century. Saint Sophia in Constantinople. Dissertation abstract, Doctor of the 1st degree). Moscow, 2010. 30 p. – Etinhof. [1151

**Grossmann P.**, *Zur Typologie des Transepts im frühchristlichen Kirchenbau.* JbAC 51 (2008) 97–136. 15. Abb. – Berger. [1152

**Iliadis I.**, *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike: a study of the natural light.* JÖB 59 (2009) 95–105. – Rhoby. [1153

**Kazarjan G. V.**, *Храм в Гандзасаре. Архитектура и рельефы. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения* (The Church in Gandzasar. Architecture and relieves. Dissertation abstract, Doctor of the 1st degree). Moscow 2010. 28 p. – Etinhof. [1154

**Korać V.**, *Архитектонски украс у камену између антике и ране Византије, у остацима града Дукље (Doclea)* (Le décoration de pierre en relief entre le Bas Empire et les débuts de Byzance dans les vestiges de la cité de Duklja [Doclea]). Starinar 59 (2009) 191–219. 4 figures, 21 plates. With French summary. – Dželebdžić. [1155

**Korać V.**, *Дољани-Златица, Подгорица. Остаци ранохришћанских грађевина* (Doljani-Zlatica, Podrgorica. The remains of early Christian buildings). Zograf 33 (2009) 1–8. 9 drawings. With English abstract and French summary. – At the archeological site Doljani-Zlatica, near Podgorica in Montenegro, there are remains of an early Byzantine triple-nave basilica and an edifice with a central plan (to the west of which an atrium and a narthex were erected), which presumably was built under the influence of the architecture of Ravenna. – Dželebdžić. [1156

**Künzl E.**, *Auf dem Weg in das Mittelalter: die Gräber Constantins, Theoderichs und Chlodwigs.* (Nr. 696). – Berger.

**Marinis V.**, *Defining liturgical space.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 284–302. – Stathakopoulos. [1157

**Mauropulu-Tsiume Ch.**, *Ο όσιος Ευθύμιος ο Νέος και το έργο του στο ναό του αγίου Ανδρέα της Περιστεράς. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 291–306. 9 Abb. – Troianos. [1158

**Mexia A.**, *Άγνωστοι βυζαντινοί ναοί στον Μαντοφόρο του Πύργου Διρού.* – **Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δραν-δάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727) 127–142. Taf. 24–28. – Die Autorin untersucht drei unbekannte, einschiffige, tonnengewölbte Kirchen in der byzantinischen Siedlung von Mantophoros, südlich von Pyrgos Deru in Mane, nämlich die auf das 12. Jh. zurückgehende Kirche des Hl. Basileios, die dank der Initiative eines gewissen Leon errichtet wurde, sowie die spätbyzantinischen Kirchen der Panagia und des Hl. Panteleemon (1. H. 13. Jh.). Der einfache architektonische Typus und das bescheidene Mauerwerk sowie die wenigen erhaltenen Fresken bringen die Kirchen von Mantophoros in Zusammenhang mit lokalen Werkstätten. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1159

**Minuto D./Venoso S. M.**, *Luoghi di culto bizantini nella vallata del Torrido (provincia di Reggio Calabria).* Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 75 (2008–2009) 7–17. – Sei brevi schede su altrettanti luoghi di culto bizantini siti nella valle dell’attuale fiume Torbido, per lo più menzionati nella Vita del santo calabrese Nicodemo di Kellarana. – Luzzi. [1160

**Montorsi W.**, *Neobizantino e romanico in Puglia: la basilica di San Nicola nell’età lanfranchiana.* (Nr. 1113). – D’Aiuto.

**Moschobe G.**, *Κατασκευαστικοί και μορφολογικοί μετασχηματισμοί σε ναούς της πρώιμης Βενετοκρατίας στο Νομό Λασιθίου.* (Nr. 994). – Foskolou.

**Mprokolakes G.**, *Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Μπουρούνι: αναστηλωτικές και ανασκαφικές εργασίες.* (Nr. 995). – Foskolou.

**Philippa-Touchais A.**, *Ο ναός των Αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης (πρώην τζαμί) στο Άργος: συμβολή στη μελέτη του μνημείου.* (Nr. 966). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Phraidake Ath.**, *Ανασκαφή της παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής στο Πέραμα Δήμου Γεροποτάμου 2004–2006 (αγρός Χωνιανάκη).* (Nr. 1001). – Foskolou.

**Pyrrou N.**, *Ανασκαφικές εργασίες στο Ναό του Αγίου Δημητρίου στη Βιράν Επισκοπή Ρεθύμνου – Τα πρώτα αποτελέσματα.* (Nr. 1003). – Foskolou.

**Smolčić-Makuljević S.**, *Two models of sacred space in the Byzantine and medieval visual culture of the Balkans. The monasteries of St Prohor of Pčinja and Treskavac.* (Nr. 813). – Rhoby.

**Taddei A.**, *I monumenti protobizantini dell’acropoli di Amphipolis.* (Nr. 969). – Bianchi.

**Voyadjis S.**, *The Katholikon of Nea Moni in Chios unveiled.* (Nr. 981). – Rhoby.

**Yiannias J. J.**, *Coping with the imported past: a theme in Greek and Greek American church architecture.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα έορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 318–326. – Berger. [1161

### c. Profane Architektur

**Andrianakes M.**, *Το έργο της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής ανάδειξης βυζαντινού και βενετσιάνικου οχυρωματικού περιβόλου Χανίων.* (Nr. 983). – Foskolou.

**Bakirtzis N.**, *The practice, perception and experience of Byzantine fortification.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 352–371. – With a special focus on Thessaloniki. – Stathakopoulos. [1162

**Bowes K.**, *Houses and society in the Later Roman Empire.* Duckworth Debates in Archaeology. London, Duckworth 2010. 120 S. 23 Abb. ISBN 978 0 7156 3882 8. – Nützlicher Forschungsüberblick. – Dennert. [1163

**Castagnola V.**, *Il casale medievale di Balsignano. Ricostruzione delle fasi cronologiche attraverso il rilievo e la lettura stratigrafica degli elevati.* (Nr. 1102). – Bianchi.

**Katephore M.**, *Ανασκαφή στο Ναό των Αγίων Αποστόλων στην Κάτω Επισκοπή Σητείας: Επίσκεψη σε ένα βυζαντινό λουτρό.* (Nr. 991). – Foskolou.

**Mare M.**, *Διερεύνηση βυζαντινού τείχους στην Κάτω Μερά Ιεράπετρας.* (Nr. 993). – Foskolou.

**Phiolitake A.**, *Ανασκαφική έρευνα στη θέση «Κεφάλα» πλησίον του οικισμού των Βρυσών του Δήμου Κρυονερίδας, Νομού Χανίων.* (Nr. 1000). – Foskolou.

**Saliou C.**, *Le palais impérial d'Antioche et son contexte à l'époque de Julien. Réflexions sur l'apport des sources littéraires à l'histoire d'un espace urbain.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 235–250. – Macé. [1164

**Steskal M.**, *Badewesen und Bäderarchitektur von Ephesos in frühbyzantinischer Zeit.* (Nr. 1031). – Berger.

## E. PLASTIK

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Bertelli G.**, *La Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo: una revisione e nuovi dati su testimonianze relative alla produzione pittorica e scultorea.* (Nr. 1179). – Bianchi.

**Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768). – Berger.

**Sodini J.-P.**, *La sculpture byzantine (VIe–XIIe siècles): acquis, problèmes et perspectives.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des

*Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 5–35. 14 fig. – Berger. [1165

## b. Portraitplastik, Reliefplastik, bes. Sarkophagplastik

**Auinger J./Aurenhammer M.**, *Ephesische Skulptur am Ende der Antike.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 663–696. – Berger. [1166

**Borg B. E.**, *Performanz und Bildinszenierung am Übergang zur Spätantike.* – **Juwig C./Kost C.** (Hrsg.), *Bilder in der Archäologie – eine Archäologie der Bilder?* (Nr. 1739) 235–248. 5 Abb. – Inszenierung und Narration auf spätkaiserzeitlichen mythologischen Sarkophagen. – Dennert. [1167

**Donabédian P.**, *Le khatchkar, un art emblématique de la spécificité arménienne.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 151–167. 15 ill. f.t. – D'Aiuto. [1168

**Eleutheriu E.**, *Βυζαντινές μαρμάρινες ψευδοσαρκοφάγοι στη Μέσα Μάνη.* (Nr. 945). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Manini M.**, *Liber de Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae: prosopografia e sepolture imperiali.* (Nr. 125). – D'Aiuto.

**Paribeni A.**, *I rilievi in marmo rappresentanti la Vergine e altri personaggi religiosi: considerazioni sulla cronologia e sui loro ruolo nella liturgia.* – **Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* (Nr. 1768) 561–575. 8 fig. – Berger. [1169

## c. Bauplastik (Basen, Kapitelle, Säulen, Schrankenplatten, Ambone, Altäre)

**Akyürek E./Tiryaki A.**, *Rhodiapolis Piskoposluk Kilisesi Kazılarından Üç Mimari Plastik Eser Üzerine Değerlendirmeler* (Remarks on three pieces of architectural sculpture from the excavations at the Rhodiapolis episcopal church). Adalya 13 (2010) 389–403. 15 Abb. – Reich dekorierte durchbrochene Schrankenplatten und Schrankenpfosten aus lokalem Kalkstein. – Dennert. [1170

**Alp A. O.**, *Eskişehir Çevresi Bizanz Dönemi Mimari Plastik Araştirmaları* (Untersuchungen zur Bauplastik byzantinischer Zeit aus der Umgebung von Eskişehir). – **Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 318–324. 5 Abb. – Dennert. [1171

**Barsanti C./Guiglia A.**, *The sculptures of the Ayasofya Müzesi in Istanbul. A short guide.* Istanbul, Ege Yayınları 2010. 141 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-605-5607-19-7. – Dennert. [1172

**Endolceva E. Ju.**, *Рельефы Анакопии и архитектурная пластика Абхазского царства: к постановке проблемы* (Nr. 1071). – Etinhof.

**Forster C.**, *Antike und byzantinische Kapitelle im ottonischen Magdeburg und ihre Herkunft.* – **Helten L./Schenkluhn W.** (Hrsg.), *Romanik in Europa. Kommunikation – Tradition – Rezeption.* (Nr. 1798) 75–91. 12 Abb. – Zu den unter Otto I. im Magdeburger Dom als Spolien verwendeten byzantinischen Kapitellen und deren Herkunft aus Ravenna. – Dennert. [1173

**Korać V.**, *Архитектонски украс у камену између антике и ране Византије, у остацима града Дукље (Doclea)* (Nr. 1155). – Dželebdžić.

**Korać V.**, *Дољани-Златица, Подгорица. Остаци ранохришћанских грађевина* (Nr. 1156). – Dželebdžić.

**Say Özer Y.**, *Kaunos Kubbeli Kilisesi'nin Abon'u* (Ambon of the domed church of Caunus). Arkeoloji ve Sanat 133 (2010) 67–76. 5 Taf. – Rekonstruktion des zweiläufigen Ambos aus dem 5./6. Jh. – Dennert. [1174

**Taddei A.**, *I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis.* (Nr. 969). – Bianchi.

**Takács M.**, *Die sogenannte Palmettenornamentik der christlichen Bauten des 11. Jahrhunderts im mittelalterlichen Ungarn.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 411–415. – Berger. [1175

**Watta S.**, *Spätantike monolithische Taufpiscinen aus konstantinopolitanischer Produktion.* JBaC 51 (2008) 152–187. Taf. 3–14. – Berger. [1176

**Zorić V.**, *Gli arredi fissi nelle chiese normanne.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 87–126. – Berger. [1177

## F. MOSAIK UND MALEREI

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Barral i Atlet X.**, *Le décor du pavement au Moyen âge: les mosaïques de France et d'Italie.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 429. Rome, École française de Rome 2010. 433 p., pl. n/b et coul. ISBN 978-2-7283-0836-1. – Laflı. [1178

**Bertelli G.**, *La Puglia centrale tra Tardoantico e alto Medioevo: una revisione e nuovi dati su testimonianze relative alla produzione pittorica e scultorea.* – **To-**

**disco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 513–524. – Bianchi. [1179

**Blass-Simmen B.**, *Laetentur coeli oder die byzantinische Hälfte des Himmels. Die Anbetung der Könige von Antonio Vivarini und Giovanni d'Alemagna in der Gemäldegalerie Berlin.* (Nr. 367). – Berger.

**Lidov A.**, *The Mandylion over the Gate. A mental pilgrimage to the holy City of Edessa.* (Nr. 788). – Berger.

**Papastavrou H.**, *Classical trends in Byzantine and Western art in the 13th and 14th centuries.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 183–209. – Berger. [1180

## b. Mosaik

**Brodbeck S.**, *Les saints de la cathédrale de Monreal en Sicile. Iconographie, hagiographie et pouvoir royal à la fin du XIIe siècle.* (Nr. 1101). – Berger.

**Brubaker L.**, *Gifts and prayers: the visualization of gift-giving in Byzantium and the mosaics at Hagia Sophia.* (Nr. 1122). – Stathakopoulos.

**Connor C. L.**, *The lost mosaics of Constantinople and the middle Byzantine program of church decoration.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 82–92. – Berger. [1181

**Dale Th.**, *От «икон в пространтсве» к пространству в иконах: иконографические образцы общественных и частных обрядов в мозаиках XIII в. В венецианском Сан Марко* (From "Icons in Space" to space in icons: pictorial models for public and private ritual in the thirteenth-century mosaics of San Marco in Venice). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Nr. 1803) 144–155. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1182

**Dalgıç Ö.**, *Pre-Constantinian floor mosaics in Istanbul.* – **Alchermes J. D./ Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 124–130. – Berger. [1183

**Dalgiç Ö.**, *The corpus of floor mosaics from Istanbul.* (Nr. 904). – Berger.

**Kiilerich B.**, *The mosaic of the female musicians from Mariamin, Syria.* (Nr. 1077). – Berger.

**Kondoleon Ch.**, *Celebrating pleasure and wealth: a new mosaic at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 216–222. – Berger. [1184

**Scortecci D.**, *Rappresentare la vite e l'olivo nell'Oriente altomedievale.* (Nr. 1141). – D'Aiuto.

**Taddei A.**, *I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis.* (Nr. 969). – Bianchi.

**Teteriatnikov N.**, *Gender and ritual: mosaic panels of Justinian and Theodora in San Vitale.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 296–304. – Berger. [1185

## c. Wandmalerei

**Archontopulos Th.** (†), *Ο ναός της Αγίας Αικατερίνης στην πόλη της Ρόδου και η ζωγραφική του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα στα Δωδεκάνησα (1309–1453).* (Nr. 975). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Barthalitu P.**, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στο Φουρφουρά Αμαρίου.* (Nr. 984). – Foskolou.

**Charalampakes P. G.**, *Περί αγνώστου αγίου Ρωμανού.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 273–293. – Kotzabassi. [1186

**Charalampus D.**, *Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του ναού της Αγίας Βαρβάρας στην Έρημο Μάνης.* (Nr. 941). – Kalopissi-Verti.

**Cruikshank Dodd E.**, *Painting the liturgy in a non-Chalcedonian church.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 135–142. – Berger. [1187

**Di Branco M.**, *I sei prìncipi di Qusayr 'Amrah fra Tardoantico, Ellenismo ed Islām.* Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche IX s., 18 (2007) 527–620. 6 fig. – Un riesame dell'iscrizione araba dipinta sul mantello di uno dei personaggi dell'affresco di Qusayr 'Amrah, che lo identifica come il patriarca di Alessandria, impone di riconsiderare il senso della scena, che in origine doveva rappresentare l'ambasceria inviata da Maometto ai sei «re della terra» (an. 628), ma fu poi rimaneggiata e piegata a un diverso significato, con l'aggiunta di iscrizioni bilingui greco-arabe; la prima facies dell'affresco deve essere anteriore al 711/712. – D'Aiuto. [1188

**Epitropakes P.**, *Ο Ναός της Μεταμόρφωσης του Σωτήρα στο Λευκοχώρι Ηρακλείου Κρήτης.* (Nr. 988). – Foskolou.

**Filippov A. E.**, *Росписи раннехристианских склепов Херсонеса Таврического в контексте художественной традиции: синтез с архитектурой, символика, литургическая основа* (Nr. 1065). – Etinhof.

**Gabelić S.**, *Iz programa crkve Svetog Jovana (Ajvali kilise) u Kapadokiji* (Nr. 1043). – Dželebdžić.

**Giakoumis K.**, *The perception of the crusader in late Byzantine and early Post-Byzantine ecclesiastical painting in Epiros.* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 7 (2010) 41–63. Mit 11 Tafeln. – Signes. [1189

**Grozdanov C.**, *О идејно-тематским основама живописа у ђаконику цркве Богородице Перивлепте у Охриду* (On the conceptual and thematic foundations of the fresco paintings in the diaconicon of the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid). Zograf 33 (2009) 93–100. 10 photos, 1 drawing. With English abstract and summary. – The scenes referring to St. John the Precursor and the Virgin, the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth are discussed here. All of them are interpreted as the visual expression of the dogmatic belief in the Incarnation of the Saviour. The recently identified figure of the prophet Elijah, painted on the western side of the diaconicon, is published in this article for the first time. – Dželebdžić. [1190

**Jolivet-Lévy C.**, *Les cavaliers de Karbala.* (Nr. 1044). – Dželebdžić.

**Maranci Ch.**, *Alexander at Ani: correspondences between Venice MS 424 and frescoes at the church of Tigran Honents'.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 236–241. – Berger. [1191

**Mauropulu-Tsiume Ch.**, *Ο άγιος Δημήτριος στην παλαιοχριστιανική και βυζαντινή μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Θεσσαλονίκης.* – *Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 145–182. 35 Abb. – Troianos. [1192

**Mauropulu-Tsiume Ch.**, *Ο όσιος Ευθύμιος ο Νέος και το έργο του στο ναό του αγίου Ανδρέα της Περιστεράς.* (Nr. 1158). – Troianos.

**Panele E.**, *Μια νέα προσπάθεια ερμηνείας και εικονογραφικής προσέγγισης τοιχογραφιών ταφικών μνημείων της Θεσσαλονίκης.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 11–37. – Kotzabassi. [1193

**Papatheophanus-Tsure E.**, *Νέα στοιχεία και παρατηρήσεις στις βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες του αγ. Νικολάου Ελαιώνα Σερρών.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 311–326. – Kotzabassi. [1194

**Pavlović D.**, *Богородичин циклус у Благовештенској цркви манастира Градца* (Nr. 1132). – Krsmanović.

**Pazaras N. Th.**, *Άγιος Δημήτριος ο «Απόκαυκος»: Μια νέα ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 337–360. – Kotzabassi. [1195

**Pekak M. S.**, *Kasaba, Kilise, Ressam (Sinasos, Aziz Basileios Kilisesi, Kostis Meletiadis)* (Town, church and painter: Sinasos, church of Saint Basileios and Kostis Meletiadis). Arkeoloji ve Sanat 133 (2010) 77–100. – Laflı. [1196

**Psarakes K.**, *Αποκατάσταση Ιερού Ναού Μιχαήλ Αρχαγγέλου Σαρακήνας.* (Nr. 1002). – Foskolou.

**Sarabjanov V. D.**, *Images of two from Pont in the Wallpaintings of Sant Sophia in Kiev.* – **Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Nr. 1791) 109–117. – Etinhof. [1197

**Starodubcev T.**, *Култ Богородице Ζωοδόχος Πηγή и његов одјек у сликарству у доба Палеолога* (Nr. 1134). – Dželebdžić.

**Tutos N./Phusteres G.**, *Εὑρετήριον τῆς μνημειακῆς ζωγραφικῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, 10ος–17ος αἰῶνας.* (Nr. 972). – Berger.

**Witte Orr J.**, *Kirche und Wandmalereien am Karm al-Aḫbarīya.* (Nr. 1097). – Berger.

**Zago F.**, *La Cattolica di Stilo e i suoi affreschi.* (Nr. 1119). – Krsmanović.

**Zimmermann N.**, *Die spätantike und byzantinische Malerei in Ephesos.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 615–662 . – Berger. [1198

**Zimmermann N./Ladstätter S.**, *Wandmalerei in Ephesos von hellenistischer bis in byzantinische Zeit.* Wien, Phoibos-Verlag 2010. 224 S. Zahlr. Farbabb. ISBN 978-3-85161-035-2. – Rhoby. [1199

## d. Ikonen

**Attius Sohlman M.**, *Ikonernas värld: idéhistoria och dogmatik* (The world of icons: history of ideas and dogmatics). Stockholm, Carlssons Bokförlag AB 2008. 190 p. color ills. ISBN 978-91-7331-203-5. – Nilsson. [1200

**Baruchakes B./Phiolitake A./Psarakes K.**, *Ψηφιοποίηση των εικόνων και κειμηλίων των Μονών Γωνιάς Χανίων και Πρέβελη Ρεθύμνου και της βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής κεραμικής Νομού Χανίων.* (Nr. 985). – Foskolou.

*Божественные лики. Греческие иконы из коллекции Велимезиса Государственный Эрмитаж. 11 сентября – 13 декабря 2009 г.* (Holy Images. The Greek icons from the Velimazis Collection. The State Hermitage Museum. 11 September – 13 December 2009). Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation 2009. 176 p. col. Ill. ISBN 978-960-89403-3-8. – Etinhof. [1201

**Brooks S. T.**, *A note on a newly discovered copper repousse panel: the icon of Saint John Chrysostom in the Loeb Art Center, Vassar College.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 67–72. – Berger. [1202

**Constantinides Hero A.**, *An icon of the Theotokos surnamed the Roman.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 181–183. – Berger. [1203

**Corrigan K.**, *The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace: an early Byzantine icon at Mt. Sinai.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα*

*ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 93–109. – Berger. [1204

**Eliades I. A.** (ed.), *Η Κύπρος και η Ιταλία την εποχή του Βυζαντίου. Το παράδειγμα της εικόνας του Αγίου Νικολάου της Στέγης του 13ου αι. που συντηρήθηκε στη Ρώμη.* Λευκωσία, Βυζαντινό Μουσείο και Πινακοθήκη Ιδρύματος Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ′ 2009. 336 S. Abb. ISBN 978-9963-556-54-0. – Bilingual publication, in Greek and Italian. Title in Italian: Cipro e Italia al tempo di Bisanzio. L'icona grande di San Nicola tis Stégis del XIII secolo restaurata a Roma. – Parani. [1205

**Folda J.**, *Byzantine chrysography in Crusader art and Italian maniera greca painting.* (Nr. 1223). – Berger.

**Frigerio-Zeniu S.**, *Circulation de modèles: la Madonna di Loreto à Chypre.* Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 34 (2008) 137–141. – Parani. [1206

**Hadjar A.**, *The icon of the two saints Simeon the Stylites, the Elder (d. 459) and the Younger (d. 592).* – **Chatzetryphonos E. K.** (ed.), *Routes of faith in the medieval mediterranean. History, monuments, people, pilgrimage perspectives. International symposium, Thessalonike 7–10/11/2007. Proceedings.* (Nr. 776) 269–278. 8 fig. – Berger. [1207

**Kazamia-Tsernou M. I.**, *Φορητές εικόνες του αγίου Δημητρίου (Άγιο Όρος – Ρωσία).* Byzantina 29 (2009) 283–310. – Kotzabassi. [1208

**Kazanaki-Lappa M.**, *Наследие Византии. Коллекция Музея Греческого института византийских и поствизантийских исследований в Венеции* (The Heritage of Byzantium. The collection of the museum of the Greek Institute for Byzantine and Postbyzantine studies in Venice). Transl. by B. Fonkič. Moscow Grand Holding, Magma 2009. 236 p. Col. Ill. ISBN 978-5-93428-069-8. – Etinhof. [1209

**Konstantudake-Kitromelidu M.**, *Όψεις της ζωγραφικής εικόνων στην Κύπρο κατά τη βενετική περίοδο και οι σχέσεις με τη Βενετία.* – **Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* (Nr. 1759) 157–193. – Parani. [1210

**Lidova M. A.**, *Икона из римской базилики Санта Мария ин Трастевере в контексте ранневизантийской культуры* (Nr. 1111). – Etinhof.

**Lidova M. A.**, *Образ «Санта Мария ин Трастевере». Римские иконы Богоматери в контексте ранневизантийской культуры. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения* (Nr. 1112). – Etinhof.

**McKenzie A. D.**, *Toronto's unique Crusader icon.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 242–246. – Berger. [1211

**Papademetriu P. Ch.**, *Σύνθετη εικόνα της αγίας Παρασκευής με σκηνές του βίου της στο Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο της Σιάτιστας.* Makedonika 38 (2009) 59–95. – Kotzabassi. [1212

**Pentcheva B. V.**, *What is a Byzantine icon? Constantinople versus Sinai.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 265–283. – The title of the essay is given as "The performative icon: once again" in the header of the text. – Stathakopoulos. [1213

**Ščennikova L. A.**, *Иконы владимирской богоматери в церквях московского кремля в ivx-ixx веках* (Icons of the Virgin of Vladimir in the churches of Moscow Kremlin in 14th–19th centuries). – **Levykin A. K.** (ed.), *Материалы и исследования* (Nr. 1802) 8–33. – Etinhof. [1214

*«Синаксис». Искусство Греции XV–XX веков. Иконы на дереве и бумаге. Государственный Музей Изобразительных искусств имени А.С. Пушкина. 13 июля – 26 сентября 2010 года* ("Synaxis". Greek Art 1450–2000. Icons on wood and paper. The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 13 July – 26 September 2010). The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, the Benaki Museum, the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation 2010. 270 p. Col. Ill. ISBN 978-960-476-068-8. – Etinhof. [1215

**Tribyzadake A.**, *Τα εφυαλωμένα αγγεία των Φιλίππων. Η συνέχεια μιας παλαιάς τεχνικής.* Makedonika 37 (2008) 21–45. – Kotzabassi. [1216

**Tsigaridas E. N.**, *Εικόνα του ασπασμού των αποστόλων Πέτρου και Παύλου της μονής Καρακάλλου.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 327–336. – Kotzabassi. [1217

## e. Buchmalerei/Buchkunst

**Anderson J. C.**, *The Vienna Dioscorides and portraits that tell stories.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 32–39. – Berger. [1218

**Chookaszian L.**, *L'art occidental, l'art français et la miniature arménienne du XIIIe siècle.* – **Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* (Nr. 1708) 107–132. 17 ill. f.t. – D'Aiuto. [1219

**Devoge J.**, *Quand Job tombe malade. Étude littéraire et iconographique d'une scène biblique d'après la Septante.* Zograf 33 (2009) 9–18. 5 photos. With English abstract and Serbian summary. – The text of Job, II, 1–8, is translated and analyzed, whereby special attention is devoted to the vocabulary of the body and the disease of Job. Numerous variants of this biblical scene, found in nine Byzantine manuscripts dating from the 8th to 16th c., indicate that the text offered a large scope for interpretation to the manuscript's painters. – Dželebdžić. [1220

**Evangelatou M.**, *Word and image in the Sacra Parallela (Codex Parisinus Graecus 923).* DOP 62 (2008) 113–198. – Far from depending on a set of ancient models, including Jewish archetypes, the miniatures in this MS, still of an uncertain place or origin, were the creation of a conscientious illuminator intent on bringing out the moral message of the text's florilegia and an essential part of a lavish book intended as exegesis of the "living tradition of the past [and as] a basic guideline for the future." – Cutler. [1221

**Evans H. C.**, *West to East and East to West: notes on Cilician Armenian illumination and the Franciscans in the thirteenth century.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 148–157. – Berger. [1222

**Folda J.**, *Byzantine chrysography in Crusader art and Italian maniera greca painting.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 160–166. – Berger. [1223

**Giancaspro M./Cavallo G./Touwaide A./Tselikas A.**, *Διοσκουρίδης. Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς. Ὁ ἑλληνικὸς κώδικας 1 τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Νεαπόλεως = Dioscurides. De materia medica.* Alimos, Miletos [1999]. 2 vol. 243 p., facsimile integrale del ms.). ISBN 960-8033-01-2. – Facsimile a colori, con volume di commentario. – D'Aiuto. [1224

**Hakopian Z.**, *Antik awandoyt'neri veraprumnerě Mlk'ē t'aguhu awetarani manrankarnerum* (Antique reminiscences in the miniatures of the Gospel of Queen Mlk'e, 862). Bazmavep 167 (2009) 349–374. – Considera il Vangelo di Mlk'e, attribuito all'anno 862, replica di un prototipo paleocristiano portato in Armenia da Bisanzio. L'analisi stilistica e iconografica induce a ritenere che il codice, opera di artigiani armeni, fu realizzato non nel Vaspurakan ma in territorio armeno posto sotto il controllo bizantino. – D'Aiuto. [1225

**Drpić I.**, *Art, hesychasm, and visual exegesis: Parisinus Graecus 1242 revisited.* (Nr. 461). – Cutler.

**Kadas S.**, *Τα εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους. Α. Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών, Β. Εικονογραφικό ευρετήριο.* Byzantina Mnemeia, 15. Thessaloniki, Byzantine Research Centre / Kyriakides 2008. 476 S. ISBN 978-960-677-529-1. – Kotzabassi. [1226

**Kadas S. N.**, *Ἡ Ὀκτάτευχος τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μεγίστης Μονῆς Βατοπαιδίου (κώδ. 602) / The Octateuch of the Monastery of Vatopedy (Codex 602).* Hagion Oros, Moni Vatopediou / Athena, Ephesus Publications 2005. 2 vol. 96 p., facs. integrale del ms. ISBN 960-8326-08-7. – Facsimile del manoscritto, con succinto volume di commentario in greco e inglese. – D'Aiuto. [1227

**Kresten O.**, *Il Rotolo di Giosuè (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) e gli Ottateuchi miniati bizantini.* Inaugurazione del Corso Biennale. Anni Accademici 2008–2010. Città del Vaticano, Scuola vaticana di Paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica 2010. 94 p. 29 fig. ISBN 978-88-85054-21-9. – Berger. [1228

**Lazaris S.**, *Art et science vétérinaire à Byzance. Formes et fonctions de l'image hippiatrique.* (Nr. 1575). – Macé.

**Lollini F.**, *Culturile bizantine reflectate în miniatură şi Italia – prezenţe şi raporturi stilistice. Câteva exemple din aria emiliană / Byzantine cultures as reflected in miniature painting and Italy: presence and stylistic references. Examples from the Emilian area. – Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* (Nr. 216) 23–33, 79–84. – Berger. [1229

**Mansouri M. T.**, *The Arabs through Skylitzes' miniatures.* (Nr. 107). – Berger.

**Weitman P.**, *Bilder als Vergegenwärtigung des Textes. Von der Illustration zur Argumentation in der spätantiken Buchmalerei.* Codices Manuscripti 75 (2010) 1–7. Abb. 1–4. – Grundsätzliche Überlegungen zur Funktion des Bildes in der Buchmalerei der Spätantike. Herangezogen werden der Codex Sinopensis, der Codex Rossanensis der Evangelien sowie Cod. Pantokratoros 61 (Psalter mit Randminiaturen). – Gamillscheg. [1230

## G. KLEINKUNST

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Baldini Lippolis I.**, *Halfcrescent earrings in Sicily and southern Italy.* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 235–255. – Berger. [1231

**Bühler B.**, *Is it Byzantine metalwork or not? Evidence for Byzantine craftsmanship outside the Byzantine empire (6th to 9 centuries AD).* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 213–234. – Berger. [1232

**Loberdu-Tsigarida K.**, *Ο άγιος Δημήτριος στην βυζαντινή μικροτεχνία της Θεσσαλονίκης. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 135–144. – Es handelt sich vornehmlich um Fläschchen aus Blei für das Myron und um Reliquiare, deren regelmäßige Produktion im 12. Jh. zu beginnen scheint. – Troianos. [1233

**Petrina Y.**, *Kreuze mit geschweiften Hasten und kreisförmigen Hastenenden.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 257–266. – Berger. [1234

**Pitarakis B.**, *Ecclesiastical objects in Byzantine Constantinople. – From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital. June 5 – September 4, 2010, Sabancı*

*University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum Istanbul.* (Nr. 907) 156–165. – Dennert. [1235

**Pülz A. M./Kat F.**, *Byzantinische Kleinfunde aus Ephesos – ein Materialüberblick.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 697–712. – Berger. [1236

**Riemer E.**, *Byzantinische und romanisch-mediterrane Fibeln in der Forschung.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 283–335. – Berger. [1237

**Rizzi M.**, *Prodotti di oreficeria e manufatti in metallo tra tradizione e innovazione.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 537–541. – Bianchi. [1238

**Tuerk J.**, *Иеротопия: нарративность и магические амулеты* (Nr. 315). – Etinhof.

**Vida T.**, *Zur Formentwicklung der mediterranen spätantik-frühbyzantinischen Metallkrüge (4–9. Jahrhundert).* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 363–381. – Berger. [1239

## b. Gold, Silber

**Barsanti C.**, *In memoria del reliquiario del Sacro Capo dell'apostolo Andrea.* – **Sodi M.** (a cura di), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pius secundus, poeta laureatus, pontifex maximus. Atti del convegno internazionale 29 settembre – 1 ottobre 2005, Roma.* (Nr. 1781) 319–340. – Berger. [1240

**Bollók Á.**, *The birds on the braid ornaments from Rakamaz: a view from the Mediterranean.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 331–368. – Berger. [1241

**Daim F./Chameroy J./Greiff S./Patscher S./Stadler P./Tobias B.**, *Kaiser, Vögel, Rankenwerk – byzantinischer Gürteldekor des 8. Jahrhunderts und ein Neufund aus Südungarn.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 277–330. – Berger. [1242

**Drauschke J.**, *Halbmondförmige Goldohrringe aus bajuwarischen Frauengräbern – Überlegungen zu Parallelen und Provenienz.* – Berger. [1243

**Langó P.**, *Crescent-shaped earrings with lower ornamental band.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 369–410. – Berger. [1244

**Martiniani-Reber M./Anheuser K.**, *Le plat d'argent au sacrifice d'Abraham. Œuvre byzantine ou falsification?* Genava 57 (2009) 27–33. 7 Abb. – Bei dem bekannten Stück im Genfer Museum handelt es sich nach naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen um eine moderne Fälschung, wahrscheinlich nach einem Relief im Istanbuler Museum. – Dennert. [1245

**Merrillees R.**, *The modern history of the first Lambousa treasure of Byzantine silverware from Cyprus.* The Antiquaries Journal 89 (2009) 389–403. 2 Abb. – Dennert. [1246

**Stanilov S.**, *Der Pfau und der Hund: zwei goldene Zierscheiben aus Veliki Preslav.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 3, 159–172. – Berger. [1247

**Yangaki A. G.**, *The scene of »the holy women at the tomb« on a ring from ancient Messene and other rings bearing the same representation.* (Nr. 1135). – Berger.

**Yeroulanou A.**, *Common elements in »treasures« of the early Christian period.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 337–361. – Berger. [1248

## c. Andere Metalle

**Aydın A.**, *Adana Müzesi'ndeki Altıgen Gövdeli Buhurdan* (Censer with hexagonal body at Adana museum). Adalya 13 (2010) 305–320. 8 Abb. – Neuvorlage des bronzenen Weihrauchgefäßes mit figürlicher Dekoration aus der Basilica extra muros von Dağpazarı, wohl 6. Jh. n. Chr. – Dennert. [1249

**Brooks S. T.**, *A note on a newly discovered copper repousse panel: the icon of Saint John Chrysostom in the Loeb Art Center, Vassar College.* (Nr. 1202). – Berger.

**Dončeva S.**, *Бронзовый реликварий с изображением свв. Апостолов Петра и Павла* (A bronze reliquary with the image of apostles Peter and Paul). VV 68 (93) (2009) 219–224. – Etinhof. [1250

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна бронзова икона с изображения на Христос Пантократор и Богородица Кириотиса от района на Преслав* (Nr. 1908). – Nikolov.

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна оловна икона (евлогия) от Преслав* (Nr. 1909). – Nikolov.

**Radeva M.**, *Оловна ампула от Сливен* (A lead ampulla from Sliven). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 239–242. With 2 photos. Bulgarian with English summary. – Now kept in the Historical Museum of Sliven (east Bulgaria). Discovered in the Balkan Mountains, east of Sliven. Both sides have depictions of St. Demetrios and St. Theodora and Greek inscriptions of their names. Dated to the 12th c. – Nikolov. [1251

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Teil I: Die Schnallen ohne Beschläg, mit Laschenbeschläg und mit festem Beschläg des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts.* Kata-

loge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer, 30/1. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2002 / Neuauflage 2009. – Laflı. [1252

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Teil II. Die Schnallen mit Scharnierbeschläg und die Schnallen mit angegossenem Riemendurchzug des 7. bis 10. Jahrhunderts.* Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 30/2. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2009. IX, 404 S., [2] Bl. Zahlr. Ill., Kt. + 1 Beil. ISBN 978-3-88467-135-1. – Laflı. [1253

**Schulze-Dörrlamm M.**, *Der Handel mit byzantinischen Metallwaren aus archäologischer Sicht (Gürtelschnallen, Frauenschmuck, Zaumzeug, Bronzegefäße).* (Nr. 899). – Rhoby.

**Skinner P.**, *Commercio internazionale e politica locale nell'Amalfi medievale: le porte di bronzo e i loro donatori nell'XI secolo.* Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana n.s. 16 (2006) 65–78. – Mette in dubbio che il Pantaleone donatore delle porte di Monte S. Angelo sia lo stesso delle porte di S. Paolo fuori le Mura, a Roma, e del duomo di Amalfi: il donatore delle porte garganiche sarebbe stato, invece, un omonimo e contemporaneo Pantaleone «de comite Iohanne». – D'Aiuto. [1254

**Štereva I.**, *Новооткрита поклонническа ампула от Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1926). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *За изображенията върху оловна ампула – кутрувия от музея в Шумен* (Nr. 1927). – Nikolov.

**Totev K.**, *Оловен медальон с изображения на св. Теодор* (A lead medallion with images of St. Theodor). – **Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Nr. 1700) 58–64. With English summary. – Found in North Bulgaria. Byzantine origin. Dated from the end of 12th to the beginning of the 13th c. – Nikolov. [1255

**Xanthopoulou M.**, *Les lampes en bronze à l'époque paléochrétienne.* Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive, 16. Turnhout, Brepols 2010. XXXII, 320 S. ISBN 978-2-503-53369-8. – Macé. [1256

## d. Email

**Uhrman I.**, *Állítólagos zománcképek a Corona Graecán* (Angebliche Emailbilder auf der Corona Graeca). Antik Tanulmányok 53/1 (2009) 133–142. – Juhász. [1257

**Dawson T.**, *The Monomachos Crown: towards a resolution.* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα 19 (2009) 183–193. 4 Abb. Mit griechischer Zusammenfassung. – Neue, interessante Interpretation der sog. „Monomachoskrone". Verf. schlägt vor, daß es sich nicht um eine Krone, sondern um ein Armband handelt. Laut der

angeführten Quelle wurden solche Ringe dem Kaiser bei triumphalen Zeremonien präsentiert. – Foskolou. [1258

## e. Elfenbein

**Şimşek C./Yener B.**, *An ivory relief of Saint Thecla.* Adalya 13 (2010) 321–334. 7 Abb. – Bei Ausgrabungen in Laodiceia ad Lycum wurde im Kontext wohl einer frühbyz. Kapelle ein Elfenbeinrelief (Deckel eines Kästchens) mit der Darstellung der hl. Thekla gefunden, wohl aus dem späten 5./frühen 6. Jh. – Dennert. [1259

**Scortecci D.**, *Rappresentare la vite e l'olivo nell'Oriente altomedievale.* (Nr. 1141). – D'Aiuto.

## h. Glas

**Antonaras A.**, *Early Christian and Byzantine glass vessels: forms and uses.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 383–430. – Berger. [1260

**Antonaras A.**, *Glass vessels of early Christian Thessaloniki (3rd–6th cent. A.D.).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 257. – Laflı. [1261

**Atik Ş.**, *Late Roman/early Byzantine glass finds from the Marmaray rescue excavation at Yenikapı in Istanbul.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 1–16. – Laflı. [1262

**Atik Ş.**, *Lighting and glass oil lamps during the Byzantine period.* Hippodrom / Atmeydanı. İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesi – A stage for Istanbul's history (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2019), 326–329. 2 Abb. – Zu gläsernen Öllampen. / Nachtrag. – Dennert/Berger. [1263

**Baghaturia-Kner E.**, *Late antique/early Byzantine glass vessels from the cemeteries of Kodori and Machara valleys (Georgia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 355–368. – Laflı. [1264

**Bakırer Ö.**, *Glass from the Seljuk Palace at Alanya.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 199–212. – Laflı. [1265

**Baybo S.**, *Late antique/early Byzantine glass vessels from Trench Q18 at Limyra: excavation seasons 2007–2009.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 189–198. – Laflı. [1266

**Beşer E./Uzun A./Akyol A. A./Demirci Ş./Kadıoğlu Y. K.**, *Archaeometry of the glass from Alanya.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 213–233. – Laflı. [1267

**Blid J.**, *Late antique glass in sacred context: a hagiasma at Carian Labraunda.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 133–150. – Laflı. [1268

**Çakmakçı Z.**, *A typological approach to glass goblet production from late antiquity to the middle ages in the light of recent finds.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 49–66. – Laflı. [1269

**Canav Özgümüş Ü.**, *Late Roman/early Byzantine glass from the Marmaray rescue excavations at Sirkeci.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 17–24. – Laflı. [1270

**Çelik İ. U.**, *Glass from the 2006 excavation season in the theatre at Nicaea.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 151–160. – Laflı. [1271

**Cholakova A.**, *Glass from late antique/early Byzantine Dichin (Northern Bulgaria).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 261–262. – Laflı. [1272

**Contardi S.**, *Late antique glass from Iasos (Caria).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 123–132. – Laflı. [1273

**Doksanaltı E./Sağlam S.**, *Late Roman glass from the museum of Karaman.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 185–186. – Laflı. [1274

**Fünfschilling S.**, *Glass from the Canadian excavations at Carthage.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 383–390. – Laflı. [1275

**Golofast L.**, *Early Byzantine glass from the Tauric Chersonesos (Crimea).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 301–335. – Laflı. [1276

**Güneş F.**, *Late antique glass from the museum of Kahramanmaraş.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 245–252. – Laflı. [1277

**Gürler B./Laflı E.**, *Frühbyzantinische Glaskunst in Kleinasien.* – **Daim F./ Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 431–449. – Berger. [1278

**Gürler B./Laflı E.**, *Middle and Late Roman Glass from the Agora of Smyrna from the Excavation Seasons 1997 and 2002–2003.* – **Drauschke J./Keller D.** (Hrsg.), *Glass in Byzantium. Production, usage, analyses/Glas in Byzanz. Produktion, Verwendung, Analysen.* (Nr. 1725) 121–144. – Laflı. [1279

**Jennings S.**, *Glass vessels in Beirut before and after A.D. 551.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 381. – Laflı. [1280

**Kanyak S.**, *Late Roman/early Byzantine window glass from the Marmaray rescue excavations at Sirkeci.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 25–47. – Laflı. [1281

**Khruškova L.**, *Late antique glass from the eastern Black Sea: Christian Context.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 337–353. – Laflı. [1282

**Köroğlu G.**, *Glass from Yumuktepe (Cilicia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 235–243. – Laflı. [1283

**Križanac M.**, *Glass from early Byzantine Gradina on Mount Jelica (Serbia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 265–284. – Laflı. [1284

**Lachin M. T.**, *Vitreous mosaic from Tyana (Cappadocia) (with an appendix by Chiara Letizia Serra, Alberta Silvestri and Gianmario Molin).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 171–183. – Laflı. [1285

**Laflı E.**, *Glass from Hadrianoupolis (Paphlagonia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 161–170. – Laflı. [1286

**Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745). – Laflı.

**Laflı E.**, *Part 4: a bibliographical list of the late antique/early Byzantine glass studies in Anatolia until the year 2009.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 391–403. – Laflı. [1287

**Milavec T.**, *5th–6th century glass from the hilltop settlement of Tonovcov Grad (Slovenia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 285–300. – Laflı. [1288

**Nikita K.**, *Late Roman/early Byzantine window glass from Sector I in Eleutherna (Crete).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 259. – Laflı. [1289

**Rehren Th./Cholakova A.**, *Early Byzantine HIMT glass from Bulgaria.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 263. – Laflı. [1290

**Schätzschock M.**, *Glass from Terrace House 2 at Ephesus.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 115–122. – Laflı. [1291

**Schwarzer H.**, *Spätantike und byzantinische Glasfunde aus Alexandreia Troas.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 67–84. – Laflı. [1292

**Schwarzer H.**, *Spätantike, byzantinische und islamische Glasfunde aus Pergamon.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 85–109. – Laflı. [1293

**Shalikadze T./Kakhidze E.**, *Early Byzantine glass vessels from the Southwestern Littoral of Georgia.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 369–377. – Laflı. [1294

**Shavlakadze Q./Sakhvadze A.**, *Early medieval glass production in the central Transcaucasus.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 379. – Laflı. [1295

**Tekocak M.**, *Late Roman glass from the museum of Akşehir.* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 187. – Laflı. [1296

**Yaraş A./Yaraş C.**, *Glass bracelets from Güre-Ilıca (Mysia).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 113. – Laflı. [1297

**Yaraş A.**, *Late antique glass from Allianoi (Aiolis).* – **Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* (Nr. 1745) 111–112. – Laflı. [1298

## i. Stein und Ton

**Abadie-Reynal C.**, *Les échanges interrégionaux de céramiques en Méditerranée orientale entre le IVe et le VIIIe s.* – **Kislinger E./Koder J./Külzer A.** (Hrsg.), *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposions Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005.* (Nr. 715) 25–44. – Rhoby. [1299

**Amari S.**, *A late Roman amphorae production in eastern Sicily.* – **Menozzi O./Di Marzio M. L./Fossataro D.** (Hrsg.), *SOMA 2005: proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24–26 February 2005.* (Nr. 1752) 473–479. – Laflı. [1300

**Autret C./Yağcı R./Rauh N. K.**, *An LRA Amphora Kiln Site at Soli/Pompeiopolis* (Nr. 1037). – Dennert.

**Baruchakes B./Phiolitake A./Psarakes K.**, *Ψηφιοποίηση των εικόνων και κειμηλίων των Μονών Γωνιάς Χανίων και Πρέβελη Ρεθύμνου και της βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής κεραμικής Νομού Χανίων.* (Nr. 985). – Foskolou.

**Bilici S.**, *Alanya Kalesi Kazılarında Bulunan Port Saint Symeon Seramikleri ve Ortaçağ Doğu Akdeniz Seramik Üslûbu* (Die Port Saint Symeon Keramik aus den Ausgrabungen der Burg von Alanya und der Stil der mittelalterlichen

Keramik des Ostmittelmeerraums). – **Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 365–373. 7 Abb. – Dennert. [1301

**Bloch F.**, *Öllampenfunde aus dem spätantik-frühislamischen Fundplatz Ǧabal Says im Steppengürtel Syriens.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 895–917. – Berger. [1302

**Böhlendorf-Arslan B.**, *Die mittelbyzantinische Keramik aus Amorium.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/1, 345–371. – Berger. [1303

**Cacciaguerra G.**, *La ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale in Sicilia: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca.* Archeologia medievale 36 (2009) 285–300. 12 fig. – Si considera in particolare il periodo tra VII e X secolo e si discute della diffusione in Sicilia di questo tipo di ceramica anche in rapporto con le relazioni commerciali con Costantinopoli. – Bianchi. [1304

**Caputo P./Regis C.**, *Rinvenimento di una fornace d'età bizantina a Cuma. L'area della "Cava Greca" a Cuma.* – **Pasqualini M.** (Hrsg.), *Les céramiques communes d'Italie et de Narbonnaise. Structures de production, typologies et contextes inédits IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde de Naples, 2 et 3 novembre 2006 par l'action collective de recherche "Archéologie du territoire national" et le Centre Jean Bérard.* (Nr. 1767) 109–116. – Laflı. [1305

**Charalampus A./Charalampus E./Strates I.**, *Προκαταρκτική μελέτη κυπριακής εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής με Μικρο-Φασματοσκοπία Φθορισμού Ακτίνων–X (μ–XRF).* Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 2008, 389–421. – Parani. [1306

**Cottica D./Tomasella E.**, *Studi preliminari sulla sigillata africana dagli scavi 2005–2007 nel foro di Grumentum.* – **Mastrocinque A.** (Hrsg.), *Grumentum romana. Convegno di studi Grumento Nova (Potenza), salone del Castello Sanseverino, 28–29 giugno 2008.* (Nr. 1751) 113–136. – Laflı. [1307

**Cvjetićanin T.**, *Late Roman glazed pottery in the Danubian provinces.* – **Magrini Ch./Sbarra F.** (a cura di), *La ceramica invetriata tardoromana nell'arco alpino orientale e nelle province danubiane: primi risultati di un progetto internazionale. Atti del 1. Incontro Internazionale di Archeologia a Carlino 14–15 dicembre 2007.* (Nr. 1750) 21–26. – Laflı. [1308

**De Carolis E./Grifa C./Langella A.//Morra V./Soricelli G.**, *Ceramiche tardo antiche da Pompei.* – **Pasqualini M.** (Hrsg.), *Les céramiques communes d'Italie et de Narbonnaise. Structures de production, typologies et contextes inédits IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde de Naples, 2 et 3 novembre 2006 par l'action collective de recherche "Archéologie du territoire national" et le Centre Jean Bérard.* (Nr. 1767) 651–671. – Laflı. [1309

**Disantarosa G.**, *Le anfore: indicatori socio-economici della Puglia centrale tra età tardoantica e protobizantina.* – **Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864) 495–501. – Bianchi. [1310

**Domżalski K.**, *La céramique sigillée romaine tardive en Abkhazie.* – **Kazanski M./Mastykova A.** (Hrsg.), *Tsibilium: la nécropole apsile de Tsibilium. L'étude du site, vol. 2.* (Nr. 1801) 75–77. – Laflı. [1311

**Ferrazzoli A. F/Ricci M.**, *Anfore da trasporto protobizantine di produzione cilicia. Stato degli studi sulla loro produzione e commercializzazione sulla base dei nuovi rinvenimenti da Elaiussa Sebaste (Ayash-Turchia).* – **Gualtieri S./ Fabbri B./Bandini G.** (Hrsg.), *Le classi ceramiche. Situazione degli studi. Atti della 10. Giornata di archeometria della ceramica, Roma, 5–7 aprile 2006.* (Nr. 1733) 163–168. – Laflı. [1312

**Fraiegari P.**, *Le lucerne tardoantiche e altomedievali siciliane, egizie e del vicino oriente nel Museo Nazionale Roma.* Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia n.s., 13. Rom, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato 2008. XV, 297 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-240-1039-9. – Laflı. [1313

**Gabrieli R. S.**, *Towards a chronology – The medieval coarse ware from the tomb in Icarus Street, Kato Pafos.* Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 2008, 423–454. – Parani. [1314

**Gerstel Sh. E. J.**, *New "tiles of Nicomedia" and architectural polychromy in medieval Byzantium.* – **Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Αναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* (Nr. 1678) 173–180. – Berger. [1315

**Giankake A.**, *Εντοιχισμένα πινάκια σε εκκλησίες της Κρήτης: μια ερευνητική πρόταση.* (Nr. 989). – Foskolou.

**Guiducci G./Montana G.**, *Ceramiche da fuoco tardoantiche da Dyrrachion (Albania): un primo approcio morfologica ed archeometrico.* Bonifay M./Tréglia J.-C. (Hrsg.), LRCW 2. Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean (BZ 102/1, 2009, Nr. 1802). Archaeology and Archaeometry. BAR International Series, 1662. Oxford, Archaeopress 2007. 541–550. – Laflı. [1316

**Haddad E.**, *Roman Byzantine amphorae from a terrestrial site and its underwater environs: Horbat Castra and Kfar Samir (southern Levant) as a case study.* Levant – The Journal of the Council for British Research in the Levant 41/1 (2009) 79–92. – Laflı. [1317

**Humphrey J. H.** (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay.* (Nr. 1655). – Laflı.

**Israeli S.**, *Area B: stratigraphic details and the pottery from strata I to IV.* – **Tzaferis V./Israeli S./Avissar M.** (eds.), *Paneas I: The Roman to Early Islamic*

*Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H.* (Nr. 1807) 61–79. – Laflı. [1318

**Israeli S.**, *Area F: Stratigraphic analysis of the "burnt" street of shops and its pottery.* – **Tzaferis V./Israeli S./Avissar M.** (eds.), *Paneas I: The Roman to Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H.* (Nr. 1807) 105–127. – Laflı. [1319

**Ivanov I.**, *Върху датирането и стилистичните особености на старинна българска икона на св. Йоан Богослов, намерена в гр. Демир Капия, Република Македония* (Nr. 1915). – Nikolov.

**Japp S.**, *Archäometrisch-archäologische Untersuchungen an Keramik aus Pergamon und Umgebung.* Istanbuler Mitteilungen 59 (2009) 193–268. – Laflı. [1320

**Japp S.**, *Byzantinische Feinkeramik aus Pergamon.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 2/2, 863–875. – Berger. [1321

**Japp S.**, *The local pottery production of Kibyra.* Anatolian Studies 59 (2009) 95–129. – Laflı. [1322

**Kehrberg I.**, *Byzantine ceramic productions and organisational aspects of sixth century AD pottery.* – **al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852) 493–512. – Kaegi. [1323

**Krapivina V. V./Domżalski K.**, *Olbia in late Antiquity in the light of finds of red slip pottery.* – **Zuev V. J.** (ed.), *Боспор и Северное Причерноморье в античную эпоху: материалы юбил. междунар. круглого стола, посвящ. 10-летию конф. «Боспорский Феномен», Санкт-Петербург, 25–26 нояб. 2008 г.* (Nr. 1788) 73–81. – Laflı. [1324

**Laflı E.**, *Mersin Arkeoloji Müzesi Pişmiş Toprak Kandil Koleksiyonu* (Terracotta Lamp Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Mersin). – *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt, 25–29 Mayıs 2009, Denizli.* (Nr. 1707) 15–24. – Laflı. [1325

**Lightfoot C.**, *Ortaçag'da Aydinlatma Teknikleri ve Amorium'da ele Gecen Buluntular* (Beleuchtungstechniken im Mittelalter und Funde aus Amorium). – **Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 41–49. 7 Abb. – Dennert. [1326

**Lipkonsky D.**, *A burial cave from the late Roman and Mamluk periods at 'Ar 'Ara.* 'Atiqot 59 (2008) 37–46. Summary 198–199. – Laflı. [1327

**Lund J.**, *Methodological constraints affecting the precise dating of African Red Slip Ware.* – **Humphrey J. H.** (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay.* (Nr. 1655) 65–72. – Laflı. [1328

**Majcherek G.**, *The pottery assemblage from the baths and sāqiyah.* Szymańska H./Brabraj K. u.a., Marea I: Byzantine Marea. Excavations in 2000–2003 and 2006 (Kraków 2008) (BZ 102/1, 2009, Nr. 1319). 105–127. – Laflı. [1329

**Marangou A./Marchand S.**, *La contribution des conteneurs commerciaux à l'histoire des échanges entre Chypre et l'Égypte de l'époque archaïque à l'époque romaine tardive.* – **Michaelides D./Kassianidou V./Merrillees R. S.** (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference Egypt and Cyprus in antiquity: Nicosia, 3–6 April 2003.* (Nr. 1754) 242–251. – Laflı. [1330

**Milanova A.**, *Амвон от Созопол от края на XI-началото на XII в. Към проблема за средновизантийските амвони* (Nr. 921). – Nikolov.

**Minčev A.**, *Late Roman glazed lamp with figured handle from the Museum of Archaeology in Varna.* – **Genčeva E.** (Hrsg.), *Jugoiztočna Evropa prez antičnostta VI v. pr. Chr. – načaloto na VII v. sl. Chr. Studia in honorem Alexandra Dimitrova-Milcheva. Southeastern Europe in the antiquity.* (Nr. 1660) 496–501. – Laflı. [1331

**Mommsen H./Japp S.**, *Neutronenaktivierungsanalyse von 161 Keramikproben aus Pergamon und Fundorten der Region.* Istanbuler Mitteilungen 59 (2009) 269–286. – Laflı. [1332

**Onur F./Papagiannaki F.**, *A late antique flask from Side with a curse inscription.* Gephyra 5 (2008) 147–160. 6 Abb. – Pilgerflasche des 6. Jh.s mit eingeritztem Grafitto (Bild und Text) als Defixio gegen Diebe. – Dennert. [1333

**Peña J. T.**, *The forming and slipping of African Sigillata. Evidence from the Palatine East assemblage.* – **Humphrey J. H.** (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay.* (Nr. 1655) 45–63. – Laflı. [1334

**Romanus K.** [u. a.], *Wine and olive oil permeation in pitched and non-pitched ceramics: relation with results from archaeological amphorae from Sagalassos, Turkey.* Journal of Archaeological Science 36 (2009) 900–909. – Laflı. [1335

**Rossiter J. J.**, *North African lamps: Bonifay and beyond.* – **Humphrey J. H.** (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay.* (Nr. 1655) 93–103. – Laflı. [1336

**Schneider G./Japp S.**, *Röntgenfluoreszenzanalysen von 115 Keramikproben aus Pergamon, Çandarlı, Elaia und Atarneus (Türkei).* Istanbuler Mitteilungen 59 (2009) 287–306. – Laflı. [1337

**Stern E. J.**, *Production and export of 13th-century CE Cypriot pottery: the evidence from the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.* Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 2008, 455–469. – Parani. [1338

**Szymańska H.**, *Pottery lamps from the baths, sāqiyah and funerary chapel.* Szymańska H./Brabraj K. u.a., Marea I: Byzantine Marea. Excavations in

2000–2003 and 2006 (Kraków 2008) (BZ 102/1, 2009, Nr. 1319). 161–168. – Laflı. [1339

**Taxel I.**, *Late Byzantine/Early Islamic stamped jar handles from Jerusalem and Tell Qatra.* Israel Exploration Journal 59 (2009) 185–193. – Laflı. [1340

**Tekocak M.**, *African and Cypriot red slip wares from Kelenderis.* Oniz H. (Hrsg.), SOMA 2008. Proceedings of the XII Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, North Cyprus, 5–8 March 2008. British Arch. Reports Int. Ser. 1909 (Oxford 2009) (BZ 103/1, 2010, Nr. 2037). 132–142. – Laflı. [1341

**Totev K.**, *Нагръдна икона с изображения на св. Георги-войн и Христос Пантократор* (Nr. 1928). – Nikolov.

**Türker A. Ç.**, *Glazed Byzantine pottery in Eceabat – Madytos.* – **Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (Nr. 1786) 15–29. 21 Abb. – Dennert. [1342

**Vionis A. K./Poblome J./Waelkens M.**, *The hidden material culture of the Dark Ages. Early medieval ceramics at Sagalassos (Turkey): new evidence (ca AD 650–800).* Anatolian Studies 59 (2009) 147–165. – Laflı. [1343

**Vojkov I.**, *Християнски печат от Абритус* (Nr. 1425). – Nikolov.

**Waksman S. Y./Erhan N./Eskalen S.**, *Caractérisation des céramiques produites dans les ateliers de Sirkeci (Istanbul). Résultats de la campagne 2009.* Anatolia Antiqua 18 (2010) 329–337. 10 Abb. – Dennert. [1344

**Yangaki A.**, *North Syrian mortaria and other late Roman personal and utility objects bearing inscriptions of good luck.* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα 19 (2009) 247–287. – Die Verf. sammelt die auf den sog. nordsyrischen Mortaria angebrachten Inschriften, die Fröhlichkeit und Glück wünschen (mit den Wörtern εὐτυχῶς und εὐτυχῶ), und versucht sie zu interpretieren. – Foskolou. [1345

## j. Textilien

**Čokoev I.**, *За предназначението на одеждата с монограми на цар Иван Александър (1331–1371) от разкопките на храма "Св. Никола" до с. Станичене, Пиротско* (On the function of a dress with monograms of Tsar Ivan Alexandăr [1331–1371] found in the excavations of "St. Nikola" church near the village of Stanichene, Pirot region). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/2 (2008) 314–323. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1346

**Kyučukova I./Jordanov I.**, *Византийските тъкани и българският владетелски двор (X в.) (Печат на епарха, химатин и екзопрат Филотей, намерен в Преслав)* (The Byzantine fabrics and the Bulgarian Regal Courtyard [10th c.]. A seal of the eparch, chimatinus and exoprat Philoteus, found in Veliki Preslav). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem*

*Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 155–165. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1347

**Vorderstrasse T.**, *Trade and textiles from medieval Antioch.* al-Masāq 22 (2010) 151–171. – Berger. [1348

## k. Andere Materialien

**Balabanov T.**, *Костена апликация с изображение на слон от Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1900). – Nikolov.

**Bonev S.**, *Преславската резба върху кост (стари творби нови находки)* (Nr. 1903). – Nikolov.

# H. WECHSELWIRKUNG DER BYZANTINISCHEN KUNST („BYZANTINISCHE FRAGE“)

**Dale T. E. A.**, *Sacred space from Constantinople to Venice.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 406–427. – Stathakopoulos. [1349

**Hedenstierna-Jonson C./Holmquist Olausson L.**, *The oriental mounts from Birka's garrison: An expression of rank and status.* Antikvariskt arkiv / Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 81. Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell 2006. 101 p. ill. ISBN 91-7402-358-6. – Nilsson. [1350

**Holmquist Olausson L./Petrovski S.**, *Curious birds – two helmet (?) mounts with a Christian motif from Birka's garrison.* – **Fransson U.** (et al.), *Cultural interaction between East and West: Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in Northern Europe.* (Nr. 1666) 231–237. – Nilsson. [1351

**Papacostas T.**, *The medieval progeny of the Holy Apostles: trails of architectural imitation across the Mediterranean.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 386–405. – Discusses the potential debt to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople of monuments in Venice, Aquitaine, Apulia and Cyprus. – Stathakopoulos. [1352

**Piltz E.**, *Corpus de la peinture monumentale byzantine. La Suède. La province de Södermanland: Torpa.* Visby, eddy.se 2008. 24 S. (unpaginiert). 8 farbige, 7 s/w-Taf. – Die schlecht erhaltenen Fresken byzantinischen Stils in einem nach Umbau schwer zugänglichen Teil der Kirche zu Torpa werden (nach einer Hypothese von A. Andersson) dadurch erklärt, dass im späten 12. Jh. Künstler aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum an einem benachbarten, jetzt verschwundenen Johanniterkloster tätig gewesen seien und dabei auch die Gemeindekirche zu Torpa mit Malereien geschmückt hätten. Hauptsächliche Motive sind Szenen aus dem Leben Jesu, die teilweise mit lateinischen Inschriften versehen sind. – Rosenqvist. [1353

**Rimmele M.**, *Geronnene Riten. Zum komplexen Verhältnis zwischen kommentierenden Bildern und inszenierendem Träger am Beispiel der Staurothek von Stavelot (ca. 1157).* – **Juwig C./Kost C.** (Hrsg.), *Bilder in der Archäologie – eine Archäologie der Bilder?* (Nr. 1739) 249–272. 6 Abb. – Zur Inszenierung einer byzantinischen Staurothek im Westen. – Dennert. [1354

**Vasilyeva S.**, *Bysantinska traditioner i Gotlands konst under 1100-talet* (Byzantine traditions in 12th-century art in Gotland). Fornvännen 104 (2009) 97–112. – Nilsson. [1355

**Vasilyeva S.**, *Gotlands konstnärliga liv under första delen av 1100-talet. Gotländskt måleri på trä och dess förhållande till konsten i det medeltida Ryssland* (Gotland's artistic life in the first part of the 1100 s: painting on wood and its relation to art in medieval Russia). – **Svensson T./Hedenstierna-Jonson C./ Lindkvist E./Vasilyeva S./Gerhards M.** (eds.), *Spaden och Pennan. Ny humanistisk forskning i andan av Erik B Lunderg och Bengt G Söderberg.* (Nr. 1675) 213–229. – Nilsson. [1356

## I. KATALOGE (AUSSTELLUNGEN, SAMMLUNGEN, GALLERIEN, ANTIQUARIATE)

**Bühl G.**, *Dumbarton Oaks. The Collections.* Cambridge/MA, Harvard University Press 2008. 380 S. Abb. ISBN 978-0-88402-354-8. – Der Katalog umfasst die Byzantine, die Pre-Columbian Collection, den Music Room und die House Collection von Dumbarton Oaks. – Tinnefeld. [1357

**al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852). – Kaegi.

# 8. NUMISMATIK UND SIGILLOGRAPHIE

## A. NUMISMATIK

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen (einschließlich Ikonographie und Technik)

**Asolati M.** (ed.), *I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflativi nel mondo antico e medieval. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria, Padova, 12–13 ottobre 2007.* Numismatica patavina, 9 Padova. Esedra 2008. 169 S. Ill., graph. Darst. ISBN 978-88-6058-087-0. – Berger. [1358

**Atanasov G.**, *Монети, монетарници и монетно обращение в Добруджанското деспотство през втората половина на XIV век. Част II. Местни, чужди и български монети* (Coins, mints and monetary circulation in the Dobrudzha

despotate in the second half of the 14th c. AD. Local and foreign series). Arheologia 51/1–2 (2010) 61–76. With num. ill. With English summary. – Byzantine coins (p. 71). – Nikolov. [1359

**Avdev S.**, *Венецианските и генуезките perperi comunali и perperi latini* (Nr. 1934). – Nikolov.

**Benedicty R.**, *Basileus és kalifa. (Uralkodói ikonográfiák eszmetörténeti hátteréhez)* (Basileus und Kalif. Zum ideengeschichtlichen Hintergrund zweier Herrscherdarstellungen). Antik Tanulmányok 53/1 (2009) 117–124. – Auf deutsch in: Religionen unterwegs 12/2 (2006) 9–14. – Juhász. [1360

**Blet-Lemarquand M./Bompaire M./Morrisson C.**, *Platine et plomb dans les monnaies d'or mérovingiennes: nouvelles perspectives analytiques.* Revue Numismatique 166 (2010) 175–198. fig. – La dévaluation des monnaies d'or mérovingiennes est un phénomène connu revisité ici à partir des analyses par activation protonique pratiquées par J.-N. Barrandon sur des monnaies royales de Marseille et d'Arles de la BnF publiées en sa mémoire, et complétées par quelques autres données obtenues par LA-ICP-MS. Les teneurs en platine se situent à la charnière des valeurs élevées des monnaies byzantines contemporaines de Constantinople et de Carthage et des valeurs plus faibles des monnaies visigotiques. Leur hausse dans la première moitié du 7e siècle pourrait s'expliquer par un apport d'or byzantin. – Morrisson. [1361

**Burgess R. W.**, *The summer of blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the promotion of the sons of Constantine.* (Nr. 608). – Cutler.

**Callegher B.**, *Da imperatore a santo militare: «San Costantino» su monete e su sigilli tra XII e XIII secolo.* Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi 38 (2009) 285–309. ill. – Cette analyse de l'iconographie constantinienne sur les monnaies et les sceaux (notamment d'Alexis III) montre l'évolution de l'image de la sainteté de l'empereur, d'abord liée à l'avènement et à l'idée de la domination du Christ sur l'univers. Ensuite, surtout au xiie siècle, l'insistance sur les vertus militaires du saint répond à la nécessité de soutenir la politique dynastique d'une famille donnée. – Baker. [1362

**Dočev K.**, *Монетни находки и парично обращение (XII–XIV в.) в средновековния "Перперикон" (Кърджалийска област)* (Nr. 1936). – Nikolov.

**Dočev K.**, *Паричните кризи в България през XIII–XIV в.* (Nr. 1938). – Nikolov.

**Gândilă A.**, *Some aspects of the monetary circulation in the Byzantine province of Scythia during the 6th–7th centuries.* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 301–330. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1363

**Georgiades N. Th.**, *Θησαυροί παλαιολογείων νομισμάτων. Ιστορική και αρχαιολογική προσέγγιση.* Byzantiaka 28 (2009) 295–319. – Kotzabassi. [1364

**Goodwin T.**, *Die links between Standing Caliph mints in jund Qinnasrīn.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2:*

*proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 35–40. ill. – Ces exemples montrent que certains ateliers frappaient pour le compte d'autres ateliers régionaux mineurs. – Morrisson. [1365

**Heck G. W.**, *First century Islamic currency: mastering the message from the money.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 97–124. – Spécialiste des mines de la péninsule arabique, l'a. insiste sur l'abondance des ressources métalliques qui sous-tendirent la réforme d'Abd al-Malik, sur la véracité des sources littéraires arabes tardives la concernant. Il reprend à son compte, sans trop reconnaître sa dette, la thèse de Grierson sur les mécanismes d'arbitrage provoqués par les différences de ratio or:argent (1/14 dans le monde islamique contre 1/12 dans l'Occident carolingien et 1/17 à Byzance) qui, plus que le déclin du commerce ouest-est, auraient provoqué les mouvements monétaires connus. La bibliographie est lacunaire. – Morrisson. [1366

**Heidemann S.**, *The Standing Caliph type – The object on the reverse.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 23–34. ill. – L'a. rapproche le motif du revers de l'émission au Calife debout de la colonne surmontée d'un globe figurée sur une place de Jérusalem sur la mosaïque de Madaba, et d'autres colonnes monumentales connues par les mosaïques. Comme le poteau croisé d'une ellipse (sorte de phi sur des degrés) qui figure sur les fals, ce symbole possible de la fierté urbaine est surtout une marque de valeur. – Morrisson. [1367

**Hovard S.**, *Mønter med buler og ridser – en "normaltilstand" for byzantinske guldmønter fra 1100-tallet* (Coins with waves and scratches – a 'normal state' for Byzantine 12th–century coins). Numismatisk Rapport 101 (2009) 17–21. – Nilsson. [1368

**Hoyland R. G.**, *Numismatics and the history of early Islamic Syria.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 81–93. ill. – Réflexions d'un historien sur le témoignage sans cesse élargi du monnayage de transition et les interprétations contradictoires de son iconographie. – Morrisson. [1369

**Hristov N.**, *Бронзови теглилки от късноантичната и средновековната крепост Проват-Овеч* (Bronze weights from the late antique and mediaeval fortress of Provat-Ovech). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/2 (2008) 45–55. With English summary. – Found in Northeastern Bulgaria. Twelve weights are made of bronze and have the form of low bowls (cups). The thirteenth is made of lead and has a four-sided prismatic form. Bronze weights of this shape are typical of

the middle and late Byzantine weighting system where the main unit was the ounce of 29 grams. – Nikolov. [1370

**Ilisch L.**, *'Abd al Malik's monetary reform in copper and the failure of centralization.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 125–146. – La réforme ne visa pas seulement à l'islamisation du monnayage resté jusque là d'inspiration byzantine ou sassanide mais à la création d'un numéraire unique en or, argent et cuivre. Ce dernier était le plus important d'un point de vue idéologique en raison de sa large diffusion dans la population mais son introduction fut un échec. – Morrisson. [1371

**Karailiev Pl.**, *Ранновизантийска мярка за тежест* (Early Byzantine weight). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/2 (2008) 41–44. With English summary. – Found in South Bulgaria. Dated to the second half of the 80 s of the 6th c. – Nikolov. [1372

**Labouret M.**, *Monnaies "scyphates" de l'analogie structurale à l'hypothèse idéologique.* Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique 65/5 (2010) 113–123. – L'a. revient sur le phénomène dont il rejette l'explication technique proposée pour le XIe siècle (Delamare et al., Revue belge de numismatique 145, 1999, 249–259) et conclut que la forme "en coupole" aurait été volontairement choisie pour exalter le pouvoir sacralisé de l'empereur figuré sur la face concave, "au-dessous" du Christ et expliquerait également la minceur et la frappe limitée à la partice centrale. – Morrisson. [1373

**Lavenne S.**, *Histamenon et Tetarteron. La politique mońetaire des empereurs macédoniens entre Nicéphore II (963–969) et Michel V (1034–1041).* Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 11. Bruxelles 2010. 363 S. 30 Taf. 117 Abb. ISBN 90-6281-009-8. – Berger. [1374

**Maladakis V.**, *The coronation of the emperor on middle Byzantine coinage: a case of Christian political theology (10th–mid 11th centuries).* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 338–356. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1375

**Mandova-Stoyanova I.**, *Персийски и византийски монети, открити в гробовете на членове на семейство Шъ в гр. Гуюен, Китай* (Persian and Byzantine coins found in the graveyard of Shi family in the town of Guyuan, China). – **Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1698) 119–127. ill. With English summary. – Based on Chinese publications. Graves dated in the 6th–7th c. Among the Byzantine coins on the territory of China, the imitative are multitudinous. – Nikolov. [1376

**Mansfield S.**, *Heraclean folles at Jerusalem.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 49–55. ill. – Les 13 ex. connus

de ce type, 9 avec la signature IEPOCO, 4 avec XC NI KA (MIB X27 et X28) ont dû être frappés en 614/615, par 2 coins de droit et 6 coins de revers. L'ex. 8, Sternberg 2000, lot 968 est entré à Dumbarton Oaks (BZC 2001.5). – Morrisson. [1377

**Mihaylov S.**, *Видовете номинали в монетното обращение на византийските провинции Скития и Втора Мизия (498–681 г.)* (The denominations in the coin circulation of Byzantine provinces of Scythia and Moesia Secunda, 498–681). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 278–300. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1378

**Minčev A.**, *Early Byzantine weights found in Northeastern Bulgaria and some notes on their production, distribution and use.* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/2 (2008) 7–40. 83 ill. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1379

**Morrisson C.**, *Money, coins and the economy.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 34–46. Tables. – Sets out the big themes in three sections. – Baker. [1380

**Oddy W. A.**, *Constantine IV as a prototype for early Islamic coins.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 95–109. ill. – Ces imitations de folles siciliens de Constantin IV (668–674) à légende pehlevie font ici l'objet d'un catalogue impeccable. Les liaisons de coins avec des imitations au type de Constant II montrent que ces dernières ont été frappées elles aussi sous le règne de Moawiya. Il faut donc dater l'introduction du monnayage bilingue ("official Umayyad image") qui leur succède de 675 environ. De leur quasi-absence dans le sud l'a suggère une émission en Syrie du Nord, ce que pourrait confirmer la trouvaille d'un ex. du prototype byzantin dans les fouilles de Déhès (Paris, 1980, pl. IV, 62). l. – Morrisson. [1381

**Phillips M.**, *Single figure coins of Tiberias/Tabariya with bilingual legends.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 61–77. ill. – Étude métrologique et typologique. – Morrisson. [1382

**Ponamarev A.**, *Genoese treasurers of Caffa – witnesses of the Golden Horde crisis and Byzantine reform.* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 427–446. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1383

**Pontero M. E.**, *L'iconografia dell'imperatore pteroforo nella numismatica bizantina: linee interpretative.* Bizantinistica, 2 ser., 10 (2008) 157–184. 7 pl. – L'a. rappelle le détail des différentes interprétations précédentes de l'iconographie de l'empereur ailé. Elle insiste sur sa symbolique de légitimation et les liens étroits entre l'idéologie impériale et celle de l'archange Michel. – Morrisson. [1384

**Pottier H.**, *Le monnayage de la Syrie sous l'occupation perse (610–630). Complément.* Revue Numismatique 166 (2010), 447–476. ill. – Complément à l'ouvrage de l'auteur (Paris, 2004: BZ 99, 2006, n° 3442). 176 nouveaux exemplaires et deux types nouveaux dont un demi-follis (XX) confirment les conclusions sur cette production locale. L'absence de liaison de coins entre la série 3 («Justin II») et les autres renforce l'hypothèse d'un atelier distinct pour cette série. – Morrisson. [1385

**Pottier H.**, *More about the coinage in Syria under Persian rule (610–630): new specimens.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 78–79. – Publication préliminaire du précédant. – Morrisson. [1386

**Schulze I.**, *New fakes of standing Caliph.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 45–48. ill. – Utile mise en garde avec ill. d'une trentaine de faux fals. – Morrisson. [1387

**Schulze I.**, *The al-wafā lillāh coinage. A study of style (work in progress).* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 111–121. ill. – Étude typologique de la série (SICA nos 595–604, Foss n° 32, p. 35) qui pourrait avoir été frappée par plusieurs ateliers de Filastin et al-Urdunn vu leur variété et les liaisons avec les monnaies signées de Tabariya/Tiberias. – Morrisson. [1388

**Schulze W.**, *Symbolism on the Syrian Standing Caliph coins: a contribution to the discussion.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 11–21. ill. – L'a. émet l'hypothèse que le motif du revers de cette série n'est pas une «croix modifiée» mais bien une tentative de créer un symbole religieux islamique à partir de symboles astraux préislamiques. Il note aussi que l'émission est localisée dans le nord de la Palestine où étaient localisés ces lieux de culte et non dans le sud où dominait la piété chrétienne. – Morrisson. [1389

**Travaini L.**, *Monete medievali italiane: iconografia e politica, circolazione e devozione.* Gaceta Numismática 177 (giunio 2010) 29–50. – Revient notamment sur le monnayage de l'empire latin de Constantinople, l'origine et la circulation du gros vénitien, la monnaie d'or de Francesco I Gattilusio et l'identification des santalene déjà étudiée par elle-même dans de nombreux articles. – Morrisson. [1390

**Vladimirova-Aladžova D./Aladžov Ž.**, *Новооткрити средновековни тежести еталони* (Newly found mediaeval weight standards). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/

2 (2008) 56–62. With English summary. – Three weight standards found in the mediaeval fortress of Blesna (Blismos) and Veliki Preslav. According to the archaeological data of excavation the weights could be dated to 11th c. – Nikolov. [1391

**Walmsley A.**, *Coinage and the economy of Syria-Palestine in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E.* – **Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* (Nr. 1737) 21–44. graph., cartes. – Etat de la question insistant notamment sur le rôle de l'Église comme autorité émettrice dans la période de transition et offrant un excellent aperçu de la circulation monétaire comme reflet de la "santé" de l'économie de la région. – Morrisson. [1392

**Woytek B.**, *Denarius aureus oder nummus aureus?* Revue belge de numismatique 155 (2009) 177–208. – L'examen de la bibliographie et des sources y compris épigraphiques et papyrologiques révèle que l'appellation originelle de la monnaie d'or romaine denarius aureus (et non nummus aureus) donna lieu à deux usages différents: en Occident aureus seulement pour éviter la confusion avec la monnaie d'argent, en Orient δηνάριον (pour δηνάριον χρυσοῦν) d'où plus tard le dinar sassanide et arabe, puis, par l'intermédiaire de l'Iran, le dinara indien. – Morrisson. [1393

**Žekova Ž.**, *Походът на Исак II Ангел в България от 1190 година. Опит за нумизматична реконструкция според данните от колективните монетни находки* (Nr. 1894). – Nikolov.

## b. Kataloge

**Minkova M.**, *За прекъсването на монетното обращение в Берое в началото на VII в.* (On the interrupting of coin circulation in Beroe at the beginning of the 7th c.). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 121–132. Pl. XIV–XV. With English summary. – Presents coins dating to the 7th–8th c., discovered during archaeological excavations on the territory of Beroe (today Stara Zagora in Bulgaria). With catalogue. – Nikolov. [1394

**Spring J.**, *Ancient coin auction catalogues 1880–1980.* London, Spring 2009. 373 p. ill. ISBN 978-1-902040-88-2. – Berger. [1395

## c. Münzfunde

**Baker J.**, *Νομίσματα, νομισματοκοπία και νομισματοκοπεία στις μεσαιωνικές Κυκλάδες. 13ος–15ος αιώνας / Monete, monetazione e zecche nelle Cicladi Medievali. 13o–15o secolo.* (Nr. 823). – Gasparis.

**Bland R./Loriot X.**, *Roman and early Byzantine gold coins found in Britain and Ireland with an appendix of coin finds from Gaul.* Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication, 46. London, Royal Numismatic Society 2010. xxviii, 372 p.

50 fig. 41 tabl. 22 pl. ISSN 0080 4487. ISBN 0-901405-59-0. – Publication monumentale, exemplaire et complète de l'ensemble des trouvailles britanniques de monnaies d'or romaines de César à Léon III. L'appendice de X. Loriot recense les trouvailles faites sur le territoire de la Gaule et de la Germanie depuis la publication de Callu et Loriot 1990 (CEB 3) mais s'arrête, comme celle-ci, en 491. – Morrisson. [1396

**Fedeli L.**, *Il territorio dell'antica Mylae in età tardo-antica.* (Nr. 1106). – Bianchi.

**Penčev V.**, *Колективна находка с билонови скифати от XII- първото десетилетие на XIII в. от Кюстендил* (A collective find of bilonicals scyphates from the12th to the first decade of the 13th c. from Kyustendil). – **Petrunova B./ Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 229–246. num. ills. With English summary. – 1134 coins from Kyustendil (West Bulgaria). The latest is of the Nicean emperor Theodore I Lascaris (1208–1222). – Nikolov. [1397

**Penčev V.**, *Нов тип билонови скифати на Исак Комнин, узурпатор на остров Кипър (1185–1191)* (New type billon scyphatos of Isaac Komnenos the usurper of the island of Cyprus, 1185–1191). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 149–151. Pl. XV. With English summary. – Piece of coin discovered during archaeological excavations in Silistra (North Bulgaria). Its obverse presents Virgin Mary Orans, standing, en face. The reverse bears the representations of the emperor (left) and St George (right) standing, en face, holding between them a large patriarchal cross. – Nikolov. [1398

**Prigent V.**, *Monnaies et sceaux de plomb d'époque normande dans le médallier du Muse Antonino Salinas de Palerme.* – **Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* (Nr. 1773) 341–358, τ. 63–66. – Vom zahlreich erhaltenen bleiernen Notgeld Alexios' I. finden sich auch drei Stück in Palermo; wenn sie im normannischen Sizilien im Umlauf waren, ist das interessant. Das Siegel der Kaiserin Eirene würden wir – mit Zacos und Veglery – kaum der Gattin Alexios' I. zuweisen. Schließlich ein weiteres Siegel von Ioannes Triakontaphyllos als Kuropalates. – Seibt. [1399

**Sideropulos K.**, *Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Μπουρούνι, Τα νομίσματα.* (Nr. 1005). – Foskolou.

**Taddei A.**, *I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis.* (Nr. 969). – Bianchi.

**Travaglini A./Camilleri V. G.** (a cura di), *Hierapolis di Frigia IV: Hierapolis di Frigia, le monete, campagne di scavo 1957–2004.* (Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hierapolis, Hierapolis di Frigia IV, Istanbul 2010) 287 p., tabl., 15 pl., index. ISBN 978-60-5560-710-4. – Catalogue détaillé et commentaire des 1382 monnaies (AE essentiellement) mises au jour par les fouilles de la mission italienne de 1957 à 2004 (213 grecques, 676 romaines impériales dont 520 de

330 à 491 et 6 protovandales, 235 byzantines, 19 islamiques, dont 7 seldjoucides du 13e s. et 5 modernes. Les 177 monnaies byzantines isolées présentent les pointes habituelles des 6e–début 7e s. et des 10e–11e s. après la reprise sous Théophile et surtout sous Léon VI. Elles sont mises en relation avec l'histoire du site, notamment l'abandon de l'habitat dans la seconde moitié du 7e s. Le contexte archéologique montre ici aussi la persistance du numéraire du 4e s, voire du 3e, dans des couches du 6e ou du début 7e. – Morrisson. [1400

**Vorderstrasse T.**, *New evidence for coin circulation in Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 57–60. – Survey de la bibliographie récente et des travaux en cours de l'a. – Morrisson. [1401

## d. Beiträge zu Einzelmünzen (chronologisch)

**Goodwin T.**, *A Standing Caliph fals issued by caliph 'Abd-al Rahmān at Sarmīn.* – **Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* (Nr. 1760) 41–43. ill. – Morrisson. [1402

**Langó P./Polgár Sz.**, *Заметки по поводу находок под инвентарным номером 40. 10. византийской коллекции в Дамбартон Оуксе (США)* (Bemerkungen zum Fundkomplex Inv. Nr. 40. 10. der byzantinischen Sammlung von Dumbarton Oaks, USA). – **Mirgaleev I. M.** (ed.), *Золотоордынское наследие. – Материалы Международной научной конференции «Политическая и социально-экономическая история Золотой Орды (XIII–XV вв.)» Казань, 17 марта 2009 г. Вып. 1.* (Nr. 1755) 488–500. – Juhász. [1403

**Lianta E.**, *A die-study of the half-stavrata of Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425).* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 447–456. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1404

**Sippel K.**, *Justinian in Wolfhagen.* Archäologie in Deutschland 2010/3, 42. 1 Abb. – Fund eines justinianischen Follis (539/40) in Nordhessen, möglicherweise von einem Kreuzfahrer dorthin verbracht. – Dennert. [1405

**Vanni F. M.**, *Una moneta da venerare.* Numismatica e Antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi 38 (2009) 261–283. ill. – Un reliquaire de vermeil du Musée diocésain d'Arezzo contient un solidus d'Athalaric et Théodahat au nom de Justinien provenant du trésor découvert dans les travaux du Latran en 1587 (cf. L. Travaini, BZ 102, 2009, no. 3629). L'a. reprend l'histoire de ce trésor et de l'arrivée de cette monnaie-relique offerte à l'évêque d'Arezzo et décrit deux nouvelles monnaies du trésor, connues seulement par les mentions des archives (deux solidi de Tibère II). – Morrisson. [1406

**Vladimirova- Aladžova D.**, *Паричният номинал семис през V век* (Der Nominalwert semis im 5. Jh.). – **Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./Nikolov V./ Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1699) 457–461. – Goldmünzen aus der Sammlung des Nationalen Archäologischen Museums – Sofia, Bulgarien. Münzen der Kaiser Theodosios II. (408–450), Markian (450–457), Leon II. (474), Zenon (476–491). – Nikolov. [1407

**Vladimirova-Aladžova D.**, *Златни монети на император Лъв II* (Golden coins of emperor Leo II). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 133–138. Pl. XV. With English summary. – There are three golden coins of emperor Leo II (474) known from Bulgaria so far, two solidus and one semis. – Nikolov. [1408

**Žekova Ž.**, *Имитация на златна византийска монета от X век* (Imitation of gold Byzantine coin from the 10th century). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 331–337. With English summary. – Coin from the Numismatic Collection of the Regional Museum – Shumen. Imitate Byzantine nomisma of Emperor Basil I (867–886). Made in Bulgaria. – Nikolov. [1409

**Žekova Ž.**, *Оловни монети на император Алексий I Комнин (1081–1118) от България* (Lead coins of emperor Alexios I Komnenos [1081–1118] from Bulgaria). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 139–147. Pl. XV. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1410

# B. SIGILLOGRAPHIE

## a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Alekseenko N. A.**, *Neskol'ko Vizantijskich pečatej iz Bolgarskich nachodok* (Few Byzantine seals from Bulgarian finds). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 263–275, τ. 27. – Zehn Siegel einer Moskauer Privatsammlung, die aus Bulgarien stammen. Manche Typen sind schon bekannt. Neu und interessant: Siegel eines Basileios, Metropolit von Smyrna (10./11. Jh.) und eines Ioannes Autoreianos, Metropolit von Larissa (2. H. 12. Jh.). – Seibt. [1411

**Čchaidze V. N./Ustaeva E. R.**, *Vizantijskie pečati iz raskopok Tamanskogo gorodišča.* VV 68 (2009) 194–202. 6 Abb. – Von den sechs Siegeln, die bei Ausgrabungen in Taman gefunden wurden, stammen fünf von Logotheten des Genikon (9.–10. Jh.), eines von Antonios, Erzbischof von Zechia (Mitte 11. Jh.). – Seibt. [1412

**Cheynet J.-C.**, *La mise en place des thèmes d'après les sceaux: les stratèges.* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 1–14. – Im 7. Jh. verloren die Amtsbezeichnungen Magister Militum/στρατηλάτης an Wert (im späten 7. Jh. war sogar der Kommandant der Byzacena

schon ein Magister Militum!), deshalb setzte sich für die höchsten Kommandanten die Bezeichnung Strategos durch. Die Siegel der Strategen des 7. Jh. nennen noch keine Truppen, das beginnt erst im 8. Jh. Die Thrakesianoi und Karabisianoi des 8. Jh. haben keinen Bezug zu einem bestimmten Territorium. Interessant, dass die Siegel der β. κομμέρκια um die Mitte des 8. Jh. στρατηγίαι nennen (bislang für 738/739–745/746 belegt) (Hellas, Thrakesion, Kibyrraioton). Bis in das frühe 8. Jh. gibt es kein Indiz, dass die alten großen Kommandos einen klar umrissenen geographischen Bezug haben oder gar mit der Verwaltung von „Themen" betraut waren; bei den vor 700 eingerichteten neuen Kommandos (Sikelia, Hellas) mag das aber schon der Fall gewesen sein. Die Periode der Isaurier bedeutete eine wichtige Etappe in der Errichtung der „Themen", welcher Terminus allerdings erst später auftaucht. – Seibt. [1413

**Cheynet J.-C.**, *Les Xylinitai. – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 191–200. Taf. 19. – Monographie über die Familie Xylinites vom 8.–11. Jh., mit besonderer Auswertung der Siegel. Die Familie war primär in der zivilen Verwaltung und im Dienst am Hof tätig. Zu einem interessanten Kloster vgl. auch BZ 100 (2007) Nr. 235, ad 88.1. – Seibt. [1414

**Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2010. XIV, 272 S. Textabb. ISBN 978-3-11-022704-8. – Die Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 1413, 1417, 1418, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1426, 1436, 1438, 1441. – Seibt. [1415

**Feind R.**, *Byzantinische Siegelkunde. Eine Einführung in die Sigillographie von Byzanz.* Regenstauf, Edition Münzen & Sammeln 2010. 209 S. ISBN 978-3-86646-831-3. – Berger. [1416

**Jordanov I.**, *Byzantine Lead Seals from the village of Melnitsa (District of Elkhovo, Bulgaria), Part II.* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 33–59. – Aus der Festung bei Melnica sind nun schon 134 Siegel bzw. Siegelfragmente bekannt. Das Meiste war schon publiziert, die neuen Stücke sind leider nur ausnahmsweise abgebildet. Außer einer Bulle Justinians stammen sie aus dem 9.–12. Jh. Mehrere fragliche Lesungen. Die Schlussfolgerungen sind zum Teil problematisch. Die Mehrheit der Siegel stammt von Verträgen, Bestätigungen, Rechtsgeschäften (incl. Zeugen) usw., nicht von Briefen. Das vorgestellte Material erlaubt noch keinen Rückschluss auf den byzantinischen Namen des Ortes. – Seibt. [1417

**Métivier S.**, *Sceaux des Musées de Kayseri et de Niğde (Cappadoce Byzantine).* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 61–74. – Aus Kayseri stammen drei Siegel und eine Tessera des 11. Jh. (1. Interessantes Siegel eines Aaron Protospatharios mit unklarem Ende; 3. metrisches Siegel des Eugenios, Metropolit von Kaisareia, der 1071 belegt ist), aus Niğde 14 frühe und ein spätes Stück. Ioannes, Bischof von Faustinupolis im späteren 7. Jh. (Nr. 13), könnte auch von der Hauptstadt aus an seine Diözese geschrieben haben. – Seibt. [1418

**Prigent V.**, *Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine en Adriatique (VIIIe–IXe siècle).* MEFRM 102/2 (2008) 393–417. – Neben vielen guten Ansätzen auch weniger überzeugende Hypothesen. Zwei Siegel des 9. Jh. von κατεπάνω τοῦ ΛΑU werden Ragusa/Dubrovnik zugewiesen. Der Versuch, das Siegel des Kommandanten der Bürgermiliz der damals (720/760) autonomen Stadt Dyrrachion (Seibt/Zarnitz 2.3.8) einer dort stationierten kaiserlichen Garnison von Numeri zuzuweisen, geht sicher in die Irre. Auch ist der Terminus Archon sehr vielschichtig. Viele Regionen an der Adria waren zumindest zeitweise von Byzanz mehr oder weniger unabhängig, auch wenn sie den Kontakt zum Reich nicht ganz aufgaben. – Seibt. [1419

**Seibt W.**, *Das byzantinische Militärkommando „Iberia". – Samecniero paradigmebi – Scientific Paradigms. Studies in Honour of Prof. Natela Vachnadze.* (Nr. 1694) 146–170. – S. 146–157 deutscher Originaltext, S. 158–170 Übersetzung ins Georgische. Von 1000 bis ca. 1074 sind 13 Katepano bzw. Dukes bekannt, teilweise in mehreren Rang-Positionen, ab 1045 mehrfach auch für Groß-Armenien (Ani) zuständig, ab 1064 zumindest gelegentlich auch für Kars (Vanand). Korrekturen zu mehreren Siegeln – Seibt. [1420

**Seibt W.**, *Übernahm der französische Normanne Hervé (Erbebios Phrangopolos) nach der Katastrophe von Mantzikert das Kommando über die verbliebene Ostarmee?* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 89–96. – Hervé nennt sich auf zwei Siegeltypen ὁ Γάλλος, was auf seine Herkunft aus Frankreich hinweist. Für seine Karrriere gibt es neue Informationen, 1071 nahm er als Proedros und Stratelates am Feldzug des Romanos Diogenes teil und übernahm nach dessen Gefangennahme kurzzeitig das Oberkommando (δίκαια ὑπερέχων ἀκεφάλης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς). – Seibt. [1421

**Staurakos Ch.**, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel der Sammlung Konstantinos Kalantzis in Agrinion (Griechenland).* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 75–83. – Fünf Siegel und eine Plombe des 4.–7. bzw. 10.–13. Jh.s. Neu besonders Nr. 4: Konstantin Taronites (2. Hälfte 10. Jh.). – Seibt. [1422

**Stepanova E.**, *Victoria-Nike on early Byzantine seals.* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 15–24. – Bei anonymen „Kaisersiegeln" (manche mögen auch von bestimmten Beamten verwendet worden sein) erscheint die Victoria mit Lorbeerkränzen wohl ab dem späten 4. Jh., das erste mit einem Kaisernamen stammt von Zeno. Unter Justinian wird Victoria durch Kreuze „verchristlicht", für Justin II. kennen wir keinen sicheren Beleg mehr, er ersetzte Victoria vielmehr durch die Theotokos (diese Erkenntnis sollte sich langsam durchsetzen). Auf privaten Siegeln des späteren 6. bzw. 7. Jh. (Alexandros, Theodoros und einem anonymen Typ mit Anrufungsmonogramm) hat Nike andere Beizeichen. Teilweise mag sich „Nike" ideell in Richtung „Tyche" entwickelt haben. – Seibt. [1423

**Stepanova E. V.**, *Cerkovye ierarchi Fessaloniki (po dannym pečatej sobranija Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža. – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.*

(Nr. 1667) 215–222, T. 21–23. – Neun Siegel von Erzbischöfen von Thessaloniki aus dem 7.–12. Jh., z.T. neue Typen. Die Legende des am Ende beigefügten Fotos (vgl. dazu auch Anm. 36) lautet wohl Μάρτυς, Λέοντα μάγιστρον Ψελλὸν σκέποις. Auch ein Siegel desselben Leon Psellos als Dishypatos befindet sich in der Ermitaž (M-10939). – Seibt. [1424

**Vojkov I.**, *Християнски печат от Абритус* (Christliches Siegel aus Abritus). – **Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./Nikolov V./Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1699) 465–467. – Ins Fragment eines Tongefäßes ist ein kreuzförmiges Siegel eingeritzt. Das Kreuz ist mit griechischem Text ausgefüllt: „Heilige Gottesmutter, unterstütze das Werk des Tot". Es wird angenommen, dass es ein gotischer Name ist, und davon wird das Diminutivum Totila abgeleitet. Die Form des Auslaufs des Gefäßes ist für Werke von Töpfern in bulgarischen Landen im 5.–6. Jh. unüblich. Der Fund stammt aus den Ruinen der römischen Stadt Abritus (im heutigen Nordostbulgarien) und ist Beleg einer sesshaften gotischen Bevölkerung in der Region. – Nikolov. [1425

**Wassiliou-Seibt A. K.**, *Der Name Alexios Kontostephanos Komnenos – Identifizierungsvorschläge anhand sigillographischer Funde.* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 25–32. – Von den drei metrischen Siegeltypen von Alexioi Kontostephanoi etwa aus der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jh. wird der erste, der als Vater Stephanos πανσεβαστοῦπέρτατος nennt, dem zweitgeborenen Sohn dieses Mannes (und Enkel Ioannes' II.) zugewiesen, der 1176 umkam, der zweite Typus (Κομνηνὸς μητρόθεν) einem Sohn des Andronikos, der jung (vor 1156) verstarb, der dritte (πορφυροβλαστέγγονος) einem Sohn des Andronikos Megas Dux, der 1195 zum Kaiser ausgerufen wurde, aber scheiterte. – Seibt. [1426

**Wassiliou-Seibt A. K.**, *Die Träger des Familiennamens Kastamonites im 11. Jahrhundert. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie. – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 223–233, T. 23–25. – Von den 19 Siegeltypen (und drei literarischen Erwähnungen) stammt ein einziges Siegel aus der Zeit vor der Mitte des 11. Jh., die anderen sind jünger und reichen bis ins frühere 12. Jh. Man geht davon aus, dass nicht alle Personen mit diesem Herkunftsnamen ein und derselben Familie angehörten. Am Ende zwei Korrekturen zu älteren Fehllesungen. – Seibt. [1427

## b. Kataloge und Beiträge zu Einzelfunden

*Auktion Gorny & Mosch 190, 11.10.2010.* 603–604 Siegel. – 603 Kaisersiegel des Botaneiates; 604 fehlerhaft gelesenes Andrapoda-Siegel des Theophanes ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (696/697), parallel zu Cheynet, Zacos 26. – Seibt. [1428

*Auktion Gorny & Mosch 191, 11.–12.10.2010.* 2681–2696 Siegel. – 2681 Kaisersiegel des Ioannes III. Dukas Batatzes; 2682 Georgios Patrikios und Theophylaktos, Kommerkiarier von Isaurien und Lykaonien (692/693); 2683

Kommerkia von Thrake (?) (831/832?); 2686 metrisches Siegel eines Nanes Liparites (12. Jh.); 2691 Theodotos, Spathar und Xenodochos (2. Hälfte 9. Jh.); 2694 Ioannes Aplespharios (1. Hälfte 12. Jh.); 2696 Ephraim (ΕVΦΡΑΙΜ geschrieben). – Seibt. [1429

*Auktion Münz Zentrum Rheinland 156, 1.–2. 9. 2010.* 902–924 byzantinische Bleisiegel. – 912 interessanter Typus eines Michael Kandidatos (frühes 8. Jh.); 913: Beim metrischen Siegel des Theoktistos ergibt Laurents σκέπουσα einen Zwölfsilber, Weisers ἐνέπουσα dagegen nicht; 916 vielleicht ein Bischof von Bonditza (nur ..ΝΔVΤ sicher); zu 917 vgl. Cheynet, TM 12 (1994) 404, Nr. 22; 919 interessantes Siegel eines Theophylaktos als Stratege von Adana und Mamistra; der Familienname lautete wohl eher Sarantenos oder Saronites als Sant(abarenos); 920 eher ein Bischof von Sibylla als von Sidymon. – Seibt. [1430

*Auktion Rauch (Wien) 86, 12.–14. 5. 2010.* – 1427 f. frühbyzantinische Bleisiegel mit Monogrammen. – Seibt. [1431

*Aukton Hirsch (München) 267, 5.–7. 5. 2010.* 859–893 Bleisiegel. – Ehem. Sammlung Bazant (Wien). 864 Galaton Notarios (9. Jh.); 865 Basileios, Kurator τοῦ Μαγίστρου (2. H. 9. Jh.); 868 Konstantin, Protospathar und Stratege von Thessaloniki (10.Jh.); 872 Kalokyros Kausosideres, Asekretis (1010/1060); 875 Isnam, Manglabites und Protonotar (1020/1060); 880 Theophylaktos, Richter von Aigaion Pelagos (1030/1060); 885 Theophylaktos Ergodotes, Hypatos und Ethnarch (Mitte 11. Jh.); 887 Diomedes-Kloster in Konstantinopel (letztes Drittel 11. Jh.); 889 Kaiserin Maria („von Alanien“), Gattin Michaels VII. und Nikephoros’ III.; 893 Andronikos Kappadox Kalampakes (13. Jh.). – Seibt. [1432

*Aukton Hirsch 269, 23.–24. 9. 2010.* 3056–3058 Bleisiegel. – 3056 Kaisersiegel des Maurikios; 3057 f. metrische Siegel von Romanos Protoproedros und Anzas Ioannes. – Seibt. [1433

**Cheynet J.-Ch./Theodoridis D.**, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis. Les sceaux patronymiques.* CNRS, Centre de recherche d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 33. Paris, ACHCByz 2010. 274 p. ill. ISBN 978-2-916716-24-4. – Berger. [1434

**Dimitrov Ja.**, *Tri olovni pečata ot terenni obchoždanija prez 2006 g. vŭv vŭtrešnija grad na Pliska* (Three molybdobullae from terrain surveys of the inner town of Pliska in 2006). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 251–262, T. 26. – Alle drei Typen sind schon bekannt: Anonymes Siegel des Zaren Symeon, Pisota Vardarios, Bardas Balneas. – Seibt. [1435

**Prigent V.**, *Monnaies et sceaux de plomb d’époque normande dans le médallier du Muse Antonino Salinas de Palerme.* (Nr. 1399). – Seibt.

*Seals published (2002–2006) und Catalogue of Auctions (2002–2006).* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415)

– Annotierte Bibliographie der in diesen Jahren in Aufsätzen und Auktionskatalogen (nicht in Monographien!) publizierten Siegel. – Seibt. [1436

## c. Einzelsiegel

**Campagnolo-Pothitou M.**, *Le sceau unique de Constantin Lascaris Comnène, l'empereur non couronné Constantin XI (1204–1205).* Genava 57 (2009) 209–216. 3 Abb. – Dennert. [1437

**Cheynet J.-C.**, *Un nouveau boullôtèrion découvert en Turquie.* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 97–98. – Siegelzange eines Komitas aus dem 7. Jh. im Museum Halûk Perk. – Seibt. [1438

**Grigorov V.**, *Новооткрит печат на цар Петър и царица Мария* (A newly discovered seal of tsar Petăr and tsaritsa Maria from Pliska). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 189–193. 1 photo. Bulgarian with English summary. – With vertical inscription of five Greek letters: EV(Σ)E(B)HΣ. Probably from the period 945–959. – Nikolov. [1439

**Jordanov I.**, *Новооткрит печат на Стефан, митрополит на Йоанопол (70-те години на X в.)* (A newly discovered seal of Stephen, metropolitan of Joanopol. 70ies of the 10th c.). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 195–198. With English summary. – Dated between 971 and 986. – Nikolov. [1440

**Kyučukova I./Jordanov I.**, *Византийските тъкани и българският владетелски двор (X в.) (Печат на епарха, химатин и екзопрат Филотей, намерен в Преслав)* (Nr. 1347). – Nikolov.

**Nesbitt J. W.**, *An unpublished seal of the Patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome, Stephanos II (925–927).* – **Cheynet J.-C./Sode C.** (Hrsg.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 10.* (Nr. 1415) 85–87. – Seibt. [1441

**Penčev V.**, *Molivdovul na vselenskija patriarch Grigorij II (1283–1289), proizchoždašt ot Bŭlgarija. – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 278. – Ein weiteres Siegel des Patriarchen Gregorios Kyprios, aus Bulgarien. – Seibt. [1442

**Prigent V./Morrisson C./Papadopoulou P.**, *Quatre tessères de plomb et un portrait de l'empereur Chistophore Lécapène. – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 201–213, T. 20–21. – Bei einem recht problematischen Typus von Blei-Tesserae, wo auf dem Rv. die Kaiser Romanos (Lakapenos), Christophoros und Konstantin (VII.) genannt sind, wird die nimbierte Kaiser-ähnliche Büste auf dem Av. mit der Beischrift XR-OR auf den Mitkaiser Christophoros bezogen und in Verbindung mit der Hochzeit der Kaisertochter Maria mit dem Bulgarenzar Peter (927) gebracht. – Seibt. [1443

**Seibt W.**, *Maximos – Raximir – Draximir, Anthropos des Kuropalates (1057–1059). – Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 247–250, T. 25, Nr. 5–7. – Auf einem Siegelfragment aus Bulgarien wurde zunächst ein Maximos Protonotarios vermutet. Ein Parallelstück aus der Sammlung des Autors ließ das zu Raximir, Protospatharios und Anthropos des Kuropalates korrigieren. Der Mann ist wohl identisch mit Draximir, Protospatharios Hypatos und Anthropos des Kuropalates und Domestikos des Westens, womit eindeutig der Kaiserbruder Ioannes Komnenos (1057–1059) gemeint ist. – Seibt. [1444

**Stepanenko V. P.**, *Fers Cocikij, antipat patrikij i stratig Kappadokii (1000–1022)* (Pherses Tzotzikios, Anthypatos, Patrikios and Strategos of Cappadocia [1000–1022]). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 235–245; T. 25, Nr. 4. – Das Siegel der Ermitaž (es stammt aus Cherson) ist dem von DOSeals IV 43.13 sehr ähnlich. Es ist nicht sicher, dass dieser Mann mit dem 1022 hingerichteten Pherses identisch ist, die Siegel könnten durchaus etwas jünger sein. – Seibt. [1445

# 9. EPIGRAPHIK

## A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN

**Agosti G.**, *Cultura greca negli epigrammi epigrafici di età tardoantica.* (Nr. 44). – D'Aiuto.

**Agosti G.**, *Dal cielo alla terra: epigrammi epigrafici e filosofi nel tardoantico.* (Nr. 45). – D'Aiuto.

**Hoyland R.**, *Arab Kings, Arab tribes and the beginnings of Arab historical memory in late Roman epigraphy.* (Nr. 866). – Kaegi.

**Stefec R.**, *Anmerkungen zu einigen handschriftlich überlieferten Epigrammen in epigraphischer Auszeichnungsmajuskel.* (Nr. 60). – Rhoby.

**Vinogradov A. Ju.**, *Два каталога византийских предметов Государственного Эрмитажа: взгляд эпиграфиста* (Two catalogues of Byzantine objects from the State Hermitage: a view of an epigrafist). VV 68 (93) (2009) 243–248. – Ivanov. [1446

**Yangaki A.**, *North Syrian mortaria and other late Roman personal and utility objects bearing inscriptions of good luck.* (Nr. 1345). – Foskolou.

## B. SAMMLUNGEN UND EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN

### (cc) Griechenland

#### Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

**Kiourtzian G.**, *Épigraphie et photographie: retour sur un sarcophage thessalonicien.* REB 66 (2008) 221–231. – Nouvelle édition d'une inscription métrique très lacunaire en vers dodécasyllabiques (présente sur un sarcophage conservé au Musée de Civilisation byzantine de Thessalonique, trouvé dans la région de l'Heptapyrgion), basée sur deux photographies des archives d'A. Zachos, datant des années 1912–1917 et publiées en 2002. Les photographies permettent une lecture plus complète de l'inscription d'origine et confirment que le sarcophage avait appartenu à Théodôros Kéraméas, archevêque d'Ochrid au XIIIe s. – Ronconi. [1447

**Chouliaras I. P.**, *Η κτητορική επιγραφή του ναού των Αγίων Αναργύρων στα Σέρβια Κοζάνης.* (Nr. 942). – Kotzabassi.

### (dd) Asiatische Türkei

#### Bithynien und Pontos

**Adak M./Akyürek Şahin N. E./Güneş M. Y.**, *Neue Inschriften im Museum von Bolu (Bithynion/Klaudiupolis).* Gephyra 5 (2008) 73–120. Abb. – Nr. 35 Schrankenplatte mit Kreuzen und Zitat nach Mt. 1, 23; Nr. 36 Altar mit Christogramm, Tauben, Kreuz; Nr. 37 monolithisches Taufbecken aus Marmor mit Weihung eines Alexandros; Nr. 38 Grabstele mit auf einem Reliefkreuz angeordneten Grabinschrift eines Presbyters Polychronis; Nr. 53 Unbeschriftetes Taufbecken aus lokalem Kalkstein. – Dennert. [1448

#### Lykien und Pamphylien

**Onur F./Papagiannaki F.**, *A late antique flask from Side with a curse inscription.* (Nr. 1333). – Dennert.

### (ff) Vorderer Orient, Afrika

#### Jordanien

**Di Branco M.**, *I sei prìncipi di Qusayr 'Amrah fra Tardoantico, Ellenismo ed Islām.* (Nr. 1188). – D'Aiuto.

### (gg) Italien

**Caprara R.**, *Iscrizioni inedite, mal edite o poco note in chiese rupestri pugliesi.* Archivio Storico Pugliese 62 (2009) 7–28. – Tra le numerose iscrizioni «esistenti nelle oltre seicento chiese rupestri della Puglia […] in questa sede raccogliamo una piccola silloge di quelle nelle quali, in greco o in latino, dopo essersi raccomandato al Signore perché si ricordi di lui o venga in suo soccorso, il dedicante o committente (solitamente di un dipinto) raccomanda anche sua moglie e, talvolta, anche i suoi figli.» – Luzzi. [1449

**Piliego P.**, *Le iscrizioni bizantine degli insediamenti di Quattro Macine ed Apigliano in Terra d'Otranto.* Vetera Christianorum 46/1 (2009) 87–111. – «Recenti indagini archeologiche nei villaggi abbandonati di Quattro Macine (Giuggianello – Le) e Apigliano (Martano – Le), effettuate dall'Università del Salento sotto la direzione scientifica del prof. Paul Arthur, hanno condotto al rinvenimento di 5 nuove iscrizioni bizantine», qui pubblicate e discusse da P., tra cui quella che in base alla lettura delle cifre dell'anno, invero alquanto ipotetica a causa dello stato di conservazione dell'epigrafe, sembrerebbe la più antica iscrizione datata (828/829 d.C.) finora conosciuta in Terra d'Otranto. – Luzzi. [1450

# 10. BYZANTINISCHES RECHT

## A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN ÜBERGREIFENDEN CHARAKTERS

**Demopulu-Peliune A.**, *Το ρωμαϊκό και βυζαντινορωμαϊκό δίκαιο στην νομολογία των τελευταίων χρόνων. – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 449–464. – Obwohl das byzantinische Recht im Jahre 1946 durch das griechische Zivilgesetzbuch abgelöst wurde, wurde es von den griechischen Gerichten weiterhin herangezogen, wenn es sich um vor 1946 entstandene Rechtsverhältnisse (etwa Mitgiftsverträge, Erbschaftsangelegenheiten u.s.w.) handelt. Verf.in stellt die diesbezügliche Rechtsprechung der letzten Jahre vor. – Troianos. [1451

**Papadatou D.**, *Antichresis in Byzantine law.* REB 66 (2008) 209–220. – Étude historico-sociale de la pratique de l'antichrésis (consistant en accorder à un créditeur le droit d'exploiter une propriété au lieu de lui payer un intérêt), de l'époque tardo-romaine jusqu'à Manuèl Comnénos. – Ronconi. [1452

**Pitsakes K. G.**, *Ἔννοιες τοῦ σκοποῦ εἰς τὶς πηγὲς τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ δικαίου.* – **Strangas I. S./Papacharalampus Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Zweck, Teleologie und Recht.* (Nr. 1783) 387–412. Mit französischer Zusammenfassung. – Zusammenstellung und Kommentierung einschlägiger Stellen aus den byzantinischen Rechtsquellen. – Troianos. [1453

**Troianos S.**, *Η έννοια της «φιλανθρωπίας» στους ιουστινειάνειους και μεταϊουστινιάνειους νόμους.* Byzantina 29 (2009) 13–43. – Kotzabassi. [1454

**Troianos S. N.**, *Η έννοια της «φιλανθρωπίας» στα βυζαντινά νομοθετικά κείμενα. – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 2779–2802. – Nebst der göttlichen Menschenliebe kommt die kaiserliche Philanthropia in den byzantinischen Gesetzestexten oft vor, und zwar in jeweils variierendem Sinne. Dadurch strebte der Gesetzgeber im Prinzip an, die Harmonie der Rechtsordnung aufrechtzuerhalten oder gar wieder herzustellen. Verf. versucht diese Philanthropia-Stellen aufgrund ihrer Nuancierung systematisch zu ordnen. – Troianos. [1455

**Troianos S. N./Belissaropulu-Karakosta I.**, *Ιστορία Δικαίου.* Athen, Νομική Βιβλιοθήκη (4) 2010. XXIV, 248 S. ISBN 978-960-272-735-5. – Vgl. zur 3. Aufl. BZ 97, 2004, Nr. 1939. Verf. berücksichtigten die nach 2002 erschienene Literatur. – Troianos. [1456

## B. WELTLICHES RECHT

### a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Agudo Ruiz A.**, *El advocatus fisci en Derecho Romano.* Madrid, Dykinson 2006. 152 p. ISBN 978-84-9772-921-5. – Tratta anche largamente del diritto postcostantiniano. – Goria. [1457

**Astolfi R.**, *Sintesi della storia della bigamia in Roma.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 281–290. – Goria. [1458

**Costanza S.**, *Aspetti e problemi della fiscalità nel tardo Impero romano. Normativa imperiale, fonti pagane e fonti cristiane a confronto.* (Nr. 685). – D'Aiuto.

**De Giovanni L.**, *Società, diritto, potere imperiale: alcune vicende nella tarda antichità.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) I 251–263. – Particolarmente sul rapporto fra il sovrano e la legge. – Goria. [1459

**Di Cintio L.**, *«Natura debere». Sull'elaborazione giurisprudenziale romana in tema di obbligazione naturale.* Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino 2009. 242 p. ISBN 978-88-498-2737-8. – Alle pp. 219–233 sono trattate fonti di età postcostantiniana. – Goria. [1460

**Edbury P. W.** (ed. and trans.), *Philip of Novara, Le Livre de Forme de Plait.* Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, 61. Nicosia, Cyprus Research Centre 2009. 368 S. ISBN 978-9963-0-8112-7. – Parani. [1461

**Fercia R.**, *«Actiones» ed «actio utilis ex causa interdicti»: vicende storiche, anomalie, opacità.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche*

*operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 129–161. – Goria. [1462

**Gallo F.**, *Celso e Kelsen. Per la rifondazione della scienza giuridica.* Torino, Giappichelli 2010. 139 pp. ISBN 978-88-348-0049-2. – Qui segnalato perché, secondo l'autore, la concezione assolutistica del potere affermatasi nel tardo impero romano avrebbe lasciato, attraverso l'opera di Giustiniano, un'impronta sui concetti generali del diritto che condizionerebbe anche i teorici moderni più raffinati. – Goria. [1463

**Gkoutzioukostas A.**, *Judges of the velum and judges of the Hippodrome in Thessalonike (11th c.).* (Nr. 817). – Leontsini.

**Goria F.**, *Valori e princìpi del processo civile nella legislazione tardoantica: brevi note.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 11–35. – Nel mondo romano vi era sensibilità per alcuni valori e princìpi del processo civile (quali l'imparzialità del giudice o il principio del contraddittorio) affermati più ampiamente in età moderna; essi, presi con la dovuta elasticità, possono essere utili per inquadrare la legislazione tardoantica in materia. – Goria. [1464

**Guizzi F.**, *Per una definizione della povertà nel IV secolo.* (Nr. 729). – Goria.

**Harries J.**, *Constantine the lawgiver.* – **McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* (Nr. 1679) 73–92. – Kaldellis. [1465

**López Gálvez M. N.**, *Incendios en el paisaje rural: penas y resarcimiento del daño en derecho romano.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) II 679–712. – Si occupa delle fonti postcostantiniane alle p. 705–709. – Goria. [1466

**Manfredini A. D.**, *«Liberum corpus nullam recipit aestimationem». Morte ferite cicatrici libertà arti e mestieri.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 335–382. – Alle p. 371–373 si tratta di I. 1.6. – Goria. [1467

**Miglietta M.**, *«Servius respondit». Studi intorno a metodo e interpretazione nella scuola giuridica serviana. Prolegomena I.* Università degli Studi di Trento. Dipartimento di Scienze giuridiche. Quaderni, 91. Trento, Università degli Studi, 2010. VIII, 641 p. ISBN 978-88-8443-328-2 – Qui segnalato perché al fine di predisporre una palingenesi dei frammenti di Servio Sulpicio Rufo si serve anche (pp. 516–529) delle notizie desunte da Doroteo e da Stefano. – Goria. [1468

**Padoa Schioppa A.** (a cura di), *Agire per altri. La rappresentanza negoziale, processuale, amministrativa nella prospettiva storica. Convegno Università di Roma Tre, 15–17 novembre 2007.* (Nr. 1765). – Goria.

**Perini M.**, *Reminescenze tardo-imperiali nelle consuetudini costituzionali italiane contemporanee. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 101–112. – Si tratta di C. 8.52.2 e la rationabilitas della consuetudine. – Goria. [1469

**Pitsakes K. G.**, *Leunclavius και Ζυγομαλᾶς. Δύο φίλοι μεταξὺ μιᾶς Μεγάλης καὶ μιᾶς Μικρῆς συνόψεως.* – **Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* (Nr. 1769) 291–304. – Berger. [1470

**Puliatti S.**, *Ravenna, San Vitale e il «tempo dei vescovi». Iconologia di una rappresentazione.* (Nr. 1115). – Goria.

**Tondo S.**, *Profilo di storia costituzionale romana. Parte III.* Milano, Giuffré 2010. XVIII, 349 p. ISBN 88-14-15437-6. – Il titolo è riduttivo: infatti l'opera costituisce il volume conclusivo di una trattazione relativamente ampia; esso prende inizio con la crisi del Principato al termine della dinastia dei Severi; tratta ampiamente della tetrarchia e di Costantino, proseguendo poi con la presentazione dei singoli imperatori d'Occidente, del regno di Teodorico e della riconquista giustinianea. Uno spazio relativamente ampio è dedicato alla legislazione ed al rapporto fra impero e religione. Arricchisce l'opera la citazione di fonti e della bibliografia essenziale. – Goria. [1471

**Trisciuoglio A.**, *Sul divieto di usare le abbreviature nella trascrizione dei codici (a proposito di Isid. Siv. Etym. 1.23.2). – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 759–779. – Il saggio è pubblicato anche in: Revista general de Derecho Romano 12 (2009) = Revistas@iustel.com. – Goria. [1472

**Varela Gil C.**, *El estatuto jurídico del empleado público en Derecho Romano.* Madrid, Dykinson 2007. 437 p. ISBN 978-84-9849-103-6. – La struttura amministrativa dell'età della monarchia assoluta è trattata alle pp. 161–218. – Goria. [1473

**Viarengo G.**, *Regole antiche e nuove sulla capacità testimoniale.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 241–256. – Goria. [1474

## b. Texte und Literatur zu Quellen

### Frühbyzantinisches Recht (bis 527)

**Belayche N.**, *«Ritus» et «cultus» ou «superstitio»? Comment les lois du Code Théodosien parlent des pratiques religieuses traditionelles.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 171–187. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1475

**Botta F.**, *Funzione inquirente e poteri istruttorii nel processo tardoantico: «inquirere/inquisitio» nel lessico del «Codex Theodosianus».* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.**

(a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 37–81. – Goria. [1476

**Bravo Bosch M. J.**, *El «iudicium publicum» de la causa contra Prisciliano.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 147–163. – Il processo si svolse in Spagna alla fine del secolo IV. – Goria. [1477

**Callu J.-P.**, *Clausules et questeurs dans le Code Théodosien: les annèes 395–397.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 63–74. – Sulla clausola ritmica (cursus) nel CTh. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1478

**Carrié J.-M.**, *Julien législateur: un mélange des genres?* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 175–184. – Macé. [1479

**Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P./Poinsotte J.-M.** (ed.), *Codex Theodosianus–Le Code Théodosien, V. (Texte latin d'après l'édition de Mommsen. Traduction, introduction e notes).* Turnhout, Brepols 2009. 523 p. ISBN 978-2-5035-1722-3. – Berger. [1480

**Crogiez-Pétrequin S.**, *Le terme «mansio» dans le Code Théodosien: une approche de définition.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 89–104. – «Le terme mansio désigne … la plupart du temps un habitat aggloméré quelle que soit sa taille, et un territoire fiscal avec la communauté qui l'habite et qui a des activités ruraux». – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1481

**Delmaire R.**, *Problèmes de traduction du Code Théodosien: quelques exemples tirés du livre XVI.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 75–87. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1482

**Di Paola L.**, *I «curiosi» in età tardoantica: riflessioni in margine al titolo VI,29 del Teodosiano.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 119–141. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1483

**Dovere E.**,, *Acta Conciliorum e repetita praelectio giustinianea: la διάταξις di Marciano del marzo 452.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) I 323–335. – Goria. [1484

**Germino E.**, *La legislazione dell'imperatore Giuliano: primi appunti per una palingenesi.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 159–174. – Macé. [1485

**Guichard L.**, *L'élaboration du statut juridique des clercs et des églises d'après les lois constantiniennes du Code Théodosien XVI, 2.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 209–223. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1486

**Huck O.**, *Sur quelques textes «absents» du code Théodosien: le titre CTh I, 27 et la question du régime juridique de l'audience épiscopale.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./ Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 37–59. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1487

**Jaillette P./Malosse P. L.**, *Code Théodosien et documents électroniques.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 7–13. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1488

**Jaillette P.**, *Le Code Théodosien: de sa promulgation à son entreprise de traduction française. Quelques observations.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 15–36. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1489

**Laurence P.**, *Les femmes dans le Code Théodosien: perspectives.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 259–269. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1490

**Licantropo O.**, *Il cd. Editto di Teodorico. Una vicenda tra storia, mito e manoscritti perduti.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 189–259. – Goria. [1491

**Moreno Resano E.**, *El Dies Solis en la legislación constantiniana.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 289–305. – Macé. [1492

**Noethlichs K.-L.**, *Éthique Chrétienne dans la législation de Constantin le Grand.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 225–237. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1493

**Paz de Hoz M.**, *Posible divorcio de dos orientales en la Valencia tardoantigua.* (Nr. 1120). – Signes.

**Pergami F.**, *Legislazione tardoimperiale e politica ecclesiastica in tema di conservazione dei patrimoni familiari. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 87–100. – Goria. [1494

**Pietrini S.**, *L'accusator nell'epistola 10 di papa Simmaco. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 139–151. – Goria. [1495

**Pottier B.**, *État, élites et ordre public: les «occultatores» de hors-de-la-loi dans le Code Théodosien.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 143–169. – Dal résumé: «Un groupe de lois échelonnées de 365 à 440 … dénote la création d'un nouveau munus, pesant sur les propriétaires terriens chargés d'arrêter leurs paysans délinquants ou anciens déserteurs sous peine d'être punis en tant qu'occultatores. L'obligation de dénoncer des hors-la-loi a été aussi étendue pour les possessores aux catégories des serviteurs de l'État, des personnes fuyant les charges publiques et des hérétiques aux païens». – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1496

**Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771). – Goria.

**Richard F.**, *Le sens du mot «christianitas» dans le Code Théodosien.* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 105–116. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1497

**Rinolfi C. M. A.**, *«Episcopalis audientia» e arbitrato.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 191–239. – Goria. [1498

**Rivière Y.**, *«Une cruauté digne de féroces barbares»? À propos du «De emendatione seruorum» (CTh IX,12).* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 171–187. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1499

**Soler E.**, *La législation impériale «De scaenicis» dans le Code Théodosien (XV, 7).* – **Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* (Nr. 1719) 241–258. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1500

**Talamanca M.** (†), *Le "sacrae litterae" di CI. 7.16.40 e l'ordinanza processuale di Diocleziano del 294 d. C.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) III 1303–1384. – La discussione del problema di datazione coinvolge l'esame della legislazione costantiniana. – Goria. [1501

## Justinianisches Recht

**Barbati S.**, *Sugli elenchi degli organi giudiziari in età giustinianea.* Jus 57 (2010) 37–141. – Goria. [1502

**Cenderelli A.** (†), *CI. 3.34.14.1: Giustiniano e l'essicazione dei frutti.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) I 197–202. – Goria. [1503

**Dalla D.**, *Gli acquisti dei soggetti a potestà secondo gli schemi delle Institutiones.* – **Padoa Schioppa A.** (a cura di), *Agire per altri. La rappresentanza negoziale, processuale, amministrativa nella prospettiva storica. Convegno Università di Roma Tre, 15–17 novembre 2007.* (Nr. 1765) 255–286. – Tiene conto anche del diritto postcostantiniano e giustinianeo. – Goria. [1504

**Di Maria S.**, *La cancelleria imperiale e i giuristi classici: «reverentia antiquitatis» e nuove prospettive nella legislazione giustinianea del Codice.* Seminario giuridico della Università di Bologna, 250. Bologna, Bononia University Press 2010. 205 p. ISBN 88-7395-498-9. – Goria. [1505

**Falcone G.**, *L'esordio del commento ulpianeo all'editto sui patti (D. 2.14.1 pr.) tra critica testuale e studio dei percorsi concettuali.* Annali del Seminario gi-

uridico Università di Palermo (AUPA) 53 (2009) 223–254. – Alle p. 238–240 attribuisce a Teofilo lo schol. BS 177,13 a D. 2.14.1 pr.–2. – Goria. [1506

**Goria F.**, *Osservazioni sull'uso dell'analogia nei giuristi greci del secolo VI.* – **Storti C.** (a cura di), *Il ragionamento analogico. Profili storico-giuridici. Convegno Como, 17–18 novembre 2006.* (Nr. 1782) 93–131. – Vengono analizzati alcuni passi di Bas. 2.1, degli scolii di Taleleo a Bas. 8.1–2 e le epitomi di Giuliano, Atanasio, Teodoro alle Novelle di Giustiniano. – Goria. [1507

**Lambertini R.**, *Cons. 8: il «vetus iurisconsultus» e il giudice in causa propria (Aspetti della responsabilità del giudice nel tardoantico).* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 83–101. – Goria. [1508

**Macino F.**, *Sulle tracce delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano nell'alto medioevo. I manoscritti dal VI al XII secolo.* Studi e testi, 446. Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana 2008. 247 p. ISBN 978-88-210-0837-5. – D'Aiuto. [1509

**Martini R.**, *Sul monopolio interpretativo di Giustiniano.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 425–431. – Goria. [1510

**Melluso M.**, *Uso processuale del documento: un caso «armeno».* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 277–302. – Tratta della Nov. 73 di Giustiniano e dei suoi precedenti normativi. – Goria. [1511

**Puliatti S.**, *Accertamento della «veritas rei» e principio dispositivo nel processo postclassico-giustinianeo.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 103–128. – Goria. [1512

**Puliatti S.**, *Il diritto penale dell'ultima legislazione giustinianea. I crimini contro la moralità e la famiglia. I reati sessuali: ratto e castrazione.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) II 989–1009. – Goria. [1513

**Puliatti S.**, *La "carta dei doveri". La Novella 17 di Giustiniano e il ripristino dei mandata imperiali. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 253–271. – Goria. [1514

**Quadrato R.**, *Hominum gratia. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 273–288. – Tratta di D. 22.1.28.1, ma con riferimento a Theophil. Paraphr. 1.3.2 e 2.1.37. – Goria. [1515

**Ravizza M.**, *Maec. D. 48.6.8 e la provocatio. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 331–342. – Considera anche uno scolio dei Basilici. – Goria. [1516

**Reinoso Barbero F.**, *Inscripciones inciertas y falsas inscripciones en la Florentina.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 397–408. – Goria. [1517

**Rodríguez López R.**, *"Ex corpore hortulanorum et aestimatores hortorum". Nov. 64 (65).* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) II 1069–1086. – Goria. [1518

**Roncati S.**, *L'interrogatorio degli schiavi ereditari in una legge di Giustiniano.* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 257–275. – Goria. [1519

**Russo Ruggeri C.**, *Sulle «Quinquaginta decisiones», dieci anni dopo.* Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris 76 (2010) 445–467. – Goria. [1520

**Sciortino S.**, *Studi sulle liti di libertà nel diritto romano.* Annali del Dipartimento di Storia del Diritto – Università degli Studi di Palermo, Monografie, 8. Torino, G. Giappichelli 2010. 367 p. ISBN 978-88-3480985-3. – L'opera è qui segnalata perché alle pp. 209–213 si distacca dalla lezione di C. 7.16.21 (anno 293) seguita da P. Krüger anche sulla base del katà poda, e ne preferisce un'altra, attestata da parte della tradizione manoscritta (nella quale non va però annoverato il Codex Veronensis LXII, in cui manca l'intero titolo). – Goria. [1521

**Sitzia F.**, *L'agire per altri nell'epoca giustinianea.* – **Padoa Schioppa A.** (a cura di), *Agire per altri. La rappresentanza negoziale, processuale, amministrativa nella prospettiva storica. Convegno Università di Roma Tre, 15–17 novembre 2007.* (Nr. 1765) 347–392. – Tiene conto anche di commenti del sec. VI raccolti negli scolii dei Basilici. – Goria. [1522

**Tarozzi S.**, *Il regime della donazione nuziale nelle Novelle di Giustiniano in caso di scioglimento del matrimonio per morte del marito.* – **Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* (Nr. 1681) III 1385–1409. – Goria. [1523

**Trisciuoglio A.**, *«… perché gli attori imparino a non giocare con la vita altrui …». A proposito di Nov. Iust. 53.1–4* – **Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* (Nr. 1771) 163–190. – Goria. [1524

**Varvaro M.**, *Sulla storia dell'editto "pecunia constituta". – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 829–871. – Considera anche C. 4.18.2: pp. 843–849. – Goria. [1525

## Von Justinian bis zur Makedonenzeit (565–867)

**Mpurdara K.**, *Ειρήνη η Αθηναία και Οικογενειακό Δίκαιο. – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 1705–1725. – Anhand der Heiligenvita der Kaiserin Eirene bietet Verf.in eine Übersicht des im 8. Jh. geltenden Eherechts. – Troianos. [1526

**Szabó P.**, *Árukidobás a tengeren? – A bizánci Nomosz Rhodión Nautikosz római jogi párhuzamairól* (Jetsam a-sea? – On the Roman law-parallelism of jetsam in the Byzantine Nomos Rhodion Nautikos). – **G. Tóth P./Szabó P.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6: A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4–5.) előadásai.* (Nr. 1789) 215–232. – Juhász. [1527

## Von der Makedonenzeit bis 1204

**Sirks B.**, *The Peira: Roman law in Greek setting. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 583–591. – Tratta di alcuni passi del titolo 41, sulla Falcidia o quota di legittima. – Goria. [1528

## Spätbyzantinisches Recht

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

**Katsenis G.**, *Οι Ασσίζες της Ρωμανίας και το δουκάτο του Αρχιπελάγους / Le Assise di Romania e il ducato dell'Arcipelago.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 103–121. – The author focuses on the application of the Assizes of Romania in the Duchy of the Aegean, as a vassal state of the Principality of Achaia, during the last quarter of the 13th c. – Gasparis. [1529

**Mpenu L.**, *Οι «συλλογές» νόμων του 14ου αιώνα: Έργα αποθησαυρισμού νομικών διατάξεων ή νέα πρόταση κωδικοποίησης;* Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου 42 (2010) 135–146. – Berger. [1530

**Pitsakis K. G.**, *Rubrica legis non est lex: Αλλά, αν ένας «απρόσεκτος» αναγνώστης των rubricae είναι ο Κωνσταντίνος Αρμενόπουλος; – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 2185–2200. – Verf. behandelt die Konsequenzen der von Armenopulos Aufnahme „falscher" Rubriken in seine Hexabiblos bei der Anwendung byzantinischer privatrechtlicher Quellen im Griechenland des 19. Jh.s. – Troianos. [1531

**Stylianude M.-G. L.**, *Οι Ασσίζες της Ρωμανίας και η «κληρονομία» των μεσαιωνικών Κυκλάδων στο εθιμικό δίκαιο / Le Assise di Romania e l' "eredità" delle Cicladi medievali nel diritto consuetudinario.* – **Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* (Nr. 1757) 87–102. – The author investigates the "inheritance" of the Assizes of Romania, as applied in the Duchy of the Aegean, to the customary law of the nineteenth century Greece and especially in the islands of Cyclades. – Gasparis. [1532

# C. KIRCHENRECHT

## a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Atanasova M.**, *Être «hérétique» à Byzance à l'époque des Comnènes.* (Nr. 339). – Macé.

**Kostopulos K.**, *Τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνη καὶ καθαιροῦντα τοὺς κληρικοὺς παραπτώματα κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνες.* Athen, Γρηγόρης 2010. 259 S. ISBN 978-960-333-629-7. – Zusammenstellung der die Weihehindernisse betreffenden kirchlichen Kanones sowie der kanonischen Delikte, welche die Absetzung nach sich ziehen. – Troianos. [1533

**Manaphes K. A.**, *Περὶ τὴν μοναστηριακὴ ζητεία· δύο ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα-Ἀπανταχούσες.* (Nr. 403). – Troianos.

**Moulet B.**, *Evêques, canons et liturgie face à l'hérésie (Byzance, VIIIe–XIe siècles).* (Nr. 344). – Macé.

**Papagianne E. S.**, *«Παράνομα» ἤ «παράλογα» ἔθιμα καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δικαιοδοσία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. – Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* (Nr. 1691) 1989–2002. – Nach Ansicht der Verf.in bildeten sich in postbyzantinischer Zeit auf dem Gebiet des Eherechts „rechtswidrige" bzw. „unsinnige" Gewohnheiten, die sich aber in der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung wider Erwarten durchgesetzt haben. – Troianos. [1534

**Pitsakes K. G.**, *Νομοκανονικὰ Marginalia με αφορμὴ δύο ἁγίους τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης: Ευστάθιος ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μυροβλήτης στὸν Δημήτριο Χωματιανό. – Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* (Nr. 1703) 267–289. – Verf. kommentiert zwei sich auf Heilige von Thessalonike beziehende Stellen aus den Werken des Erzbischofs Demetrios Chomatianos. a) In einem Responsum an Konstantinos Kabasilas bezeichnet Chomatianos die Translation des Eustathios von der Metropolis von Myra, wo er zunächst gewählt wurde, auf den Stuhl von Thessalonike als unkanonisch; b) Die Vorwürfe des Patriarchen Germanos II. wegen der Kaiserkrönung des Theodoros Angelos in Thessalonike zurückweisend, behauptet Chomatianos, er habe die Salbung mit dem Myron des hl. Demetrios vorgenommen. – Troianos. [1535

**Pitsakis C. G.**, *Se souvenir des cultes antiques à Byzance au XIIe siècle: Les canonistes byzantins et les survivances de pratiques cultuelles païennes.* – **Anagnostou-Canas B.** (éd.), *L'organisation materielle des cultes dans l'antiquité.* (Nr. 1704) 173–184. – Troianos. [1536

**Pitsakis C. G.**, *Un laïc: L'empereur romain d'Orient.* – **Catalano P./Siniscalco P.** (a cura di), *Laicità tra diritto e religione da Roma a Costantinopoli a Mosca.* (Nr. 1715) 123–141. – Identisch mit dem BZ 95, 2002, Nr. 1738 angezeigten Aufsatz. – Troianos. [1537

**Schminck A./Getov D.**, *Die Handschriften des kirchlichen Rechts I (Nr. 328–427).* Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts, 2. Frankfurt/Main, Photios 2010. XXVI, 297 S. ISBN 978-3-9814130-0-7. – Berger. [1538

**Troianos S. N.**, *La contribution des laïcs à la formation du droit de l'Église.* – **Catalano P./Siniscalco P.** (a cura di), *Laicità tra diritto e religione da Roma a Costantinopoli a Mosca.* (Nr. 1715) 143–150. – Identisch mit dem BZ 93, 2000, Nr. 3085 angezeigten Aufsatz. – Troianos. [1539

**Tsibranska-Kostova M.**, *Богомилите в църковноюридическите текстове и паметници* (Nr. 1874). – Nikolov.

## b. Text und Literatur zu Quellen

**Acerbi S.**, *¿'Ius Conditum' o 'De iure condendo'? Emperadores, papas y concilios en la antigüedad tardía.* – **Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* (Nr. 1784) 167–178. – Schwerpunkt der Überlegungen ist das Latrocinium Ephesinum. – Signes. [1540

**Dovere E.**, *Principalis providentia e dissenso eutichiano: le leggi repressive del 452–455.* Vetera Christianorum 46/1 (2009) 67–86. – Studio comparativo di due articolate leggi promulgate dall'imperatore Marciano negli anni 452 e 455 e dirette alla severa repressione del monachesimo eutichiano. – Luzzi. [1541

**Escribano Paño M. V.**, *Cristianos y maniqueos en Codex Theodosianus XVI: separados por la ley.* – **Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* (Nr. 1784) 127–141. – Signes. [1542

**Gallego Franco H.**, *Maternidad legítima y cristianismo en el Codex Theodosianus.* – **Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* (Nr. 1784) 143–153. – Mutterschaft innerhalb und außerhalb der Ehe im Cod. Theod. – Signes. [1543

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

**Natal Villazala D.**, *El obispo y la ley: las relaciones Iglesia-Estado a través de la Constitutio IX.40.13 del Código Teodosiano.* – **Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez**

**Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* (Nr. 1784) 155–165. – Historischer Hintergrund und Nachwirkung der Const. IX.40.13, die Theodosios 390 nach dem Blutbad in Thessalonike verkündete. – Signes. [1544

**Papagianne E. S.**, *Ἡ νομολογία τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς βυζαντινῆς καί μεταβυζαντινῆς περιόδου σέ θέματα περιουσιακοῦ δικαίου. III. Κληρονομικό δίκαιο.* Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe, 18. Athena/Komotene, Sakkulas 2010. XXV, 320 S. ISBN 978-960-15-2417-7. – Berger. [1545

**Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* (Nr. 1784). – Signes.

# 11. FACHWISSENSCHAFTEN

## A. MATHEMATIK, PHYSIK, ASTRONOMIE, ASTROLOGIE

**Broutian G.**, *Gisaworneri masin norayayt yišatakut‘iwnner haykakan matenagir ałbiwrnerun* (New evidences about comets in Armenian medieval literary sources). Bazmavep 167 (2009) 146–157. – Su comete apparse nel 467 e nel 1220, secondo le indicazioni degli storici, rispettivamente Anania di Širak e Vardan Arewelc‘i. – D’Aiuto. [1546

**Gastgeber Ch.**, *Astronomie und Astrologie im Mittelalter zwischen den Kulturen.* – **Fingernagel A.** (Hrsg.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Interkultureller Dialog in alten Schriften.* (Nr. 1730) 177–252. – Rhoby. [1547

**Jones A.** (ed.), *Ptolemy in perspective. Use and criticism of his work from antiquity to the nineteenth century.* Archimedes. New studies in the history and philosophy of science and technology, 23. Dordrecht/Heidelberg/London/New York, Springer 2010. XV, 229 p. ill., maps. ISBN 978-90-481-2787-0. – Proceedings of a 2007 Caltech conference dealing with Ptolemy and his work, from his own time to the Renaissance and later and including the following contributions more directly relevant for Byzantium and its world: A. Tihon, “An Unpublished Astronomical Papyrus Contemporary with Ptolemy”; A. Jones, “Ancient Rejection and Adoption of Ptolemy’s Frame of Reference for Longitude”; S. Heilen, “Ptolemy’s Doctrine of the Terms and its Reception”; F. Mittenhuber, “The Tradition of Texts and Maps in Ptolemy’s Geography”; F. J. Ragep, “Islamic Reactions to Ptolemy’s Imprecisions”. – Touwaide. [1548

**Joos-Gaugier Ch. L.**, *Pythagoras and Renaissance Europe. Finding heaven.* Cambridge [u. a.], Cambridge University Press 2009. XIV, 319 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-521-51795-9. – The creation of Pythagoras from the early-fifteenth and the

late-Byzantine world (Pletho and Bessarion) to the "apotheosis' in the 16th c., with an analysis of the multiple facets of this new Pythagoras. This well illustrated (unfortunately only in black and white) and elegantly produced essay includes an appendix on Pythagorean works in six Renaissance libraries (the Visconti and Vatican libraries, Bessarion's and Pico's collections, Reuchlin's collection and the Escorial). – Touwaide. [1549

**Kuzenkov P.**, *Correction of the Easter computus: heresy or necessity? Fourteenth century Byzantine forerunners of the Gregorian reform.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* (Nr. 1776) 147–158. – Sugli studiosi bizantini che, nel XIV secolo, fecero proposte di riforma del calendario basate su calcoli astronomici: Niceforo Gregora e Isacco Argiro. – D'Aiuto. [1550

**Poochigian A.** (ed.), *Aratus, Phaenomena.* Johns Hopkins new translations from antiquity, 2. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. XXXI, 72 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-8018-9466-4. – The introduction covers Aratus' biography, the influences on Phaenomena (from Hesiod to early Stoicism), the ancient astronomy, the use of his sources by Aratus, the Hellenic poetry and the Phaenomena, the Latin translations of the work, and its medieval translations (into both Latin and Arabic). The translation (in verses) is followed by light explanatory notes. – Touwaide. [1551

**Tóth I.**, *Fragmente und Spuren nichteuklidischer Geometrie bei Aristoteles.* Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 280. Berlin, De Gruyter 2010. XXIV, 425 S. ISBN 978-3-11-022415-3; 978-3-11-022416-0. – List of the fragments of non-Euclidean geometry in Aristotle works, with detailed discussion. Greek text (including Plato's non-Euclidean passages) at the end of the volume, followed by a German translation. – Touwaide. [1552

## B. NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN (ZOOLOGIE, BOTANIK, MINERALOGIE, ALCHEMIE)

**Colinet A.** (éd.), *Recettes alchimiques (Par. Gr. 2419; Holkhamicus 109). Cosmas le Hiéromoine Chrysopée.* Les alchimistes grecs, 11. Paris, Belles Lettres 2010. CXXVIII, 172 p. ISBN 978-2-251-00559-1. – Berger. [1553

**Kroll H.**, *Tiere im Byzantinischen Reich.* Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2010. 210 S. 105 Farbabb. ISBN 3-7954-2350-3; 978-3-7954-2350-6. – Laflı. [1554

**Segura Munguía S./Torres Ripa J.**, *Historia de las plantas en el mundo antiguo.* Bilbao, Universidad de Deusto; Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 2009. 478 p. ill. ISBN 978-84-00-08860-6. – Large-size volume opening with a long introduction on the history of gardens in antiquity (p. 19–77) and presenting a monograph (with color illustrations) on the plants known in

the ancient world, classified in four major categories (trees, sub-trees, herbs, and plants used in Roman cuisine). Each of these major categories is further divided in sub-categories of plants by types (for the trees, for example, sacred trees, conifers, deciduous trees, ever-green trees, palm trees, fruit trees). Includes a glossary, bibliography, and index of plant names in Spanish and Latin. Monographs are mainly compilations of ancient texts with some analytical comments. – Touwaide. [1555

**Squillace G.**, *Il profumo nel mondo antico con la prima traduzione italiana del «Sugli odori» di Teofrasto.* Prefazione di Lorenzo Villoresi. Ser. 1, Storia, letteratura, paleografia, 372. Firenze, Leo S. Olschki 2010. XX, 280 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-222-5983-7. – Greek text (from the edition by Eigler and Wöhrle, 1993) and Italian translation of Theophrastus, De odoribus, followed by an anthology of texts (in Italian translation) on perfumes (with a short introductory essay). The work concludes with several tables on perfumes, including their uses in medicine. – Touwaide. [1556

*Théophraste, Recherche sur les plantes. A l'origine de la botanique.* Traduction, présentation et photos par Suzanne Amigues (Collection "Botanique"). Paris/ Belin 2010. 413 p. ill., photogr. ISBN 978-2-7011-4996-7. – French translation of Theophrastus, Historia plantarum (whose Greek text the author has edited over the past decades) with color photographs of the plants studied by Theophrastus and light notes of commentary. Includes a useful index of plant names (only in French, without, instead, the index of the Linnean binomials). – Touwaide. [1557

**Ventura I.** (a cura di), *Ps. Bartholomaeus Mini de Senis, Tractatus de herbis (Ms London, British Library, Egerton 747).* Edizione nazionale "La Scuola medica salernitana", 5. Tavarnuzze-Impruneta (Firenze), SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzo 2009. VIII, 914 p. ISBN 978-88-8450-356-5. – Critical edition of the Tractatus that develops the material collected at Salerno (actually the so-called Circa instans) and offers a significant insight into late-medieval herbalism and pharmacological culture, including the fortuna of classical works in the West. In the long introduction discussing the work and its sources, the author gives a glossary of technical terms (mainly terms of diseases) that illustrate the continuity of Greek technical terms in the Latin medical lexicon. The Latin text includes notes of commentary and is followed by a table providing the identification of the plants analyzed in the work, and an analytical index. – Touwaide. [1558

## C. MEDIZIN, PHARMAZIE

**Anastassiou A.**, *Unbekannte hippokratische Aphorismen bei Theophilos Protospatharios' De Urinis?* Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 153 (2010) 92–107. – Tinnefeld. [1559

**Coppens Ch.**, *De vele levens van een bok. De Fasciculus medicinae opnieuw bekeken.* Academia Regia Belgica Medicinae, Dissertationes, series historica, DSH 11. Brussels, Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België 2009. VII, 324 p. ill. ISBN 978-90-75273-00-7. – Analysis of the late-medieval and early-Renaissance fortuna of the work traditionally attributed to Johannes de Ketham and now more cautiously identified as the Fasciculus medicinae, which is a sum of medieval medicine (including its antique and Byzantine components), on the basis of its printed editions. – Touwaide. [1560

**Crisciani C./Repici L./Rossi P. B.** (a cura di), *Vita longa. Vecchiaia e durata della vita nella tradizione medica e aristotelica antica e medieval. Atti del convegno internazionale (Torino, 13–14 giugno 2008).* Micrologus' Library, 33. Tavarnuzze-Impruneta (Firenze), SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo 2009. XIV, 208 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-8450-346-6. – Collection of 8 essays on elderly from the medical aspects of elderly in classical antiquity (M. M. Sassi, "Normalià e patologia della vecchiaia nella medicina antica") to 14th-century commentaries on life's length based on Aristotle (M. Dunne, "The causes of the length and brevity of life call for investigation: Aristotle's De longitudine et brevitate vitae in the 13th and 14th century commentaries"), including elderly in Aristotle (L. Repici, "Tutto invecchia per opera del tempo. Senilità e senescenza in Aristotele") and Avicenna (Ch. Crisciani, "Età avanzata e qualità della vita nel 'Canone' di Avicenna"). – Touwaide. [1561

**De Sensi Sestito G.** (a cura di), *L'arte di Asclepio. Medici e malattie in età antica. Atti della giornata di Studio sulla medicina antica. Università della Calabria 26 ottobre 2005.* Società Antiche. Storia, Culture, Territori, 9. Soveria Manelli, Rubbettino 2008. IX, 220 p. ISBN 978-88-498-2047-8. – Though mainly focused on the Magna Grecia, offers two contributions of interest for the study of diseases and medicinals in later periods: M. Ielo, "Il medico e la malattia: disturbi polmonari nel Corpus Hippocraticum", and J. B. Tromper, "Da allucinogeno e medicinale nell'antichità a bevanda ben conosciuta: la birra e la complessa storia di alcuni Wandwörter". Of interest also: M. Cricelli, "La medicina greca di IV e III secolo a.C. attraverso alcune iscrizioni di Epidauro", and C. Citraro, "Osservazioni etimologiche sul lessico della medicina nell'antica Grecia". – Touwaide. [1562

**Diamandopoulos A.**, *Joannes Zacharias Actuarius. A witness of late Byzantine uroscopy, closely linked with Thessaloniki.* Nephrology Dialysis Transplantation 16 (2001) 2–3. – Review of Joannes Actuarius' extended treatise on uroscopy "Περὶ οὔρων". The author describes the literary character of the treatise and evaluates its medical value. – Telelis. [1563

**Ewers M.**, *Marcellus Empiricus: De medicamentis. Christliche Abhandlung über Barmherzigkeit oder abergläubische Rezeptsammlung?* Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 83. Trier, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag 2009. 185 S. Graph. Darst. ISBN 978-3-86821-193-1. – Analysis of the relations vs. conflict between pagan medicine and Christianity, leading to an open conclu-

sion on Marcellus' faith. Important question, but inconclusive work, severely flawed in its method and concepts. – Touwaide. [1564

**Ferrero Hernández C.**, *Liber contra venena et animalia venenosa de Juan Gil de Zamora. Estudio preliminar, edición crítica y traducción.* Barcelona, Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres 2009. 415 p. ISBN 978-84-933284-4-3. – Critical edition of the treatise on venoms and poisons by Juan Gil de Zamora (d. ca. 1318) based, among others, on a high number of classical, early-medieval and post-Salernitan works (listed p. 52), whose fortuna it contributes to illustrate. The Latin text (based on two manuscripts described on p. 63–66) is provided with a critical apparatus and followed by a Spanish version with notes of commentary. Includes an index of materia medica. – Touwaide. [1565

**Fingernagel A.**, *Medizin im Mittelalter – Wissenstransfer zwischen den Kulturen.* – **Fingernagel A.** (Hrsg.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Interkultureller Dialog in alten Schriften.* (Nr. 1730) 73–175. – Darin vor allem die Unterkapitel „Nachfolge in der Spätantike. Die Schule von Alexandria und der Anteil von Byzanz" und „Ein spätantikes Original: ‚Der Wiener Dioskurides' und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte". – Rhoby. [1566

**Fortuna S./Urso A. M.**, *"Burgundio da Pisa traduttore di Galeno: nuovi contributi e prospettive".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 139–175. Con un'appendice di Paola Annese. – Examination of the Latin translation from Greek of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic de victus ratione in morbis acutis IV attributed here to Burgundio on the basis of a close scrutiny of the translation method. – Touwaide. [1567

**Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* Biblioteca di "Galenos", 2. Pisa/Roma, Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2009. 238 p. ISBN 978-88-6227-138-7. – The relvant articles are listed as nos. 1567, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1582, 1583, 1586, 1589, 1590. – Touwaide. [1568

**Garofalo I.**, *"Il falso commento di Galeno al De humoribus e un saggio di edizione del vero".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 201–218. – The fake text of the commentary is to be found in the manuscript Coislianus 163 copied by Andreas Darmarios (well known for his many falsifications of texts) and annotated by Galen's editor Giovanni Battista Rasario, who is almost certainly the author of this fake. The authentic text, instead, can be found in extracts in Oribasius, Paul of Egina, and in Arabic (including later developments). – Touwaide. [1569

**Giorgianni F.**, *"Tradizione e selezione del Corpus Hippocraticum nel De corporis humani fabrica di Teofilo".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di),

*Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 43–77. – Theophilus (at the latest 10th c.), his works, De humani corporis fabrica, and Theophilus' method of excerpting: extracts, citations (direct and indirect, with or without variants). – Touwaide. [1570

**Gurunluoglu R./Gurunluoglu A.**, *Paul of Aegina: landmark in surgical progress.* World Journal of Surgery 27/1 (2003) 18–25. – Review of the 6th book of Paul of Aegina's (7th century A.D.) "Epitome of Medicine" devoted to surgery, and evaluation of the role of Paul of Aegina in the history of surgery. From the abstract: "Paul of Aegina gave us novel descriptions of tracheotomy, tonsillectomy, catheterization of the bladder, lithotomy, inguinal hernia repair, abdominal paracentesis for ascites, and many other surgical procedures including reduction of breast size. He not only influenced those in his own era but had great influence on physicians such as Rhazes, Haly Abbas, Albucasis, Avicenna, and Fabricius ab Aquapendente, who lived in subsequent eras". The paper should be examined in relation to a letter to the editors of the journal addressed by Lascaratos J./Tsiamis C./Voros D., World Journal of Surgery 27/1 (2003) 1336. The authors of the letter suggest that Paul of Aegina adopted many of the surgical methods of his predecessors, especially Oribasius and Aetius, and he added significant original elements from his personal experience. – Telelis. [1571

**Ieraci Bio A. M.**, *"Galeno e lo Ps. Alessandro di Afrodisia in due Lyseis di Giovanni Argiropulo".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 177–185. – Analysis of two of Argyropoulos' Problems: no. 9, based on Galen, Ars medica, and nos. 9 and 11, based on De febribus attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisia. – Touwaide. [1572

**Kalantzes G./Tsiames K.**, *Ορειβάσιος και Παύλος Αιγινήτης. Δύο βυζαντινοί ιατροί, πρωτοπόροι στην πλαστική χειρουργική.* Αρχεία Ελληνικής Ιατρικής 23(5) (2006) 536–540. – On the basis of the scientific work of the Byzantine physicians Oribasius and Paul of Aegina their knowledge and experience in performing reconstructive procedures is evaluated. From the abstract of the paper: "Reconstructive procedures for defects of the eyelids, forehead, cheeks, nose and ears are described in detail. Advancement flaps are recommended for the reconstruction of facial defects, and suggestions are made about debridement, flap design and thickness of flaps. In the texts of two Byzantine doctors we trace the first significant descriptions of plastic and reconstructive procedures. Undoubtedly, Greek, Roman and Byzantine surgeons had the knowledge and experience to be able to perform several types of reconstructive operations in the face. This knowledge was transmitted to the Arabs and then to Western Europe in the 15th century, and became part of the foundation for modern plastic surgery." – Telelis. [1573

**Laskaratos I./Tsiames K.**, *Η νόσος του άνθρακα στο Βυζάντιο. Οι περιπτώσεις των Βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων Κων/νου Ε′ (741–775) και Λέοντα Δ′ (775–780).* Δελτίο Ελληνικής Μικροβιολογικής Εταιρείας 46 (6) (2001) 650–656. – Presentation of the anthrax disease in the Byzantine era and of two possible cases of cutaneous anthrax of the emperors Constantine V and Leo IV. Though the majority of the Byzantine authors confirm that their death was caused by the disease of anthrax, an ex post facto diagnosis of the disease based on the historical reports is difficult due to reservations for historical reasons: the iconophile Byzantine authors had a strong negative preconception against the two iconoclast emperors and tended to vilify them in the worst possible way. – Telelis. [1574

**Lazaris S.**, *Art et science vétérinaire à Byzance. Formes et fonctions de l'image hippiatrique.* Bibliologia: Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia, 29. Turnhout, Brepols 2010. VI, 288 S. ISBN 978-2-503-53446-6. – Macé. [1575

**Lechat M. F.**, *The palaeoepidemiology of leprosy: an overview.* – **Roberts Ch. A./Lewis M. E./Manchester K.** (eds.), *The past and present of leprosy. Archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Evolution and Palaeoepidemiology of the Infections Diseases 3 (ICEPID), University of Bradford, 26th–31st July 1999.* (Nr. 1777) 157–162. – Touwaide. [1576

**Lherminier G.**, *"Un épisode de l'histoire du texte de Paul d'Egine au XIVe siècle: les deux copies de Pierre Télémaque"* Revue d'histoire des textes n.s. 5 (2010) 1–23. – Analysis of two mid-14th c. manuscripts attributed to Petros Telemachos (Parisinus Coislianus 168 and Salmanticensis gr. 7) deriving from the codex Athous Lavra Γ 90, 10th cent. Study of the copyist, who appears to be an erudite, perhaps a physician, who had access to a book collection, possibly in contact with the monasteries on Mount Athos. Characteristically, he revised several times the Coislianus, using other models than the Athous. – Touwaide. [1577

**López Pérez M.**, *Ginecología y patología sexual femenina en las Colecciones Médicas de Oribasio.* BAR International series, 2060. Oxford, Archaeopress 2010. X, 207 p. ill., drawings, maps. ISBN 978-1-4073-0551-6. – Publication of a doctoral thesis that can be divided in four main parts: 1. a wide-ranging introduction, with the general structure of the Collectiones medicae, the biography of Oreibasios, his works; 2. an overview of the concepts on female body through classical medico-gynecological texts; 3. gynecology in Oreibasios' work, with three major divisions: the passages devoted to the topic, the therapy of female pathologies, and uterine pathology; 4. the passages on gynecology in Oreibasios' works. – Touwaide. [1578

**Mitchell P. D.**, *The myth of spread of leprosy with the crusades.* – **Roberts Ch. A./Lewis M. E./Manchester K.** (eds.), *The past and present of leprosy. Archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Evolution and Palaeoepidemiology of the*

*Infections Diseases 3 (ICEPID), University of Bradford, 26th–31st July 1999.* (Nr. 1777) 171–178. – Touwaide. [1579

**Molto J. E.**, *Leprosy in Roman period skeletons from Kellis 2, Dakhleh, Egypt.* – **Roberts Ch. A./Lewis M. E./Manchester K.** (eds.), *The past and present of leprosy. Archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Evolution and Palaeoepidemiology of the Infections Diseases 3 (ICEPID), University of Bradford, 26th–31st July 1999.* (Nr. 1777) 179–192. – Touwaide. [1580

**Nappi C. S.**, *The monkey and the inkpot. Natural history and its transformations in early modern China.* Cambridge (MA) and London (UK), Harvard University Press 2009. XII, 234 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-674-03529-4. – Though not directly related to Byzantium – even though Greek medicine arrived to China through the Arabic world and India –, is relevant for its deconstruction of the idea that the Bencao gangmu (Systematic materia medica) by Li Shizhen (1518–1593) results from a monolithic tradition. Nappi highlights the disagreements and debates within Chinese medical culture in a way that can be applied to the analysis of the Byzantine tradition of materia medica. – Touwaide. [1581

**Overwien O.**, *"Die Bedeutung der orientalischen Tradition für die antike Überlieferung des hippokratischen Eides".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 79–103. – Analysis of the tradition of the Hippocratic Oath in the Arabic World for its value as both a source for the history of the Greek text and a witness of the medieval techniques of commentary. – Touwaide. [1582

**Palmieri N.**, *"L'Ippocrate latino tardoantico: qualche esempio di bilinguismo imperfetto".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 11–26. – Analysis of samples of translation from de victus ratione, de aeribus, aquis, locis, and prognostikon on the question of the methods of translation. – Touwaide. [1583

**Pardalidis N./Tsiamis C./Diamantis A./Andriopoulos N./Sofikitis N.**, *Methods of lithotripsy in Ancient Greece and Byzantium.* Journal of Urology 178/4 (2007) 1182–1183. – Presentation of the medical methods of lithotripsy applied by ancient Greek and Byzantine physicians, and their influence on the development of surgery after that time through the analysis of texts of Byzantine medical writers. From the abstract of the paper: "The Byzantine method of lithotripsy was the result of the eternal knowledge of the spasmolytic, analgesic and lithotriptic effect of various herbs, together with ancient surgical techniques of stone removal from Hellenistic and Roman periods. No operation was attempted for the extraction of stones from kidneys. Rather the idea was to drop the stones to the bladder or into the urethra, or dilute them into smaller pieces with various herbs. Ancient Greek and Byzantine physicians described

conservative and surgical methods, derived from the texts of early surgeons, to which they added their own observations." – Telelis. [1584

**Podolak P./Heßler J. E.**, *Soranos von Ephesos, Περὶ ψυχῆς. Sammlung der Testimonien, Kommentar und Einleitung.* Beiträge zur Alterumskunde, 279. Berlin, De Gruyter 2010. 193 S. ISBN 978-3-11-022582-2. – Collection of 40 fragments (p. 111–129), followed by a commentary (p. 131–171), of a work on the soul by the physician Soranos of Ephesus, with a detailed introduction on the Hellenistic discourse on the soul and an analysis of Soranus' thinking. The sources used for this reconstruction include the Byzantine monk Meletios author of a treatise of Christian medical anthropology. – Touwaide. [1585

**Pormann P. E.**, *"Al-Kaskarī (10th cent.) and the quotations of classical authors. A philological study".* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 105–138. – The medical compendium by Al-Kaskarī contained in a unicum (Istanbul, Ayasofya 3716) contains a significant number of data about Greek medical texts not otherwise known and offers secondary evidence for the textual tradition and practical application of Greek texts in later periods, namely in the Arabic world. – Touwaide. [1586

**Pulaku-Rempelaku E./Tsiames K.**, *Το θανατηφόρο νόσημα του αυτοκράτορα Ιουστίνου Β' (565–578 μ.Χ.).* Ελληνική Ογκολογία 44/1 (2008) 17–21. – The urological fatal disease of the Byzantine emperor Justin II is commented and analyzed through the presentation of acounts from Byzantine historiography. The high level of Byzantine surgery in this case proved completely unsuccessful and Justin II died in suffer. In those times there was not anesthesia, analgesia, antisepsis and units of increased post-operative care. – Telelis. [1587

**Roberts Ch. A./Lewis M. E./Manchester K.** (eds.), *The past and present of leprosy. Archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Evolution and Palaeoepidemiology of the Infections Diseases 3 (ICEPID), University of Bradford, 26th–31st July 1999.* (Nr. 1777). – Touwaide.

**Rosa P.** (a cura di), *Galenus, De motu musculorum. Edizione critica, traduzione, comment.* Biblioteca di "Galenos", 1. Pisa/Roma, Fabrizio Serra 2009. XL, 49 p. ISBN 978-88-6227-137-0. – The introduction proceeds according to the template of the Collection des Universités de France: date of the work, structure and contents, inventory of manuscripts according to Diels' catalogue (9 items), stemma codicum, citations (here: Oribasius), printed editions, Arabic and Syriac translations, Renaissance Latin translations, and translations into modern languages. Greek text (with apparatus criticus) with facing Italian translation (with notes of commentary), and select index verborum. – Touwaide. [1588

**Roselli A.**, *Testi medici greci. Tradizione indiretta e pratiche editoriali.* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici*

*greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 219–234. – Analysis of the method for the edition used in recent critical editions of Greek medical texts, with a particular focus on the indirect tradition (the Hippocratic De aeribus, aquis, locis, Paris, 1996; Galen, minor anatomical treatises, Paris, 2005; Paul of Nikaia, Naples, 1996) in order to clarify the case of Galen, Commentary on Fractures, currently in preparation by the author of the essay. – Touwaide. [1589

**Savino Ch.**, *Dare ordine a Galeno. L'edizione di Giovanni Battista Rasario (1562–1563).* – **Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008.* (Nr. 1568) 187–199. – Examines the scholastic work on Galen's opera, mainly how Renaissance humanists and editors (specifically Rasario) determined the authenticity or not of texts transmitted under Galen's name, and sometimes manipulated such texts. – Touwaide. [1590

**Tsiames K.**, *Ιστορική και επιδημιολογική προσέγγιση της πανώλους κατά τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους (330–1453 μ.Χ.)* Ph.D. dissertation. Department of Medicine, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 2010. 498 p. 34 ills, 39 tables, 4 annexes, summary. [no ISBN]. – Ph.D. dissertation that covers, from a historical and epidemiological point of view, all plague outbreaks that occurred in the history of the Byzantine Empire. The author compares documentary evidence on plagues with medical data regarding the clinical image and the epidemiological cycle of the plagues, as they are medically acceptable today. The plague of Justinian and the Black Death pandemic of 1347 are compared and analyzed through the study of their epidemic waves and their periodicity. For the plague of Justinian the author suggests that 1) the urbanization model of the Byzantine towns and their overpopulation deteriorated health conditions in towns; 2) there are several difficulties in identifying the type of the plagues because of the literary character of the descriptions; 3) the terms of "bubones" and "anthrax" in the documentary sources should not be connected with the outbreak of a plague whenever they are mentioned, because they are used not as symptoms but as sings of unhealthy condition of the glands and the epidermis; 4) the possibility that the plague of Justinian was active before the 6th c. should be rejected; 5) the harbor of Clysma at the Red Sea may be accepted as the possible entry of the plague into the Byzantine Empire; 6) the existence and the biological evolution of the bacterium Yersinia pestis in the philogenetic structure of Africa gave a very aggressive pathogen in the 6th c., and 7) Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia were enzootic epicenters of the plague that were producing epidemic outbreaks under certain environmental and climatic circumstances. – Telelis. [1591

**Tsiames K.**, *Ο λοιμός του Ιουστινιανού κατά τους Βυζαντινούς χρονογράφους και ιστορικούς.* (Nr. 766). – Telelis.

**Tsiamis C.**, *Analgetics and hypnotics in ancient Greece and Byzantium.* Hellenic Journal of Surgery 76/1 (2004) 65–71. – Presentation of the various an-

algetics and hypnotics that were used in the ancient Greek and Byzantine periods. From the abstract of the paper: "The analgetic and hypnotic drugs of herbal, animal or mineral origin and the great variety of the medical prescriptions, proves the high scientific level of ancient Greek and Byzantine physicians. This fact had been recognized by the medical schools of Western Europe from the late Middle Ages until the dawn of the 18th century." – Telelis. [1592

**Tsiamis C.**, *Behavior parallels between pagan and Christian epidemics (Thucydides Syndrome and Justinian plague).* (Nr. 767). – Telelis.

**Tsiamis C./Poulakou-Rebelakou E.**, *Rheumatic diseases and spa therapy during Byzantine times (330–1453 AD).* Analecta Historico Medica 4 (2006) 211–215. – The descriptions of rheumatic diseases are common in Byzantine medical texts either because of recent experience or because of the ideas embodied in the ancient Greek and Hellenistic medical texts. The analysis of the medical ideas about the spa therapy for the treatment of rheumatic diseases during the Byzantine period was based on Hellenistic and Byzantine texts and shows that spa therapy was widespread in Byzantium as treatment of common rheumatic diseases. – Telelis. [1593

**Wallis F.** (ed.), *Medieval medicine: a reader.* Readers in medieval civilizations and cultures, 15. Toronto, University of Toronto Press 2010. XXVII, 563 p. ill. ISBN 978-1-4426-0169-7. – Voluminous collection of texts (English translation of works originally in Latin, including late-antique Latin translations of Greek works such as, for example, Alexander of Tralles) on all aspects of medicine from late Antiquity to 1500. Each text is introduced by original comments by the compiler and translator. The scope is broad, from the Alexandrian curriculum and the transformation of medical practice "in a changing world" to "Satires and critiques of medicine" among others by Petrarch, with three major parts: 1. Early Medieval Europe (500–1100), including "Christianity, Disease, and Medicine" (with "Saints as Healers", "Rituals of Healing", "Medicine in Early Medieval Courts and Cloisters", "Monastic Medicine in the Early Medieval West", "The Medical Networks of Missionaries and Bishops", and "Medicine in Anglo-Saxon England"); 2. Physica, with the advent and impact of academic medicine (1100–1500), including Salerno, the "Via Scolaris", "Theory and Practice in Scholastic Medicine", and, at the edge of medicine, medical astrology and medical alchemy; 3. Medicine and society in Europe during the period 1100–1500, with the analysis of disease, the actors of medicine, their action and ethics, as well as the structures for medical care (the hospital) and the cultivation of health. A remarkable collection that could serve as a model for a parallel and much-needed compilation on Byzantium. – Touwaide. [1594

**da Silva Veiga P. A.**, *Health and Medicine in Ancient Egypt. Magic and Science.* British Archaeology Reports [BAR] International Series, 1967. Oxford, Archaeopress 2009. XII, 80 p. ISBN 978-1-4073-0500-4. – List of the sources used for the study (Egyptian papyri), including some Greek papyri and mummies,

followed by an analysis of 16 major categories of pathologies (parasites, skin affections, diabetes, tuberculosis, leprosy, dwarfism, vascular diseases, eyes, trauma, cancer, teeth, digestive system, urinary tract, psychic troubles, genetic diseases, respiratory system) and a summary overview of the pharmaceutical treatments (with the materia medica of vegetal, animal, and mineral origin). An appendix on the Egyptian flora credited with medico-magico-religious properties. – Touwaide. [1595

**da Silva Veiga P. A.**, *Oncology and infections diseases in ancient Egypt. The Ebers Papyrus' treatise on tumours 857–877 and the cases found in ancient Egyptian human material.* Saarbrücken, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller 2009. 92 p. ill., maps. ISBN 978-3-639-16683-5. – This Master of Sciences dissertation in Biomedical and Forensic Studies for Egyptology submitted to the University of Manchester, Faculty of Life Sciences, in 2008, will be useful for any assessment of cancer in antiquity and the Byzantine world, including for its list of plants prescribed for the treatment of tumours and liver diseases. – Touwaide. [1596

## E. AGRARWISSENSCHAFT

**Bertholet F./Reber K.** (eds.), *Jardins antiques. Grèce, Gaule, Rome.* Regards sur l'antiquité, 2. Gollion, Infolio 2010. IX, 191 p. ill. ISBN 978-2-88474-168-2. – Summary overview of some aspects of gardens in antiquity by scholars of the University of Lausanne, which may be of interest for the study of Byzantine gardens and aspects of garden culture: the kepos (K. Reber); the gardens in the Odyssey (D. Bouvier); sacred trees and places in the Celtic and Gallo-Roman worlds (Th. Luginbühl); the garden of medicinal plants (B. Maire); Roman gardens north of the Alps (M. E. Fuchs); funerary gardens (F. Bertholet). – Touwaide. [1597

**Croisille J.-M.**, *Paysages dans la peinture romaine: aux origines d'un genre pictural.* Antiqua, 13. Paris, Picard 2010. 157 p. ill. ISBN 978-2-7084-0865-4. – Well documented analysis of a pictural genre created in the Roman world between the mid 1st c. BC and the early 2nd c. AD, which is attested in the whole empire, including in the East and the provinces that became later parts of the Byzantine world. – Touwaide. [1598

**Lelli E.** (a cura di), *L'agricoltura antica: i Geoponica di Cassiano Basso.* Con la collaborazione di Parlato G./Bernaschi C./Giannachi F. G. Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro), Rubbettino 2010. ISBN 978-88-498-2389-9. – Greek text (based on Beckh's edition, Teubner, 1894, revised by E. Lelli and provided with some notes of critical apparatus), with facing Italian translation (with notes of commentary at the end of each of the two volumes) of the Geoponika by a group of Italian philologists listed on the verso of the title page. The translation is introduced by a long essay by E. Lelli on ancient agronomical and botanical science, the Geoponika (written in the 6th c. [p. XXXI] and circulated again during the 10th c. [ibid.]), the text of the work, its structure, the sources (ac-

tually the excerpta), the compilation method, an evaluation ("between science and folk-lore" [p. LXXV]), and the fortuna of the work, followed by a bibliography. – Touwaide. [1599

**McInerney J.**, *The cattle of the sun. Cows and culture in the world of the ancient Greeks.* Princeton/NJ/Oxford, Princeton University Press 2010. XVII, 340 p. ill., maps. ISBN 978-0-691-14007-0. – The importance of cattle in Greek society from the Bronze Age to the classical period, which determined not only activities, economy, religion and social uses, but also scientific knowledge and ethology. – Touwaide. [1600

## F. KRIEGSWISSENSCHAFT UND NAUTIK

**Bockius R.**, *Zur Modellrekonstruktion einer byzantinischen Dromone (chelandion) des 10./11. Jahrhunderts im Forschungsbereich Antike Schiffahrt, RGZM Mainz.* – **Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* (Nr. 1720) 1, 451–477. – Berger. [1601

**Bulgares S.-K.**, *Εκ Βουλγάρεων. Ένα οικογενειακό χρονικό. Πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Βαλκανική.* Athena, Βιβλιοπωλείον της Εστίας 2010. 220 p. Maps and tables. ISBN 978-960-05-1321-9. – Edition with introduction, translation in Greek and commentary of a family chronicle of the late 17th c. relating the origins of the Boulgari's Aristocratic Oikos to the historical presence of the Bulgarian tribe and State from the 7th up to 16th c. The chronicle focuses mainly to the aristocratic lineage of the Boulgari Family and their rights over the patron of Corfou St. Spyridon's relics. It was composed in Italian language with later additions, in order to present the family history as a political one (from the preface by N. E. Karapidakes, p. 11–18). – Leontsini. [1602

**Glad D.**, *L'état central et le ravitaillement des garnisons frontaliers (284–641 ap. J.-C.).* Starinar 59 (2009) 181–190. 1 map. With Serbian summary. – The article reexamines the relationship between the center and the periphery. The Notitia dignitatum testifies that an official and centralized network of supply existed. On the other hand, the archeological evidence from the Balkans shows that the Roman military troops, in particular those situated on the frontiers, developed a local supply network. This fact, which is supported by some written sources, suggests that in a certain degree they were autonomous from the central state. – Krsmanović. [1603

**Haldon J.**, *The army and military logistics.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 47–60. – Stathakopoulos. [1604

**Holmquist Olausson L./Lundström F./Hedenstierna-Jonson C.**, *Eastern Archery in Birka's Garrison.* – **Holmquist Olausson L./Olausson M.** (eds.), *The Martial Society: Aspects of warriors, fortifications and social change in Scandinavia.* (Nr. 1799) 105–116. – Nilsson. [1605

**Karaple K.**, *«Κιβώτια», «Ξυλόκαστρα», «Καστέλλωμα».* Byzantina 29 (2009) 111–119. – Kotzabassi. [1606

**Karaple K.**, *Το θεατρικό στοιχείο στη ζωή του βυζαντινού στρατού.* – **Kralle I.** (Hrsg.), *Θέατρο και κοινωνία στη διαδρομή της ελληνικής ιστορίας. Μελέτες από μια ημερίδα προς τιμήν της Άννας Ραμού-Χαψιάδη.* (Nr. 1685) 133–142. – Berger. [1607

**Kovács Sz.**, *Alán harcosok a bizánci hadseregben (1071–1185)* (Alan warriors in the Byzantine Army). – **Felföldi Sz.** (ed.), *Abhivādana. Tanulmányok a hatvanéves Wojtilla Gyula tiszteletére.* (Nr. 1701) 21–225. – Juhász. [1608

**Kyriakidis S.**, *The division of booty in late Byzantium (1204–1453).* JÖB 59 (2009) 163–175. – Rhoby. [1609

**Lounghis T. C.**, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Safeguarding East Roman identity (407–1204).* Texts and studies in the history of Cyprus, 63. Nicosia, Cyprus research centre 2010. XXXIV, 220 p. ISBN 978-9963-0-8118-9. – Berger. [1610

**Piltz E.**, *Byzantium and "He taktike episteme" as a cognitive reference for Varangian military tactics.* – **Holmquist Olausson L./Olausson M.** (eds.), *The Martial Society: Aspects of warriors, fortifications and social change in Scandinavia.* (Nr. 1799) 145–158. – Nilsson. [1611

**Roth J. P.**, *Roman Warfare.* Cambridge introduction to Roman Civilization. Cambridge, University Press 2009. 328 S. Abb., 5 Karten. ISBN 978-0-521-83028-7. – Diese Untersuchung über das römische Kriegswesen umspannt den Zeitraum vom 7. Jh. vor bis zum 5. Jh. n. Chr. – Tinnefeld. [1612

**Šikanov V. N.**, *Византия. Гроза над Дунаем: Северные войны Византии V–XIV вв.* (Byzantium. Storm over the Danube. Northern wars of Byzantium, 5th–14th c.). St. Petersburg, Šaton 2009. 17 p. ISBN 978-5-8067-0044-5. – Ivanov. [1613

**Sullivan D.**, *Byzantine military manuals: prescriptions, practice, and pedagogy.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 149–161. – Stathakopoulos. [1614

**Szovák K.**, *Taktika.* – **E. Kovács P./Szovák K.** (eds.), *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in late medieval Hungarian history.* (Nr. 1794) 469–470. – Juhász. [1615

**Tősér M.**, *A kalifa a császár ellen. Az amorioni hadjárat (838)* (Der Kalif gegen den Kaiser. Der Feldzug von Amorion 838). Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 118/2 (2005) 633–659. – Über den letzten vom Kalifen geführte Feldzug gegen Byzanz im Jahre 838, vor allem anhand der Beschreibung des Zeitgenossen al-Dschahiz. Über die Zusammensetzung der muslimischen Streitkraft, darunter den Türken mit ihrer nomadischen Kampfweise, und den Verlauf des Feldzuges. Kommt zum Ergebnis, dass die Niederlage der Byzantiner vor allem auf die traditionelle Ausweich-Kampftaktik zurückzuführen ist, durch die der

Kampf gegen die arabischen Angreifer in den westlichen Teil Kleinasiens getragen wurde. – Juhász. [1616

**Tősér M.**, *Bizánci terjeszkedés a X. században – ostromtechnikák elméletben és gyakorlatban* (Byzantinische Expansion im 10. Jahrhundert – Belagerungstechniken in Theorie und in Praxis). Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 119/2 (2006) 459–482. – Aus den militärischen Traktaten des späten 10. Jh.s wie dem „De re militari“ und den Taktika des Nikephoros Uranos geht hervor, dass Belagerungen teils mit dem Ziel des Aushungerns, teils auch mit direkten Angriffen auf die Mauern durchgeführt wurden. Diese Methoden werden anhand militärischer Ereignisse von der Blockade von Melitene und Theodosiopolis (927) bis zur Einnahme von Antiochia (969) vorgestellt. – Juhász. [1617

**Tősér M.**, *Katonacsászárok és hadurak. A bizánci hódítások és a polgárháborúk kora* (Soldatenkaiser und Kriegsherren. Die Zeit der byzantinischen Eroberungen und der Bürgerkriege). Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 123/1–2 (2010) 236–268. – Über den Niedergang der Themenorganisation als Folge der sinkenden äußeren Bedrohung und der Durchführung der Expansionskriege durch Söldnerheere unter der Leitung aristokratische Heerführer wie dem späteren Kaiser Nikephoros Phokas. – Juhász. [1618

**Tősér M.**, *Portyázó harcok a bizánci határokon a X. században* (Streifzugkämpfe an der byzantinischen Grenze im 10. Jahrhundert). Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 120/2 (2007) 527–548. – Über die Streifzüge des Emirs von Aleppo, Saif ad-Daula, zwischen 950 und 960, die letzten ungarischen Feldzüge nach 960 sowie einige Ereignisse im Bulgarenkrieg an der Wende des 10./11. Jh.s und im Krieg gegen die Beduinen im neuen syrischen Grenzgebiet des Reiches. – Juhász. [1619

# 12. BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICA

## A. ALLGEMEINBIBLIOGRAPHIEN

**Schipani S.**, *Il latino del diritto nella costruzione dell'identità dell'Europa. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* (Nr. 1677) 517–535. – Tocca anche il problema della tradizione giuridica in lingua greca. – Goria. [1620

## B. WISSENSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE

**Arnason J. P.**, *Byzantium and historical sociology.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 491–504. – Stathakopoulos. [1621

**Christodoulou D.**, *Byzantium in nineteenth-century Greek historiography.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 445–461. – Stathakopoulos. [1622

**Naredi-Rainer P. von** (Hrsg.), *Hauptwerke der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung.* Kröners Taschenausgabe, 364. Stuttgart, Kröner 2010. 532 S. ISBN 978-3-520-36401-2. – Enthält auch zahlreiche kurze Einführungen zu hier relevanten Werken (u.a. von Belting, Deichmann, Demus, Garrucci, Goldschmidt, Grabar, Krautheimer, Lazarev, L'Orange, Morey, Nordenfalk, Riegl, Strzygowski, Tikkanen, Weitzmann). – Dennert. [1623

**Pirivatrić S.**, *A case study in the emergence of Byzantine studies: Serbia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 481–490. – Stathakopoulos. [1624

**Reinsch D. R.**, *The history of editing Byzantine historiographical texts.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 435–444. – Stathakopoulos. [1625

**Riedl H.**, *Rechenschaft vor Alfred Philippson. 55 Jahre gelebte Geographie. Herausgegeben von W. Kern.* Salzburger Geographische Arbeiten. Salzburg, Selbstverlag des Fachbereiches Geographie und Geologie der Universität Salzburg 2008. 178 S. ISBN 978-85283-028-1.2008. – Rhoby. [1626

**Russell E.**, *Byzantine studies: a discussion of methodologies.* (Nr. 682). – Kaegi.

**Stephenson P.**, *Byzantium's European future.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 505–509. – Stathakopoulos. [1627

**Stephenson P.**, *Pioneers of popular Byzantine history: Freeman, Gregorovius, Schlumberger.* – **Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* (Nr. 1806) 462–480. – Stathakopoulos. [1628

**Turčin V. S./Tučkov I. I.** (eds.), *История искусства в Московском университете 1857–2007* (Art History in the Moscow University 1857–2007). Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова. Исторически факультет. Труды исторического факультета МГУ 47. III Instrumenta studiorum, 21. Moscow Publishing house of Moscow University 2009. 520 p. ill. ISBN 978-5-211-05727-2. – Etinhof. [1629

## C. BIOGRAPHIEN ZU MODERNEN GELEHRTEN

### Akrabova-Jandova I.

*Биография на Иванка Акрабова Жандова* (Biography of Ivanka Akrabova-Jandova). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) xvii. – Nikolov. [1630

**Vaklinova M./Štereva I.**, *Подбрана библиография на трудовете на Иванка Акрабова-Жандова* (Selected bibliography of Ivanka Akrabova-Jandova). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) xviii–xxii. – Bibliography: 1946–1993, with short comments. – Nikolov. [1631

## Bank A. V.

*Алиса Владимировна Банк* (Alisa Vladimirovna Bank). VV 68 (93) (2009) 278–279. – Etinhof. [1632

## Deér J.

**Révész É./Teiszler É.**, *Deér József (1905–1972) szakirodalmi munkássága* (Das fachlich-literarische Wirken von Deér József [1905–1972]). – **Koszta L.**, *Deér József emlékezete. Tanulmányok Deér József (1905–1972) professzor születésének centenáriumára.* (Nr. 1659) 121–131. – Juhász. [1633

## Grabar A.

**Muzj M. G.**, *Un maître pour l'art chrétien: André Grabar. Iconographie et théophanie.* Paris, Cerf 2005. 288 p. ill. ISBN 2-204-07485-3. – D'Aiuto. [1634

## Grierson Ph.

**Travaini L.**, *Philip Grierson. Dublino 15 novembre 1910 – Cambridge 15 gennaio 2006.* Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana n.s. 16 (2006) 245–247. – D'Aiuto. [1635

## Hendy M.

**Morrisson C.**, *Michael Hendy, 16 April 1902–13 May 2008.* DOP 62 (2008) 1–4. – Morrisson. [1636

## Jones A. H. M.

**Gwynn D. M.** (ed.), *A.H.M. Jones and the later Roman Empire.* Brill's series on the Early Middle Ages, 15. Leiden [e. a.], Brill 2008. xv, 281 p. ISBN 978-90-04-16383-6. – Berger. [1637

Jordanov I.

**Todorov T./Kănev N.**, *Библиография на трудовете на проф. Иван Йорданов* (Bibliography of Prof. Ivan Jordanov). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) xix–xxxi. – From the period 1973–2009. – Nikolov. [1638

## Lilienfeld F. von

**Stricker G.**, *Nachruf Fairy von Lilienfeld.* Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, N. F. 58 (2010) 149–152. – Fairy von Lilienfeld (4.10.1917–12.11.2009) war von 1966 bis 1984 Inhaberin des Lehrstuhls für Geschichte und Theologie des Christlichen Ostens an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg. – Tinnefeld. [1639

## Martin J.

**Martin C.**, *Jean Martin d'Aratos à Julien; Biographie de Jean Martin, publications et distinctions.* Antiquité tardive 17 (2009) 12–15. – Macé. [1640

## Nikolova S.

**Bărlieva S.**, *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог.* (The middle ages in the mirror of a philologist). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./ Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 5–8. – Short biography and presentation of her scientist contributions in the field of the paleobulgarica and paleoslavistic. – Nikolov. [1641

**Gančeva N.**, *Библиография на Светлина Николова* (Bibliography of Svetlina Nikolova). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 9–30. – Hold of 329 publications. – Nikolov. [1642

## Parenti S.

**Taft R. F.**, *Τοξότης.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 1–17. – Velkovska. [1643

**Velkovska E.**, *Stefano Parenti: academical biography.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./ Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 361–372. – Velkovska. [1644

## Philippson A.

**Riedl H.**, *Rechenschaft vor Alfred Philippson. 55 Jahre gelebte Geographie. Herausgegeben von W. Kern.* (Nr. 1626). – Rhoby.

## Piccirillo M.

**Mazzoleni D.**, *Ricordando Padre Michele Piccirillo ofm.* Rivista di archeologia cristiana 84 (2008) 1–12. – Berger. [1645

## Popov G.

**Koyčeva R.**, *В света на палеославистиката – с дарба и ерудиция (Професор Георги Попов на 65 години)* (In the world of palaeoslavistic – with talent and erudition. Professor Georgi Popov at 65). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 3–15. With English summary. – The article sums up the most important achievements of the outstanding Bulgarian palaeoslavist G. Popov on the occasion of his 65th anniversary. – Nikolov. [1646

## Popović V.

**Duval N.**, *In memoriam. Vladislav Popović et Caričin Grad.* – **Duval N.** (éds.), *Caričin Grad III. L'Acropole et ses monuments.* (Nr. 922) XI–XVII. – Berger. [1647

## Porson R.

**Tosi R.**, *Il Fozio di Richard Porson e gli studi lessicografici.* Lexis 26 (2009) 221–227. – Sugli studi lessicografici di Richard Porson, diretti in particolare al lessico foziano e alla Suda. – Luzzi. [1648

## Radčenko K.

**Gjuzelev V.**, *Изследванията на Константин Радченко (1872–1908) върху богомилството и тяхното значение за съвременната медиевистика* (Die Untersuchungen von Konstantin Radčenko [1872–1908] über das Bogomilentum und deren Bedeutung für die gegenwärtige Mediävistik). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 102–108. – Verwiesen wird auf den Beitrag des früh verstorbenen ukrainischen Geschichtswissenschaftlers Konstantin Fjodorovitsch Radčenko. „Die ganzheitliche Erschließung der Beziehung zwischen der Bogomilenkosmogonie und den kosmogonischen Volkslegenden der Bulgaren erwartet immer noch ihren beflissenen und kontinuierlichen Forscher." – Nikolov. [1649

## Schmemann A.

**Taft R.**, *The liturgical enterprise twenty-five after Alexander Schmemann (1921–1983): the man and his heritage.* (Nr. 536). – Velkovska.

## Ševčenko I. I.

**Duffy J./Mavroudi M./Talbot A.-M.**, *Ihor Ivanovich Ševčenko. Obituary.* Speculum 85 (2010) 784–787. – Kaegi. [1650

### Wellesz E.

**Wanek N.-M.**, *Egon Wellesz in Selbstzeugnissen. Der Briefnachlass in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.* Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia, 27. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 268 S. 20 Abb. ISBN 978-3-7001-6654-2. – Rhoby. [1651

## D. FESTSCHRIFTEN, GEDENKSCHRIFTEN, AUFSATZSAMMLUNGEN EINZELNER GELEHRTER

### Akrabova-Jandova I.

**Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Ivanka Akrabova-Jandova. In memoriam). Sofia, Natsionalen Archeologicheski insitut s muzej 2009. xxii, 345 p. ISBN 978-954-92395-8-4. – In memory of Bulgarian archeologist I. Akrabova-Jandova (1911–2008). The contributions are listed as nos. 203, 1251, 1439, 1440, 1630, 1631, 1896, 1900, 1903, 1910, 1912, 1919, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1927, 1930. – Nikolov. [1652

### Andresen C.

**Gemeinhardt P.** (Hrsg.), *Theologie und Kirche im Horizont der Antike. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Alten Kirche.* Berlin, De Gruyter 2009. X, 338 S. ISBN 978-3-11-021642-4. – Aufsätze des Göttinger Kirchenhistorikers Carl Andresen (1909–1985). – Tinnefeld. [1653

### Balthasar H. U. von

*In memoriam Hans Urs von Balthasar.* Sapientia füzetek, 10. Budapest, Vigilia 2007. 396 S. ISBN 978 963 7964. 472. – Juhász. [1654

### Bonifay M.

**Humphrey J. H.** (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay.* Journal of Roman archaeology, Supplementary series, 76. Portsmouth, R.I., Journal of Roman Archaeology 2009. 366 S. Ill., graph. Darst., Kt. ISBN 978-1-887829-76-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1328, 1334, 1336. – Laflı. [1655

## Borzsak I.

**Czeglédy A./Horváth L./Krähling E./Laczkó K./Ligeti D. Á./Mayer Gy.** (eds.), *Pietas non sola Romana. Studia memoriae Stephani Borzsák dedicata.* Budapest, Typotex Kiadó-Eötvös Collegium 2010. 962 S. ISBN 958-963-9548-24-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 37, 41. – Juhász. [1656

## Casarsa L.

**Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti della giornata di studio in onore di Laura Casarsa, Trieste, 19 gennaio 2007.* Polymnia: studi di filologia classica, 9. Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste 2008. VII, 378 p. = Incontri triestini di filologia classica 6 (2006–2007 [2008]). http://www2.units.it/polymnia/incts.php. – I contributi rilevanti sono recensiti come no. 44, 143, 241. – D'Aiuto. [1657

## Càssola F.

**Faraguna M. /Vedaldi Iasbez V.** (a cura di), *Δύνασθαι διδάσκειν. Studi in onore di Filippo Càssola per il suo ottantesimo compleanno.* Fonti e studi per la storia della Venezia Giulia, ser. II, Studi, 11. Trieste, Editreg 2006. XIX, 455 p. ISBN 88-88018-51-4. – Un contributo è recensito come no. 205. – D'Aiuto. [1658

## Deér J.

**Koszta L.**, *Deér József emlékezete. Tanulmányok Deér József (1905–1972) professzor születésének centenáriumára.* Capitulum, 2. Szeged, JATE Press 2006. 133 S. ISBN 963-482-775-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1633. – Juhász. [1659

## Dimitrova-Milčeva A.

**Genčeva E.** (Hrsg.), *Jugoiztočna Evropa prez antičnostta VI v. pr. Chr. – načaloto na VII v. sl. Chr. Studia in honorem Alexandra Dimitrova-Milcheva. Southeastern Europe in the antiquity.* Veliko Tărnovo, 2008. 575 S. Zahlr. Ill., Kt. ISBN 978-954-92181-8-3. 496–501. – Ein Artikel wird angezeigt als Nr. 1331. – Laflı. [1660

## Drandakes N. B.

**Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* (Nr. 1727). – Kalopissi-Verti.

## Engel P.

**Neumann T./Rácz Gy.** (eds.), *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére.* Társadalom-és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok, 40. Analecta Mediaevalia, 3. Budapest/Piliscsaba, MTA Történettudományi Intézet – Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar 2009. 563 S. ISBN 978-963-9627-25-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 374. – Juhász. [1661

## Gamillscheg E.

**Gamillscheg E.**, *Manuscripta graeca. Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Buches in Mittelalter und Renaissance.* Codices Manuscripti, Supplementum, 3. Purkersdorf, Hollinek 2010. 271 S. ISSN 0379–3621. – Sammlung von 27 Beiträgen aus den Jahren 1975–2009, ergänzt durch ein Schriftenverzeichnis. Behandelt werden Themen der Buchgeschichte von der Spätantike bis zur Rezeption des klassischen Erbes bei den Humanisten. Zusammengestellt werden etwa die Studien zu den Kopisten Georgios Baiophoros, Symeon Karnanios/Kabasilas und Konstantinos Rhesinos. – Gamillscheg. [1662

## Garsoian N.

**Garsoïan N.**, *Studies in the formation of Christian Armenia.* Farnham, Ashgate 2010. xii, 296 p. ISBN 978-1-4094-0366-1. – Berger. [1663

## Haidinger A.

**Haltrich M./Stieglecker M.** (Hrsg.), *Code(x). Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Alois Haidinger.* Codices Manuscripti, Supplementum 2. Purkersdorf, Hollinek 2010. IV, 197 S. Ill., graph. Darst. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 195. – Gamillscheg. [1664

## Horváth F.

**Rosta Sz.** (ed.), *„Kun-Kép". A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka. Tanulmányok Horváth Ferenc 60. születésnapja tiszteletére.* Kiskunfélegyháza, Bács-Kiskun Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumi Szervezete, Kiskun Múzeuma 2009. 297 S. ISBN 978-963-06-8652-5. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 640. – Juhász. [1665

## Jansson I.

**Fransson U.** (et al.), *Cultural interaction between East and West: Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in Northern Europe.* Stockholm Studies in Archaeology, 44. Stockholm, Universitet Stockholms 2007. 365 p. ill., maps. ISBN 978-91-7155-474-1. – One article is listed as no. 1351. – Nilsson. [1666

## Jordanov I.

*Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* Numismatica, Sphragistica and Epigraphica, 5. Sofia, National Institute of Archaeology with Museum in BAS 2009. 422 p. XLVIII plates. ISSN 1312–5532. – Dedicated to the 60th anniversary of Prof. Ivan Jordanov. The contributions are listed as nos. 1394, 1398, 1408, 1410, 1411, 1414, 1424, 1427, 1435, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1638, 1934, 1936, 1941. – Nikolov/Seibt. [1667

**Charitonov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *От регионалното към националното. Юбилеен сборник в чест на чл. кор. проф. дмн Йордан Йорданов* (Vom Regionalen zum Nationalen. Festschrift für das korrespondierende Akademiemitglied Prof. Dr. Jordan Jordanov). Sofia, Akademično izdatelstvo «Prof. Marin Drinov». 617 S. ISBN 987-954-322-328-2. – Der Sammelband ist dem 70. Jubiläum des namhaften bulgarischen Anthropologen Jordan Jordanov gewidmet, Verfasser mehrerer anthropologischer Rekonstruktionen des Mittelalters. Zwei Beiträge sind angezeigt unter Nr. 1915, 1939. – Nikolov. [1668

## Kosztolnyik Z. J.

**Petrovics I./Tóth S. L./Kongdon E. A.** (eds.), *"In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin". Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik.* Szeged, JATE Press 2010. 222 S. ISBN 978-963-315-006-1. – Ein Beitrag ist angezeigt als Nr. 615. – Juhász. [1669

## Krones H.

**Bungardt J./Helfgott M./Rathgeber E./Urbanek N.** (eds.), *Wiener Musikgeschichte: Annäherungen–Analysen–Ausblicke. Festschrift für Hartmut Krones.* Wien, Böhlau 2009. XXV, 575 p. ill. ISBN 978-3-205-78389-3. 303. – Troelsgård. [1670

## Kyros Petros VII. (Patriarch von Alexandreia und Afrika)

*Πορεία μαρτυρίας. Αφιερωματικός Τόμος στη Μνήμη του Μακαριστού Πάπα και Πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας και Πάσης Αφρικής Κυρού Πέτρου του Ζ΄.* Athen, Φάρος Ελπίδας 2010. 605 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-960-99300-0-0. – Die einschlägigen Beiträge des Bandes werden angezeigt als Nr. 312, 363, 379, 412, 435, 464, 465. – Troianos. [1671

## Lampsides O.

**Karpozelos A.**, *Ἔπαινος Ὀδυσσέα Λαμψίδη.* Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 16 (2009) 11–22. – The research on Byzantine Pontos was the core of the studies of Odysseas Lampsides; the article offers a brief retrospective on the biography and the contribution of the scholar in the scientific production, with a reference to his main achievements in the fields of Byzantine literature and history. – Leontsini. [1672

**Raze A.**, *Ἐργογραφία Ὀδυσσέα Λαμψίδη 1935–2006.* Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών 16 (2009) 81–105. – A publication list. – Leontsini. [1673

## López Eire A.

**Cortés Gabaudan F./Méndez Dosuna J. V.** (eds.), *Dic mihi, musa, virum. Homenaje al profesor Antonio López Eire.* Estudios filológicos, 326. Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca 2010. 726 p. ISBN 978-84-7800-201-6. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 93, 121, 218, 255, 273, 487, 1120. – Signes. [1674

## Lundberg E. B.

**Svensson T./Hedenstierna-Jonson C./Lindkvist E./Vasilyeva S./Gerhards M.** (eds.), *Spaden och Pennan. Ny humanistisk forskning i andan av Erik B Lunderg och Bengt G Söderberg.* Stockholm, Oeisspesis 2009. 671 p. ill. ISBN 978-91-633-4393-3. – One article is listed as no. 1356. – Nilsson. [1675

## Madas E.

**Nemerkényi E.** (ed.), *Magistrae discipuli: tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére.* Budapest, Argumentum 2009. 360 S. ISBN 978-963-446-549-2. 242. – Juhász. [1676

## Martini R.

*Studi in onore di Remo Martini, III.* Università di Siena / Facoltà di Giurisprudenza e di Scienze politiche. Collana di studi “Pietro Rossi” N.S. 33. Milano, Giuffré 2009. XII, 1059 p. ISBN 88-14-15335-3. – I singoli saggi d’interesse per la presente bibliografia sono stati segnalati come no. 618, 1469, 1472, 1494, 1495, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1525, 1528, 1620. – Goria. [1677

## Mathews Th. F.

**Alchermes J. D./Evans H. C./Thomas Th. K.** (eds.), *Ἀναθήματα ἑορτικά. Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews.* Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern 2009. 346, 34 S. Ill., graph. Darst. ISBN 978-3-8053-4101-1. – The relevant articles are

listed as nos. 59, 340, 478, 565, 591, 745, 757, 760, 890, 1045, 1080, 1133, 1136, 1137, 1139, 1144, 1161, 1181, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1187, 1191, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1211, 1218, 1222, 1223, 1315. – Velkovska/Berger. [1678

## Matthews J.

**McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE.* Yale Classical Studies, 34. Cambridge, University Press 2010. X, 321 S. 1 Abb. (Foto des Jubilars). ISBN 978-0-521-89821-8. – Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von John Matthews, Althistoriker in Cambridge. Die einschlägigen Beiträge werden angezeigt unter Nr. 20, 162, 451, 453, 611, 688, 727, 740, 799, 1465. – Kaldellis. [1679

## Mazzotta O.

**Spedicato M.** (a cura di), *Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta.* Quaderni de L'Idomeneo, 1. Galatina, Panico 2005. 381 p. ill. ISBN 88-88156-34-8. – Un contributo d'interesse bizantinistico è segnalato come no. 191. – D'Aiuto. [1680

## Melillo G.

**Palma A.** (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Generoso Melillo.* Napoli, Satura Editrice 2009. 3 vol. XX, 1–553 + X, 555–1086 + XII, 1087–1609 p. ISBN 978-88-7607-070-9. – I singoli saggi d'interesse per la presente bibliografia sono stati segnalati come no. 729, 1459, 1466, 1484, 1501, 1503, 1513, 1518, 1523. – Goria. [1681

## Nikolova S.

**Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (The middle ages in the mirror of a philologist. Miscellany in honorem Svetlina Nikolova). Cyrillo-Methodian Studies, 18. Sofia, Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre 2009. 524 p. ISSN 0205–2253. – The contributions are listed as nos. 321, 405, 408, 544, 1121, 1641, 1642, 1812, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1837, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1857, 1865, 1866, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1875, 1878. – Nikolov. [1682

## Parenti S.

**Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 9. Grottaferrata, Monastero Esarchico 2009. XXII, 392 p. ill. ISBN 978-8889345-05-4. – I contributi sono recensiti come no. 200, 204, 230, 533, 545, 549, 551, 552, 559, 1643, 1644, 1842, 1856, 1876, 1879. – Velkovska. [1683

## Placido D.

**Fornis C./Gallego J./López Barja P./Valdés M.** (eds.), *Dialéctica histórica y compromiso social. Homenaje a Domingo Plácido.* Madrid, Libros Pórtico 2010. 3 Bde. 1789 S. ISBN 978-84-7956-067-6. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 158, 163, 186. – Signes. [1684

## Ramu-Chapsiade A.

**Kralle I.** (Hrsg.), *Θέατρο και κοινωνία στη διαδρομή της ελληνικής ιστορίας. Μελέτες από μια ημερίδα προς τιμήν της Άννας Ραμού-Χαψιάδη.* Ιστορήματα, 1. Athena, Kardamitsas 2009. 226 S. ISBN 978-960-354-241-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 178, 179, 1607. – Berger. [1685

## Rokay Z.

**Szotyori-Nagy Á.** (ed.), *Rationale Obsequium. A hatvanéves Rokay Zoltán köszöntése.* Budapest, Szulik József Alapítvány 2008. 416 S. ISBN 978-963-9206-48-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 882. – Juhász. [1686

## Rothe H.

**Christians D./Stern D./Tomelleri V.** (Hrsg.), *Bibel, Liturgie und Frömmigkeit in der Slavia Byzantina. Festgabe für Hans Rothe zum 80. Geburtstag.* Studies on language and culture in Central and Eastern Europe, 3. München/Berlin, Otto Sagner 2009. IX, 550 S. Ill. ISBN 978-3-86688-066-5. – Ein Artikel wird angezeigt als Nr. 543. – Velkovska. [1687

## Rubin Z.

**Börm H./Wiesehöfer J.** (eds.), *Comutatio et contentio. Studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East. In memory of Zeev Rubin.* Reihe Geschichte, 3. Düsseldorf, Wellem 2010. XII, 412 p. ISBN 978-3-941820-03-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 156, 414, 605, 613, 614, 617. – Berger. [1688

## Spasov L.

**Štereva D./Dimitrov D./Borisov D.** (Hrsg.), *Историк със съдбата на творец и преподавател. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.и.н. Людмил Спасов Т. 1.* (Ein Geschichtswissenschaftler mit dem Schicksal eines Künstlers und eines Dozenten. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Ljudmil Spasov aus Anlass des 60-jährigen Jubiläums, Bd. 1.). Veliko Tărnovo, Izdatelstvo „Faber“ 2009. ISBN 978-954-400-115-5. – Ein Artikel wird angezeigt als Nr. 1885. – Nikolov. [1689

## Spinks B. D.

**Ross M./Jones S.**, *The serious business of worship. Essays in honour of Bryan D. Spinks.* London [u.a.], T & T Clark 2010. XV, 229 p. ISBN 978-0-567-03326-0. – One article is listed as no. 459. – Velkovska. [1690

## Stathopulos M. P.

*Τιμητικός τόμος Μιχ. Π. Σταθόπουλου.* Athen/Komotene, Sakkulas 2010. XX, 3275 S. ISBN 978-960-15-2346-0. – Die einschlägigen Beiträge der beiden Bände werden angezeigt als Nr. 403, 1451, 1455, 1526, 1531, 1534. – Troianos. [1691

## Söderberg B. G.

**Svensson T./Hedenstierna-Jonson C./Lindkvist E./Vasilyeva S./Gerhards M.** (eds.), *Spaden och Pennan. Ny humanistisk forskning i andan av Erik B Lunderg och Bengt G Söderberg.* (Nr. 1675). – Nilsson.

## Tanev S.

**Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Istorikii 2. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zu Ehren des Univ.-Doz. Stojan Tanev anläßlich dessen 70. Jubiläum). Šumen, Univ. izdat. «Episcop Konstantin Preslavski» 2007. 943 S. ISBN 978-954-577-495-9. – Der Band hat außer dem bulgarischen auch gesondert ein englisches Inhaltsverzeichnis (S. 940–943). Die Festschrift enthält neun Beiträge, angezeigt als Nr. 724, 1649, 1828, 1890, 1907, 1931, 1943, 1947, 1948. – Nikolov. [1692

## Timiadis E.

*Que tous soient un! Mélanges offerts en hommage par la Fraternité Saint-Élie a son Éminence le Métropolite de Silyvria Emilianos Timiadis.* Iaşi, Editura Trinitas 2005. 405 p. ISBN 973-7834-09-7; 978-973-7834-09-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 372. – Juhász. [1693

## Vachnadze N.

*Samecniero paradigmebi – Scientific Paradigms. Studies in Honour of Prof. Natela Vachnadze.* Tbilisi, Meridiani 2009. 790 p. ISBN 978-99-4110-222-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1420. – Seibt. [1694

## Vaklinova M.

**Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* Sofija, Nac. archaeol. inst. s muzej 2009. 354 S. Abb., Tafeln. ISBN 978-954-92395-2-2. – Festschrift für die bulgarische Archäologin aus Anlass des 70-jährigen Jubiläums. Enthält archäologische Studien. Die einschlägigen Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 921, 1143, 1347, 1397, 1897, 1899, 1909, 1917, 1918, 1922, 1928, 1944. – Nikolov. [1695

## Vecchi G.

**Jacoboni M. P./Saiani A.** (a cura di), *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Vecchi.* Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis, sezione 5, 9. Bologna, Arnaldo Forni 2008. 163 p. ill. Ohne ISBN. – Un contributo e recensito come no. 572. – Velkovska. [1696

## Vekerdi J.

**Bangha I./Mészáros T.** (eds.), *A Danubio ad usque Gangen. Klasszika-filológiai, indológiai és magyar kultúrtörténeti tanulmányok a 80 éves Vekerdi József köszöntésére* (Festschrift zu Ehren des achtzigjährigen József Vekerdi. Studien aus dem Bereich der klassischen Philologie, Indologie und der ungarischen Kulturgeschichte). Budapest, Typotex Kiadó – Eötvös József Collegium 2009. 266 S. ISBN 978-963-279-049-7 – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 136. – Juhász. [1697

## Velkov I. und V.

**Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Bulgaria, Bulgarians and Europe. Vol. 3. Myth, history, modern times. In memory of Dr. Ivan Velkov and Prof. Velizar Velkov). Veliko Tărnovo, Universitetsko izdatelstvo «Sv. Sv. Kiril I Methodij» 2009. 590 p. ISBN 978-954-524-713-2. – The contributions are listed as nos. 401, 499, 876, 1376, 1881. – Nikolov. [1698

## Velkov V.

**Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./Nikolov V./Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков* (Gedenkschrift für Professor Velizar Velkov). Sofia, Nationales archäologisches Institut und Museum, Bulgarische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2009. 557 S. ISBN 978-954-400-005-9. – Zum Gedenken an Prof. Velizar Velkov (1928–1993), den bulgarischen Geschichtswissenschaftler und Archäologen, Fachmann auf dem Gebiet der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Die Gedenkschrift enthält fünf Bei-

träge. Die einschlägigen Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 871, 1407, 1425, 1861, 1935. – Nikolov. [1699

## Vitljanov S.

**Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Essays in honor to Dr Stojan Vitljanov for his 60th anniversary). Istorikii, 3. Šumen, Univ. izdat. «Episcop Konstantin Preslavski» 2008. 405 p. ISBN 978-954-577-493-5. – The contributions are listed as nos. 1255, 1884, 1894, 1924, 1932. – Nikolov. [1700

## Wojtilla Gy.

**Felföldi Sz.** (ed.), *Abhivādana. Tanulmányok a hatvanéves Wojtilla Gyula tiszteletére.* Szeged, Szegedi Tudományegyetem Ókortörténeti Tanszék 2005. 376 S. ISBN 963-482-711-X. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1608. – Juhász. [1701

# 13. SAMMELBÄNDE

## A. KONGRESS-SCHRIFTEN UND KATALOGE HISTORISCHER AUSSTELLUNGEN

*Il monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Grottaferrata, 23–25 settembre 2004.* Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 6. Grottaferrata, Monastero Esarchico 2009. XII, 272 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-89345-06-1. – Due contributi sono recensiti come no. 573, 576. – Velkovska. [1702

*Ἅγιοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. ΛΖ΄–ΛΗ΄ Δημήτρια: Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονίκη. Πρακτικὰ ΙΣΤ΄–ΙΖ΄ Διεθνῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν συμποσίων (Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2002 καὶ 6–8 Νοεμβρίου 2003).* Thessalonike, University Studio Press 2009. 306 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-960-12-1847-2. – Die einschlägigen Beiträge des Bandes werden angezeigt als Nr. 432, 509, 510, 511, 512, 527, 528, 531, 954, 1158, 1192, 1233, 1535. – Troianos. [1703

**Anagnostou-Canas B.** (éd.), *L'organisation materielle des cultes dans l'antiquité.* Paris, Éditions Cybèle 2010. XIV, 186 p. ISBN 978-2-915840-17-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1536. – Troianos. [1704

**Andrianakes M./Tzachile I.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης. Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008.* Ρέθυμνο, Εκδόσεις Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης 2010. 846 S. Zahlr. s/w-Abb. CD-ROM mit dem gesamten Band als PDF und alle Abb. in Farbe. ISBN 978-960-9430-02-9. – Die einzelne Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 982, 983, 984, 985,

986, 988, 989, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1150. – Foskolou. [1705

*Tagung der Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung in Split, 18.–23. 09. 08. Was ist ein Konzil? Überlegungen zur Typologie insbesondere der ökumenischen Konzilien.* Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum 40 (2008) 3–212. – Mit einer Einführung der Redaktion des AHC in das Thema der Tagung, S. 3–6. Die einschlägigen Beiträge werden angezeigt unter Nr. 348, 350. – Tinnefeld. [1706

*Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt, 25–29 Mayıs 2009, Denizli.* T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Yayın, 3250/1. Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Yayın, 142/1. Ankara, İsmail Aygül Ofset Matbaacılık 2010. V, 460 S. Ill., Kt. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1325. – Laflı. [1707

**Augé I./Dédéyan G.** (a cura di), *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe – milieu XVe siècle.* Paris, Geuthner 2009. 286 p. 24 tav. f.t. ISBN 978-2-7053-3818-3. – Atti del congresso tenutosi nel giugno 2007 presso l'Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III. Con una prefazione (7–12) di Mahé J.-P., conclusioni (261–270) di Richard J., e indici (271–284) dei nomi di persona e di luogo. I contributi d'interesse bizantinistico sono recensiti come no. 352, 353, 355, 359, 361, 366, 395, 868, 869, 1168, 1219. – D'Aiuto. [1708

**Barceló Crespí M.**, *XXVI Jornades d'estudis històrics locals. El Regne de Mallorca: cruïlla de gents i de cultures (segles XIII–XV).* Palma de Mallorca 2008, Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics 2008. 414 p. ill. ISBN 978-84-95876-39-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 707. – Signes. [1709

**Beaucamp J./Briquel-Chatonnet F./Robin Ch. J.** (éds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources.* Monographies, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilitation de Byzance, 32. Paris, Associaction des amis du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilitation de Byzance 2010. 302 p. ISBN 978-2-916716-23-7. – Zweiter von vier geplanten Bänden über die Ereignisse um das Massaker von Naǧrān, mit den Akten eines Colloquiums in Paris 2008 (der erste, die Edition des Arethas-Martyriums durch M. Detoraki, ist angezeigt als BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 523). Hier einzeln angezeigt Nr. 513, 514, 604. – Berger. [1710

**Bonamente G./Cracco G./Rosen K.** (a cura di), *Costantino il Grande tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del Convegno (Trento 22–24 aprile 2004).* Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento. Quaderni, 75. Bologna, Il Mulino 2008. 405 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-15-12499-9. – Luzzi. [1711

**Boskos A./Gutsos D.** (eds.), *Η ελληνική γλώσσα στην Κύπρο από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα.* Athen, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών 2010. 282 S. ISBN 978-960-466-057-5. – Three relevant entries are listed as nos. 284, 286, 287. – Manolessou. [1712

*Thirty-fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts (Nov. 5–8, 2009).* Florida State University: Sarasota, FL. 91 p. – Kaegi. [1713

*Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative.* [s. l.], Nausica 2009. 340 p. ill. ISBN 88-8960-608-8. – Vi sono raccolti gli Atti del XII Incontro di studi bizantini (Catanzaro, 22–24 ottobre 1998) su «Luoghi e momenti di transizione nell'Impero bizantino e nel Thema di Calabria» e gli Atti del XIII Incontro di studi bizantini (Reggio Calabria-Seminara, 23–24 ottobre 2004) su «L'eparchia delle Saline». – Luzzi. [1714

**Catalano P./Siniscalco P.** (a cura di), *Laicità tra diritto e religione da Roma a Costantinopoli a Mosca.* Da Roma alla Terza Roma. Documenti e Studi, Studi VII, 21 aprile 1994. Roma, L'«Erma» di Bretschneider 2009. XLIV, 240 S. ISBN 978-88-8265-542-6. – Die einschlägigen Beiträge des Bandes werden angezeigt als Nr. 1537, 1539. – Troianos. [1715

*Città pagana – città cristiana. Tradizioni di fondazione. Atti del Convegno di Roma, 2–3 luglio 2007.* (Nr. 319). – Bianchi.

**Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del II convegno: Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità, Trieste, 27–28 aprile 2006.* Polymnia: studi di filologia classica, 7. Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste 2006. VIII, 348 p. ISBN 88-8303-192-X = Incontri triestini di filologia classica 5 (2005–2006). http://www2.units.it/polymnia/incts.php. – I contributi rilevanti sono recensiti come no. 48, 215. – D'Aiuto. [1716

**Cristante L./Filip I.** (a cura di), *Atti del III convegno "Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità".* Polymnia: studi di filologia classica, 10. Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste 2008. VII, 377 p. ISBN 978-88-8303-235-6 = Incontri triestini di filologia classica 7 (2007–2008). http://www2.units.it/polymnia/incts.php. – Tre contributi sono recensiti come no. 45, 47, 142. – D'Aiuto. [1717

**Cristante L.** (a cura di), *Atti del convegno internazionale "Phantasia. Il pensiero per immagini degli antichi e dei moderni", Trieste, 28–30 aprile 2005.* Polymnia: studi di filologia classica, 6. Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste 2006. VIII, 500 p. ISBN 88-8303-179-2 = Incontri triestini di filologia classica 4 (2004–2005 [2006]). http://www2.units.it/polymnia/incts.php. – I contributi rilevanti sono recensiti come no. 46, 190. – D'Aiuto. [1718

**Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P.** (éds.), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 412. Roma, École française 2009. IV, 306 p. ISBN 978-2-7283-0825-5. – I singoli saggi d'interesse per la presente bibliografia sono stati segnalati come no. 1475, 1478, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1493, 1496, 1497, 1499, 1500. – Goria/D'Aiuto. [1719

**Daim F./Drauschke J.** (Hrsg.), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter.* Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Monographien, 84. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2010. 3 Bd. Band 1: Welt

der Ideen, Welt der Dinge; Band 2/1 und 2/2: Schauplätze; Band 3: Peripherie und Nachbarschaft. VIII, 495 S. + VI, 491 + VI, 493–910 S. + VI, 445 S. mit zahlr. Ills. ISBN 978-3-88467-153-5, 978-3-88467-154-2, 978-3-88467-155-9. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 23, 113, 246, 505, 656, 691, 696, 700, 756, 759, 768, 783, 797, 810, 841, 842, 843, 892, 893, 902, 904, 908, 913, 914, 919, 924, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1029, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1062, 1066, 1067, 1075, 1078, 1081, 1082, 1166, 1175, 1180, 1198, 1231, 1232, 1234, 1236, 1237, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1244, 1247, 1248, 1260, 1278, 1302, 1303, 1321, 1601. – Berger. [1720

**Davies W./Fouracre P.** (eds), *The languages of gift in the early Middle Ages.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2010. 322 p. 15 ills, 5 maps. ISBN 978-0-5215-1517-7. – The relevant chapters are listed as nos. 735, 1122. – Stathakopoulos. [1721

**De Andia Y./Hofrichter P. L.** (eds.), *Der Heilige Geist im Leben der Kirche. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens (Pro Oriente XXIX, Wiener Patristische Tagungen II).* Innsbruck/Wien, Tyrolia 2005. 406 S. ISBN 3-7022-2725-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 475. – Juhász. [1722

**De Andia Y./Hofrichter P. L.** (eds.), *Gott Vater und Schöpfer. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens (Pro Oriente XXXI, Wiener Patristische Tagungen III).* Innsbruck/Wien, Tyrolia 2007. 384 S. ISBN 978-3-7022-2835-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 474. – Juhász. [1723

**De Sensi Sestito G.** (a cura di), *L'arte di Asclepio. Medici e malattie in età antica. Atti della giornata di Studio sulla medicina antica. Università della Calabria 26 ottobre 2005.* (Nr. 1562). – Touwaide.

**Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Kiprians Lesungen 2. 600 Jahre vom Entschlafen des heiligen Kiprian, Metropoliten von Moskau). Veliko Tărnovo, Universitetsko izdatelstvo «Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodij» 2008. 523 S. ISBN 978-954-524-641-8. – Materialien der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz „Kiprians Lesungen" (15.–16. Sept. 2006) aus Anlass des 600. Todestages des bulgarischen Heiligen Kiprian († 1406). Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 1832, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1848, 1849, 1864, 1867, 1877. – Nikolov. [1724

**Drauschke J./Keller D.** (Hrsg.), *Glass in Byzantium. Production, usage, analyses/Glas in Byzanz. Produktion, Verwendung, Analysen.* RGZM-Tagungen, 8. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2010. VIII, 262 S. 15 Taf. ISBN 978-3-88467-147-4. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1279. – Laflı. [1725

**D'haen T./Goerlandt I.** (eds.), *Literature for Europe?* Textxet: Studies in Comparative Literature, 61. Amsterdam/New York, Rodopi 2009. 437 p. ISBN 978-90-420-2716-9. – One article is listed as no. 182. – Nilsson. [1726

**Eleutheriu E.** (Hrsg.), *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δραν-δάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Καραβοστάσι Οιτύλου, 21–22 Ιουνίου 2008, Πρακτικά.* Sparta 2008–2009. 262 S. 47 Taf. ISBN 978-960-99394-0-9. – Die einschlägigen Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 732, 769, 935, 937, 941, 943, 945, 946, 948, 950, 961, 962, 967, 1159. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1727

**Farkas Baráthi M./Majoros H.** (eds.), *Българският език и литература на кръстопътя на културите. Международна конференция. Сегед, Унгария, 21–22 май 2007. г. том.* Szeged, JATE Press 2009. ISBN 978-963-482-864-8. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1883. – Juhász. [1728

**Ferrari M. C./Meyer A.** (a cura di), *Il volto santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13–16 settembre 2000).* La Balestra, 47. Lucca, Istituto Storico Lucchese 2005. 575 p. ill. – Due contributi sono recensiti come no. 579, 1131. – D'Aiuto. [1729

**Fingernagel A.** (Hrsg.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Interkultureller Dialog in alten Schriften.* Wien, Kremayr und Scheriau 2010. 256 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-3-218-00809-9. – Katalog der Ausstellung im Prunksaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek vom 7.5.2010 bis 7.11.2010. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 194, 1547, 1566. – Rhoby. [1730

**Földesi F.** (ed.), *A star in the raven's shade. János Vitéz and the beginnings of humanism in Hungary. An exhibition at the National Széchényi Library. 14 March – 15 June, 2008.* Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 2008. ISBN 978-963-200-554-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 2. – Juhász. [1731

**Földesi F.** (ed.), *Csillag a holló árnyékában. Vitéz János és a humanizmus kezdetei Magyarországon (kiállítási katalógus).* Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 2008. 247 S. ISBN 978-963-200-546-1. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 101. – Juhász. [1732

**Gualtieri S./Fabbri B./Bandini G.** (Hrsg.), *Le classi ceramiche. Situazione degli studi. Atti della 10. Giornata di archeometria della ceramica, Roma, 5–7 aprile 2006.* Archeometria della ceramica, 10. Bari, Edipuglia 2009. 267 S. Zahlr. Ill., Kt. ISBN 978-88-7228-567-1. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1312. – Laflı. [1733

**Guérin-Beauvois M./Martin J.-M.** (a cura di), *Bains curatifs et bains hygiéniques en Italie de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge.* Collection de l'École française de Rome, 383. Rome, École française de Rome 2007. 428 p. 48 tav. f.t. ISBN 978-2-7283-0782-1. – Atti del colloquio tenutosi a Roma, 22–23 marzo 2004. Un contributo è recensito come no. 763. – D'Aiuto. [1734

**Haggh-Huglo B./Dobszay L.** (eds.), *Cantus planus. Papers read at the 13th meeting of the IMS study group CANTUS PLANUS, Niederaltaich/Germany, 2006, Aug. 29–Sept. 4.* Budapest, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 2009. 689 p. ISBN 978-963-7074-98-1. – One article is listed as no. 300. – Troelsgård. [1735

**Hainthaler Th./Mali F./Emmenegger G.** (eds.), *Einheit und Katholizität der Kirche. Forscher aus dem Osten und Westen Europas an den Quellen des gemeinsamen Glaubens. Pro Oriente Studientagung „L'unité et la catholicité de l'Église" – „Einheit und Katholizität der Kirche", Sibiu, 27.–30. Juni 2007 (Pro Oriente XXXII, Wiener Patristische Tagungen IV).* Pro Oriente, 32. Wiener patristische Tagungen, 4. Innsbruck/Wien, Tyrolia 2009. 408 S. ISBN 978-3-7022-3020-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 476. – Juhász. [1736

**Haldon J. F.** (ed.), *Money, power and politics in early Islamic Syria. A review of current debates.* Farnham, Ashgate 2010. XIV, 210 p. ISBN 978-0-7546-6849-7; 978-1-409-40397-5. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 251, 381, 626, 635, 1366, 1371, 1392. – Morrisson/Berger. [1737

**Hasselhoff G. K./Meyer-Blanck M.**, *Religion und Rationalität.* Studien des Bonner Zentrums für Religion und Gesellschaft, 4. Würzburg, Ergon 2008. 371 S. ISBN 978-3-89913-639-5. – Vorträge und Aufsätze in Auseinandersetzung mit dem Zitat des Papstes Benedikt XVI. aus der islamkritischen Schrift des Manuel II. Palaiologos. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 467. – Berger. [1738

**Juwig C./Kost C.** (Hrsg.), *Bilder in der Archäologie – eine Archäologie der Bilder?* Tübinger archäologische Taschenbücher, 8. Münster u. a., Waxmann 2010. 275 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-3-8309-2321-3 – Beiträge eines Kolloquiums in Hamburg im April 2008. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1125, 1167, 1354. – Dennert. [1739

**Kelly Ch./Flower R./Williams W. S.** (ed.), *Alternatives to the classical past in Late Antiquity. Volume I.* Cambridge Classical Journal, supplementary volume, 34. Cambridge, The Cambridge Classical Society 2010. 156 p. ISBN 978-0-906014-33-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 22, 438, 443, 504, 554. – Berger. [1740

*Királylányok messzi földről. Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban (kiállítási katalógus).* Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum / Museu d'Història de Catalunya 2009. 483 S. Ill. ISBN 978-963-7061-64-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 226. – Juhász. [1741

**Kovács Cs./Székely I./Székely T.** (eds.), *X. RODOSZ Konferenciakötet 2009. Kolozsvár.* Clear Vision Könyvkiadó, 2009. ISBN 978-973-88970-8-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 877. – Juhász. [1742

**Kratzmann G.** (ed.), *Imagination, Books & Community in Medieval Europe.* Papers of a conference held at the State Library of Victoria Melbourne, Australia 29–31 May 2008 in conjunction with an exhibition 'The Medieval Imagination' 28 March–15 June 2008. Melbourne, Macmillan and State Library of Victoria 2009. ISBN 978-1-921394-33-1. – One entry is listed as no. 780. – Moffatt. [1743

**Kreuzsaler C./Palme B./Zdiarsky A.** (Hrsg.), *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten.* Nilus, 17. Wien, Phoibos-Verlag 2010. 184 S. mit zahlreichen Abb. ISBN 978-3-85161-032-1. – Katalog zur

Ausstellung im Papyrusmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 10.6. 2010 bis 11.1.2011. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 33. – Rhoby. [1744

**Laflı E.** (ed.), *Late antique/early Byzantine glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.* Colloqvia Anatolica et Aegaea, 2. Acta congressus communis omnium gentium Smyrnae II/Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Division for Medieval Archaeology, 1. Izmir, Hürriyet Matbaası 2009. xx, 403 p. num. b/w fig. ISBN 978-605-61525-0-4. – Conference papers and abstracts, presented at the International Colloquium "Late Antique Glass in Anatolia (4th to 8th cent. A.D.)", October 25–28, 2009 in Izmir, Turkey. The contributions are listed as nos. 1261, 1262, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298. – Laflı. [1745

**Latacz J./Greub Th./Blome P./Wieczorek A.** (Hrsg.), *Homer. Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst.* München, Hirmer 2008. ISBN 978-3-7774-3965-5. – Katalog einer Ausstellung des Antikenmuseums Basel, des Art Centre Basel und der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim 2008/09. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 71. – Berger. [1746

**Lorenzen J. /Pirson F./Schröder P. I./Wulff-Rheidt U.** (Hrsg.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen. Kolloquium 9./10. Februar 2007 in Istanbul.* Byzas, 10. Istanbul, Ege Yayınları 2010. 295 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-605-5607-05-0 – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1014, 1061. – Dennert. [1747

**Lossky A./Sodi M.** (eds.), *Rites de communion. Conférences Saint-Serge. LVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 23–26 juin 2008.* Monumenta, Studia, Instrumenta Liturgica, 59. Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2010. XV, 324 p. ISBN 978-88-209-8408-3. – I contributi d'interesse bizantino sono recensiti come no. 466, 550, 556, 562, 564, 570, 574, 1142. – Velkovska. [1748

**Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington/D.C., Dumbarton Oaks 2010. 300 p. ill. ISBN 978-0-88402-348-7. – A variety of disciplinary perspectives on manuscript studies, exegesis, text and material culture, etc. Relevant entries are listed as nos. XXX, XXX. 404, 416, 419, 420, 422, 423, 426, 429, 430, 431. – Schott. [1749

**Magrini Ch./Sbarra F.** (a cura di), *La ceramica invetriata tardoromana nell'arco alpino orientale e nelle province danubiane: primi risultati di un progetto internazionale. Atti del 1. Incontro Internazionale di Archeologia a Carlino 14–15 dicembre 2007.* Carlino, Comune 2009. 109 p. ill. [ohne ISBN]. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1308. – Laflı. [1750

**Mastrocinque A.** (Hrsg.), *Grumentum romana. Convegno di studi Grumento Nova (Potenza), salone del Castello Sanseverino, 28–29 giugno 2008.* Moliterno

(Potenza), Porfidio 2009. 367 S. Ill., graph. Darst., Kt. Ohne ISBN. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1307. – Laflı. [1751

**Menozzi O./Di Marzio M. L./Fossataro D.** (Hrsg.), *SOMA 2005: proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24–26 February 2005.* BAR International Series, 1739. Oxford, Archaeopress 2008. VIII, 609 S. Ill., graph. Darst., Kt. ISBN 1-407-30181-0. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1300. – Laflı. [1752

**Mészáros T./Jutai P.** (eds.), *ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΣ. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae II. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások* (ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΣ. Vorträge der II. Konferenz der Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae). Budapest 2007. 147 S. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 139. – Juhász. [1753

**Michaelides D./Kassianidou V./Merrillees R. S.** (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference Egypt and Cyprus in antiquity: Nicosia, 3–6 April 2003.* Oxford, Oxbow 2009. XII, 260 p. ill. ISBN 978-1-8421-7339-8. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1330. – Laflı. [1754

**Mirgaleev I. M.** (ed.), *Золотоордынское наследие. – Материалы Международной научной конференции «Политическая и социально-экономическая история Золотой Орды (XIII–XV вв.)» Казань, 17 марта 2009 г. Вып. 1.* Kazan', Izdatel'stvo Fen 2009. ISBN 978-5-9690-0073-5. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1403. – Juhász. [1755

**Mitchell S./Van Nuffelen P.** (eds), *One God: pagan monotheism in the Roman Empire.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2010. 250 p. ISBN 978-0-5211-9416-7. – The relevant chapter is listed as no. 382. – Stathakopoulos. [1756

**Moschonas N. G./Stylianude M.-G. L.** (eds.), *Το δουκάτο του Αιγαίου. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Νάξος – Αθήνα 2007)* Αθήνα, Ακαδημία Αθηνών. Κέντρον Ερεύνης της Ελληνικής Κοινωνίας. Δημοσιεύματα ΚΕΕΚ, 12. Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Διεθνή Συμπόσια, 20. Athna 2009. 475 p. ISBN 978-960-371-061-5, 978-960-404-167-1. – Proceedings of the congress, held in Naxos and Athens in 2007 by the Institute for Byzantine Research (NHRF, Athens), the Center for the Research on Greek Society (Academy of Athens) and the Cultural Organization «Αιών» of Naxos, about the Duchy of the Aegean or Naxos, 800 years after its formation. The volume contains 17 articles on political, economic, social, ecclesiastical and cultural issues concerning the Duchy from the thirteenth century until its end during the 16th century. All articles are in Greek and Italian, and are listed here as nos. 643, 672, 823, 824, 825, 827, 828, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 978, 1529, 1532. – Gasparis. [1757

**Neuwirth A./Stock G.** (Hrsg.), *Europa im Nahen Osten – Der Nahe Osten in Europa.* Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 2010. 363 S. ISBN 978-3-05-004905-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 3, 602. – Berger. [1758

**Nikolau-Konnare A.** (Hrsg.), *Η Γαληνοτάτη και η Ευγενεστάτη. Η Βενετία στην Κύπρο και η Κύπρος στη Βενετία.* Nikosia, Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα τραπέζης Κύπρου 2009. 327 S. ISBN 978-9963-42-879-3. – Teilweise bereits angezeigt in BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 4029. / The relevant papers are listed as nos. 199, 267, 703, 728, 731, 748, 774, 1008, 1009, 1210. – Parani. [1759

**Oddy W. A.** (ed.), *Coinage and history in the seventh century Near East 2: proceedings of the 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table held at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge on 4th and 5th April 2009.* Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table, 12. London, Archetype 2010. IV, 122 p. ill. ISBN 978-1-904982-62-3. – The articles are listed as nos. 1365, 1367, 1369, 1377, 1381, 1382, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1401, 1402. – Morrisson. [1760

**Özdemir Y.** (Hrsg.), *Mersin Sempozyumu: 19–22 Kasım 2008, bildiriler.* Mersin Valiliği Sempozyum Dizisi, 1. Mersin, Mersin Valiliği 2009. 3 Bd. 2876 S. [ohne ISBN]. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1039. – Laflı. [1761

**Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008).* Bolos, Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, Τμήμα Ιστορίας, Αρχαιολογίας και Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας – Δημοτική Επιχείρηση Πολιτισμού Δήμου Άργους – Δήμος Μυκηναίων 2009. 220 S. 52 Taf. ISBN 978-960-89589-4-4. – Ein dem Andenken von Tasula Oikonomu gewidmeter Band mit 13 Aufsätzen und zwei Beiträgen der jung verstorbenen byzantinischen Archäologin. Ergänzungseintrag zu BZ 103/1 (2010) Nr. 1975. Die restlichen Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 957, 958, 966. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1762

*Olio e vino nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2006.* Settimane della Fondazione del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 54. Spoleto, CISAM 2007. 2 vol. 1435 p. ill. ISBN 978-88-7988-117-3. – I contributi d'interesse bizantinistico sono recensiti come no. 495, 497, 561, 690, 705, 714, 761, 1141. – D'Aiuto. [1763

**Pace V.** (a cura di), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli 4–7 dicembre 2008.* Cividale del Friuli, Comune di Cividale di Friuli 2010. 541 p. [ohne ISBN.] – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 380, 1072, 1100, 1103, 1109, 1110. – Berger. [1764

**Padoa Schioppa A.** (a cura di), *Agire per altri. La rappresentanza negoziale, processuale, amministrativa nella prospettiva storica. Convegno Università di Roma Tre, 15–17 novembre 2007.* Società italiana di storia del diritto, 3. Napoli, Jovene 2010. X, 699 p. ISBN 88-243-1988-2. – I saggi d'interesse per la presente bibliografia sono segnalati a parte come no. 1504, 1522. – Goria. [1765

**Pantazopulos P./Kulukea E.** (eds.), *Ομηρική Αίπεια – Αρχαία Κορώνη – Πεταλίδι. Παρελθόν, Παρόν και Μέλλον, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου (5–7 Αυγούστου 2005).* Kalamata 2009. 190 p. ISBN 978-960-98969-0-0. – Papers of the congress held in Messenia on the history of ancient Aipeia, Korone and modern Petalidi (SW Peloponnese). Two articles relevant to Byzantine history are listed as nos. 723, 819. – Leontsini. [1766

**Pasqualini M.** (Hrsg.), *Les céramiques communes d'Italie et de Narbonnaise. Structures de production, typologies et contextes inédits IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la table ronde de Naples, 2 et 3 novembre 2006 par l'action collective de recherche "Archéologie du territoire national" et le Centre Jean Bérard.* Naples, Centre Jean Bérard 2009. 722 S. Ill., graph. Darst., Kt. ISBN 978-2-903189-97-6. – Zwei Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 1305, 1309. – Laflı. [1767

**Pennas Ch./Vanderheyde C.** (éds.), *La sculpture byzantine VIIe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque international organisé par la 2e Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines et l'École Française d'Athènes (6–8 septembre 2000).* BCH/École Francaise d'Athènes, Supplément, 49. Athènes, École Françaises d'Athènes 2008. VII, 612 p. Ill. ISBN 978-2-86958-196-8. – Die Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 905, 906, 920, 931, 933, 936, 939, 940, 944, 947, 952, 953, 955, 960, 963, 965, 968, 973, 979, 980, 1015, 1018, 1025, 1049, 1052, 1059, 1073, 1099, 1165, 1169. – Berger. [1768

**Perentides S./Steires G.** (Hrsg.), *Ιωάννης και Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς. Πατριαρχείο – θεσμοί – χειρόγραφα.* Athena, Daidalos 2009. 372 S. ISBN 978-960-227-390-6. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 1, 19, 34, 35, 207, 213, 229, 279, 316, 323, 737, 751, 754, 1470. – Berger. [1769

*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009. In Memoriam M. Triantaphyllidis.* Studies in Greek Linguistics 30 (2010). – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 256, 262, 263, 274, 275, 278, 280, 281. – Manolessou. [1770

**Puliatti S./Agnati U.** (a cura di), *Principi generali e tecniche operative del processo civile romano nei secoli IV–VI d. C. Atti del Convegno Parma, 18 e 19 giugno 2009.* Parma, Monte Università Parma Editore 2010. 327 p. ISBN 978-88-7847-331-7. – Alle p. 303–309 sono pubblicate le Conclusioni di Mario Amelotti; alle p. 311–327 vi è l'indice delle fonti. Gli altri saggi d'interesse per la presente bibliografia sono segnalati a parte come no. 1462, 1464, 1474, 1476, 1498, 1508, 1511, 1512, 1519, 1524. – Goria. [1771

**Ralli A.** (Hrsg.), *4th International Conference on Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory.* Patras, University of Patras 2010. 304 S. ISSN 1792–3743. http://www.philology.upatras.gr/LMGD/el/index.html. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 270, 277, 282, 285, 291, 292. – Karla. [1772

**Re M./Rognoni C.** (a cura di), *Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 Aprile 2007).* Byzantino-Sicula, 5. Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", Quaderni, 17. Palermo 2009. XX, 378 p. 66 tav. ISBN 978-88-9046230-6. – Die Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 27, 56, 223, 261, 630, 636, 686, 687, 857, 1104, 1105, 1118, 1177, 1399. – Berger. [1773

**Révész É./Halmágyi M.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 5. Az V. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2007. június 7–8.) előadásai.* Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, Szeged 2007. 261 S. ISBN 978-963-482-851-8. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 624, 895. – Juhász. [1774

**Rhoby A./Schiffer E.** (Hrsg.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008).* Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, 21. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010. 286 S. 5 Farbabb. ISBN 978-3-7001-6825-6. – Die Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 28, 30, 43, 52, 55, 89, 95, 98, 122, 137, 140, 171, 173, 180, 257, 406, 410, 480, 493, 498. – Rhoby. [1775

**Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Orthodoxy and heresy in Byzantium. The definition and the notion of Orthodoxy and some other studies on the heresies and the non-Christian religions.* Quaderni di Νέα Ῥώμη, 4. Roma, Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata» 2010. 181 p., 6 ill. ISSN 2036–9026. – Nel volume sono pubblicati gli Atti della «session on Byzantine theology at the 20th annual conference of St. Tikhon's Orthodox University of Moscow (13–14 October 2009)». I contributi d'interesse bizantinistico sono segnalati come no. 124, 330, 331, 345, 358, 378, 872, 1124, 1550. – D'Aiuto. [1776

**Roberts Ch. A./Lewis M. E./Manchester K.** (eds.), *The past and present of leprosy. Archaeological, historical, palaeopathological and clinical approaches. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Evolution and Palaeoepidemiology of the Infections Diseases 3 (ICEPID), University of Bradford, 26th–31st July 1999.* BAR International Series, 1054. Oxford, Archaeopress 2002. 311 p. ill. ISBN 1-84171-434-8. – A large collection of essays covering a wide range of topics from clinical leprosy to molecular diagnosis of leprosy in skeletal material, and including skeletal diagnosis of leprosy and history and palaeopathology of leprosy worldwide. More directly of interest, apart from the methodological essays in palaeopathology for specialists, are the articles listed here as nos. 1576, 1579, 1580. – Touwaide. [1777

**Rydell Johnsén H./Rönnegård P.** (eds.), *Eros och Agape. Barmhärtighet, kärlek och mystik i den tidiga kyrkan* (Eros and Agape. Mercy, love and mysticism in the early Church). Patristica Nordica, 7. Skellefteå, Artos 2009. 166 p. ISBN 978-91-7580-406-4. – One article is listed as no. 413. – Nilsson. [1778

**Saitta B.** (a cura di), *Città e vita cittadina nei paesi dell'area mediterranea. Secoli XI–XV. Atti del Convegno internazionale in onore di Salvatore Tramontana, Adrano-Bronte-Catania-Palermo, 18–22 novembre 2003.* Roma, Viella 2006. 831 p. ISBN 88-8334-189-9. – Un contributo d'interesse bizantinistico è segnalato come no. 791. – D'Aiuto. [1779

**Santoro M.** (a cura di), *Valla e Napoli. Il dibattito filologico in età umanistica. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Ravello, 22–23 settembre 2005.* Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento meridionale, Atti, 3. Pisa, Istituto editoriali e

poligrafici internazionale 2007. XIV, 254 p. ISBN 88-8147-399-2. – Un contributo è segnalato come no. 69. – D'Aiuto. [1780

**Sodi M.** (a cura di), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pius secundus, poeta laureatus, pontifex maximus. Atti del convegno internazionale 29 settembre – 1 ottobre 2005, Roma.* Roma, Libreria Vaticana 2007. XXIX, 455 p. ISBN 978-88-209-7936-2. – Daraus einzeln angezeigt Nr. 1240. – Berger. [1781

**Storti C.** (a cura di), *Il ragionamento analogico. Profili storico-giuridici. Convegno Como, 17–18 novembre 2006.* Società italiana di storia del diritto, 2. Napoli, Jovene 2010. ISBN 88-243-1971-8. – Un articolo è segnalato come no. 1507. – Goria. [1782

**Strangas I. S./Papacharalampus Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Zweck, Teleologie und Recht.* Akten der Griechischen Gesellschaft für Rechtsphilosophische und Rechtshistorische Forschung, 4. Athen [u. a.], Sakkulas 2010. XXVI, 893 S. ISBN 978-3-8329-5506-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1453. – Troianos. [1783

**Suárez de la Torre E./Pérez Benito E.** (eds.), *Lex sacra: Religión y derecho a lo largo de la historia. Actas del VIII Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones. Valladolid, 15–18 de octubre de 2008.* Valladolid, 2010 (ohne Verlag). 315 S. ISBN 978-84-614-2843-4. – Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 1540, 1542, 1543, 1544. – Signes. [1784

**Todisco L.** (a cura di), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo.* (Nr. 864). – Bianchi.

**Tóth I./Jutai P.** (eds.), *Enumeratio. A Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae III. országos konferenciáján elhangzott előadások* (Enumeratio. Vorträge der III. Konferenz der Collegium Hungaricum Societatis Europaeae Studiosorum Philologiae Classicae). Budapest 2008. 168 S. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 40, 82. – Juhász. [1785

**Uysal A. O.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *XII. Ortaçağ-Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu. 15–17 ekim 2008. Bildiriler.* (XII. Symposium zu Ausgrabungen aus dem Mittelalter und der türkischen Zeit und Kunstgeschichte. 15.–17. Oktober 2008. Berichte). Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Yayınları, 98. Çanakkale, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi 2010. X, 517 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-605-4222-04-9. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 916, 1019, 1041, 1171, 1301, 1326, 1342. – Dennert. [1786

**Želtov M.** (ed.), *Православное Учение о Церковных Таинствах. V Международная Богословская Конференция Русской Православной Церкви. Том I. Таинства в целом, Крещение и Миропомазание, Евхаристия: литургические аспекты* (The Orthodox doctrine of the sacraments. V International Theological Conference of the Russian Orthodox Church. Volume I. Ordinances in general, baptism and confirmation, eucharist: liturgical aspects) Ed. M. Želtov, Mosca, Синодальная Библейско-Богословская Комиссия 2009. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 566. – Velkovska. [1787

**Zuev V. J.** (ed.), *Боспор и Северное Причерноморье в античную эпоху: материалы юбил. междунар. круглого стола, посвящ. 10-летию конф. «Боспорский Феномен», Санкт-Петербург, 25–26 нояб. 2008 г.* (The Bosporus and the Northern Black Sea Region in Antiquity. The Materials of the international round-table dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the conference "The Phenomenon of Bosporan Kingdom". St. Petersburg, 25–26 Nov. 2008). St. Petersburg 2008. 184 S. [ohne ISBN]. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1324. – Laflı. [1788

**G. Tóth P./Szabó P.** (eds.), *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6: A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4–5.) előadásai.* Szeged, Szegedi Középkorász Műhely 2010. 336 S. ISBN 978-963-306-006-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 639, 897, 1527. – Juhász. [1789

## B. ALLGEMEINE AUFSATZSAMMLUNGEN

**Balogh L./Kovács Sz.** (eds.), *Térítés – megtérés. A világvallások terjedése Kelet-Európa népei között* (Missionen und Bekehrung. Die Weltreligionen und die Völker Osteuropas im Mittelalter). Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár, 25. Budapest, Balassi Kiadó 2009. 142 S. ISBN 978-963-506-799-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 324, 870. – Juhász. [1790

**Beljaev S. A.** (ed.), *Очерки по истории христианского Херсонеса* (Essays on the History of Christian Chersonesus). 1. St. Petersburg, Aleteja 2009. 324 p. 32 p. Ill. ISBN 978-5-91419-172-3. – The contributions are listed as nos. 1063, 1064, 1065, 1069, 1197. – Etinhof. [1791

**Bérenger A./Perrin-Saminadayar E.** (éds.), *Les entrées royales et impériales. Histoire, représentation et diffusion d'une cérémonie publique, de l'Orient ancien à Byzance.* Paris, De Boccard 2009. 292 p. Ill. ISBN 978-2-7018-0257-2. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 697. – Berger. [1792

**Bungardt J./Helfgott M./Rathgeber E./Urbanek N.** (eds.), *Wiener Musikgeschichte: Annäherungen–Analysen–Ausblicke. Festschrift für Hartmut Krones.* (Nr. 1670). – Troelsgård.

**Cotton H. M./Hoyland R. G./Price J. P.** (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East.* (Nr. 259). – Berger/Kaegi.

**Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Beiträge zur bulgarischen Archäologie). Sofia, Izdatelstvo Agato 2009. 348 S. ISBN 978-954-8761-84-0. – Enthält Publikationen eines archäologischen Materials aus Bulgarien. Die Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 1898, 1902, 1904, 1908, 1913, 1925. – Nikolov. [1793

**E. Kovács P./Szovák K.** (eds.), *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in late medieval Hungarian history.* Budapest, Corvina Kiadó 2009. 330 S. ISBN 978-963-135-875-9. – Drei Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 209, 373, 1615. – Juhász. [1794

**Engels D./Geis L./Kleu M.** (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zum Spätmittelalter.* Stuttgart, Steiner 2010. 363 S. ISBN 978-3-515-09641-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 338, 646. – Berger. [1795

**Fögen Th./Lee M. M.**, *Bodies and boundaries in Graeco-Roman antiquity.* Berlin, De Gruyter 2009. VIII, 317 S. Ill. ISBN 978-3-11-021252-5. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 739. – Berger. [1796

**Fransson U.** (et al.), *Cultural interaction between East and West: Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in Northern Europe.* (Nr. 1666). – Nilsson.

**Halmágyi M.** (ed.), *Szkítiától Hispániáig. Belvedere Meridionale XXI/1–2. (2009. február–március).* Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale Alapítvány 2009. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 389. – Juhász. [1797

**Helten L./Schenkluhn W.** (Hrsg.), *Romanik in Europa. Kommunikation – Tradition – Rezeption.* More Romano, 1. Leipzig, Kratzke Verlag 2009. 166 S. ISBN 978-3-9811555-1-8. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1173. – Dennert. [1798

**Holmquist Olausson L./Olausson M.** (eds.), *The Martial Society: Aspects of warriors, fortifications and social change in Scandinavia.* Theses and Papers in Archaeology / B, 11. Stockholm, Archaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University 2009. 206 p. ISBN 978-91-89338-19-7. – Three articles relevant to Byzantine Studies listed as nos. 702, 1605, 1611. – Nilsson. [1799

**Jääskinen A.** (ed.), *My Byzantium, Far and Near.* Keuruu, The Finnish National Committee for Byzantine Studies 2008. 147 p. color ills. ISBN 978-952-99005-2-7. – An interesting anthology presented by The Finnish National Committee for Byzantine Studies, containing twelve articles (all in English) on various themes (e.g. icons, architecture, medicine), but with a certain focus on religion, orthodoxy and the significance of Karelia in Finnish national identity. – Nilsson. [1800

**Kazanski M./Mastykova A.** (Hrsg.), *Tsibilium: la nécropole apsile de Tsibilium. L'étude du site, vol. 2.* BAR International series, 1721. Oxford, Hedges 2007. ISBN 978-1-4073-0204-1.– 75–77. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1311. – Laflı. [1801

**Levykin A. K.** (ed.), *Материалы и исследования* (Materials and Studies). Федеральное гос. Учреждение культуры Гос. ист-культур. Музей-заповедник "Моск. Кремль", 20. Moscow 2010. 414 p. ill. ISBN 978-5-886788-203-5. – One article is listed as no. 1214. – Etinhof. [1802

**Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Иеротопия: сравнитеные исследования сакральных пространств* (Hierotopy: comparative studies of sacred spaces). Moscow, Indrik 2009. 384 p. ill. ISBN 978-5-91674-033-2. – The contributions are listed as nos. 310, 311, 315, 535, 546, 1182. – Etinhof. [1803

**Papaconstantinou A.** (ed.), *The multilingual experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbãsids.* Farnham, Ashgate 2010. x, 240 p. ISBN 978-0-7546-6536-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 252, 253, 254, 258, 265, 269. – Berger. [1804

**Ramírez Vaquero E./Salicrú i Lluch R.** (eds.), *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media.* Colección Historia, 29. Pamplona, Universidad Pública de Navarra 2010. 408 p. maps. ISBN 9788497692540. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 658. – Signes. [1805

**Stephenson P.** (ed.), *The Byzantine World.* Abingdon, Routledge 2010. 606 p. 53 ills., 4 maps. ISBN 978-0-415-44010-3. – This collection of short essays is divided in four parts, each of which is introduced by the editor in a short overview. The relevant chapters are listed as nos. 21, 32, 38, 53, 144, 342, 369, 427, 623, 648, 651, 680, 730, 736, 738, 741, 803, 900, 910, 1126, 1140, 1157, 1162, 1213, 1349, 1352, 1380, 1604, 1614, 1621, 1622, 1624, 1625, 1627, 1628. – Stathakopoulos. [1806

**Tzaferis V./Israeli S./Avissar M.** (eds.), *Paneas I: The Roman to Early Islamic Periods. Excavations in Areas A, B, E, F, G and H.* IAA Reports, 37. Jerusalem, Israel Antiquity Authority 2008. VIII, 186 p. ill., cartes, plans. ISBN 978-965-406-215-2. – The relevant articles are listed as nos. 1318, 1319. – Laflı. [1807

**al-Khrayseh F.** (ed.), *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan: Vol. 10, Crossing Jordan.* (Nr. 852). – Kaegi.

## C. LEXIKA

**Szlávik T.** (ed.), *Művek lexikona I.* Budapest, Magyar Nagylexikon Kiadó 2008. 934 S. ISBN 978-963-05-6611-7. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 127. – Juhász. [1808

*Православная Энциклопедия* (The Encyclopedia of Orthodoxy) 23. Moscow, «Pravoslavnaja Entsiklopedija» 2010. 752 p. ISBN 978-5-89572-042-4. – Институции Юстиниана; Интронизация; Иоаким Иерусалимский; Иоаким I Антиохийский; Иоаким I Тырновский; Иоаким I Кипрский; Иоаким II Кипрский; Иоанн Иркалийский; Иоанн Сардский; Иоанн Халкидонский; Иоанн Готский; Иоанн Зихнийский; Иоанн Пателарейский; Иоанн Кафарский; Иоанн, ученик Григория Декаполита; Иоанн Фракийский; Иоанн Синайский; Иоанн, «персидский царь»; Иоанн, архиепископ г.Ника; Иоанн Никопольский; Иоанн Филадельфийский; Иоанн Беритский; Иоанн Клавдиопольский; Иоанн. узурпатор; Иоанн I Киевский; Иоанн II Киевский; Иоанн III Киевский; Иоанн IV Киевский; Иоанн II Каппадокиец; Иоанн III Схоластик; Иоанн IV Постник; Иоанн V Константинопольский; Иоанн VI Константинопольский; Иоанн VII Грамматик; Иоанн VIII Ксифилин; Иоанн IX Агапит; Иоанн X Каматир; Иоанн XI Векк; Иоанн XII Созопольский; Иоанн XIII Глика; Иоанн XIV Калека; Иоанн I Талайя; Иоанн II Имула; Иоанн III Никиот; Иоанн IV Александрийский; Иоанн V Милостивый; Иоанн VIII (IV) Александрийский; Иоанн I Антиохийский; Иоанн II Кодонат; Иоанн III Полит; Иоанн IV Антиохийский; Иоанн V (IV) Оксит; Иоанн VI Аплухир; Иоанн II Иерусалимский; Иоанн III Иерусалимский; Иоанн IV Иерусалимский; Иоанн V Иерусалимский; Иоанн VI Иерусалимский; Иоанн VII Иерусалимский;

Иоанн VIII Иерусалимский Иоанн IX Иерусалимский; Иоанн I Кипрский; Иоанн II Кипрский; Иоанн III Кипрский; Иоанн IV Критянин (Кипрский); Иоанн I Ангелопт; Иоанн II Римлянин (Равеннский); Иоанн I Неапольский; Иоанн IV Книжник; Иоанн VII (VI), патриарх Сирийской яковитской церкви; Иоанн VIII (VII), патриарх Сирийской яковитской церкви; Иоанн X (IX), патриарх Сирийской яковитской церкви; Иоанн XIII (XII), патриарх Сирийской яковитской церкви; Иоанн I Цимисхий; Иоанн II Комнин; Иоанн III Дука Ватац; Иоанн IV Дука Ласкарь; Иоанн V Палеолог; Иоанн VII Палеолог; Иоанн VIII Палеолог; Иоанн I Аксух Великий Комнин; Иоанн II Великий Комнин; Иоанн III Великий Комнин; Иоанн IV Калоян Великий Комнин; Иоанн Акатций; Иоанн Анагност; Иоанн, Антиох, Антонин, Моисей, Завина, Полихроний, Моисей, Дамиан; Иоанн Апокавк; Иоанн Аргиропул; Иоанн Аскет; Иоанн Аскотзанг (Institutiones Iustiniani; Intronization; Joachim of Jerusalem; Joachim I of Antioch; Joachim I of Tarnovo; Joachim I of Cyprus; Joachim II of Cyprus; John of Heraklea; John of Sardeis; John of Chalkedon; John of Gotthia; John of Zichnea; John of Patalarea; John of Kathara; John, disciple of Gregory Dekapolites; John of Thrace; John of Sinai; John, “the Persian king”; John, archbishop of Nika; John of Nikopolis; John of Philadelphia; John of Berytos; John of Klaudioupolis; John, the usurper; John I of Kiev; John II of Kiev; John III of Kiev; John IV of Kiev; John II the Cappadocian; John III Scholastikos; John IV Jejunator; John V of Constantinople; John VI of Constantinople; John VII Grammatikos; John VIII Xiphilinos; John IX Agapetos; John X Kamateros; John XI Bekkos; John XII of Sozopolis; John XIII Glykys; John XIV Kalekas; John I Talaya; John II Hemulas; John III Nikiotes; John IV of Alexandria; John V the Merciful; John VIII (IV) of Alexandria; John I of Antioch; John II Kodonates; John III Polites; John IV of Antioch; John V (IV) Oxeites; John VI Haploucheir; John II of Jerusalem; John III of Jerusalem; John IV of Jerusalem; John V of Jerusalem; John VI of Jerusalem; John VII of Jerusalem; John VIII of Jerusalem; John IX of Jerusalem; John I of Cyprus; John II of Cyprus; John III of Cyprus; John IV of Cyprus (the Cretan); John I Angeloptes; John II of Ravenna (Ioannes Romanus); John I of Neapolis; John IV Scriba; John VII (VI), patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite church; John VIII (VII), Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite church; John X (IX), Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite church; John XIII (XII), Patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite church; John I Tzimiskes; John II Komnenos; John III Doukas Batatzes; John IV Doukas Laskaris; John V Palaiologos; John VI Palaiologos; John VII Palaiologos; John VIII Palaiologos; John I Axouchos Great Komnenos; John II Great Komnenos; John III Great Komnenos; John IV Kaloyan Great Komnenos; John Akatzios; John Anagnostes; John, Antioch, Antoninus, Moses, Zabenas, Polychronius, Moses and Damianus; John Apokaukos; John Argyrolupos; John the Ascetes; John Askotzangos). – Ivanov. [1809

# 14. BYZANZ UND DIE SLAVISCHE WELT (BIS ENDE 16. JAHRHUNDERT)

## A. HOCHSPRACHLICHE UND VOLKSSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Geschichte der bulgarischen mittelalterlichen Literatur). Sofia, Izdatelstvo «Iztok-Zapad» 2008. 775 S. 32 Farbill. ISBN 978-954-321-466-2. – Großangelegte Untersuchung mit einem enzyklopädischen Charakter, strukturiert nach chronologisch-thematischem Prinzip. Erfasst die Periode 9.–17. Jh. In mehreren Fällen werden Beziehungen zur byzantinischen Literatur hergestellt. Beigefügt ist umfangreiche Literatur. Das Buch ist mit Namensregister versehen. – Nikolov. [1810

**Bujan S.**, *La Chronique du Pretre de Dioclée: un faux document historique.* REB 66 (2008) 5–38. – L'analyse de l'histoire et de la circulation du texte de la Chronique du Pretre de Dioclée (considérée normalement la plus ancienne source narrative slave du sud et attribuée couramment au XIIe s.) démontre qu'il ne s'agit en effet que d'un faux, produit au XVIe s. par le bénédictin Orbini (qui aurait utilisé, entre autres, des sources byzantines, comme Zônaras, Nicétas Chôniatès, Nichépore Grégoras), dans le cadre d'une opération de propagande visée à légitimer le parti pro-vénitien face à la menace ottomane. L'édition latine de Lucius (XVIIe s.) ne serait qu'une rétroversion du texte italien d'Orbini. – Ronconi. [1811

**Miltenova A.**, *Неизвестно паренетично съчинение под формата на азбучен акростих (Предварително съобщение)* (Unpublished paraenetic work in the form of an alphabet acrostic. Preliminary announcement). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 352–367. With English summary. – This anonymous Slavonic work is based on Byzantine sources with archetypes in the Christian wisdom literature: Evagrius Ponticus, Palladius, Nilus of Sinai, Gregory of Theologian, Maximus Confessor, etc. There are 3 copies of the texts in Slavonic manuscripts (MSS 382 from Hillandar monastery, Mount Athos, 72 and 310 in Library of Romanian Academy of Sciences) and 3 unpublished copies in Byzantine manuscripts (Gr. 38 from Vatopedi monastery, Mount Athos, Gr. 126 from Russian State Library in Moscow and Theol. Gr. 167 from the Austrian National Library). The Slavonic translation of the text was made in Bulgaria and could be dated in the second half of 10th c. In appendix the parallel texts from Slavonic and Greek tradition are displayed. – Nikolov. [1812

**Nikolova G.**, *Псалтирните цитати в глаголическата бенедиктинска регула от остров Пашман* (The quotations from the Psalter in the Glagolitic Benedictine Rule from the Pašman island). Palaeobulgarica 33/3 (2009) 69–97. With En-

glish summary. – The Glagolitic manuscript, written in the 14th c. in the Tkon on the Croation island of Pašman, is the oldest known Slavonic version of the Rule of the Benedictine order. According to its paleographic and linguistic features, the texts dates back to the 12th or even 11th c. The paper analyses different types of transmission of the quotations from the Psalter, widely used as a theological and illustrative argument by St. Benedict. – Nikolov. [1813

**Peev D.**, *Архивският хронограф и Летописец Елински и Римски I редакция* (The Archivskiy Sbornik and the Elinskiy and Rimskiy Letopisets – first recension). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 104–131. With English summary. – The article deals with two Old Slavonic historical compilations. Although they are known only from Russian codices, they bear definite marks of the Bulgarian cultural doctrine from the 10th c. – Nikolov. [1814

**Stančev K.**, *Incognita Cyrillomethodiana.* Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 16–29. With English summary. – The article subjects to a critical analysis the interpretations of certain parts of the Life of St Cyril, XV and the Life of St Methodios, XV. 4. – Nikolov. [1815

**Stankov R.**, *Древнеболгарский перевод Хроники Георгия Амартола в древнерусской письменной традиции* (Nr. 97). – Nikolov.

**Zašev E.**, *Размисли за търновския книжовник Лаврентий от XIV в.* (Considerations about the 14th c. Tărnovo man-of-letters Laurentios). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 184–196. With English summary. – The author suggests that Laurentios took care of a public library in the immediate proximity of the capital city and the Sbornik of 1348 was a hand book used for the education of Tsar Ivan Alexandăr's children. – Nikolov. [1816

## B. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK

**Stănculescu I.**, *Cultură bizantina în manuscrise greceşti şi slavone (pânâ la stârşitul secolului XV) păstrate în biblioteci bucureştene / Byzantine culture in Greek and Old Slavonic manuscripts (up to the end of the 15th century) in Bucharest repositories. – Manuscrise bizantine în colecţii bucureştene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections.* (Nr. 216) 7–10, 61–63. – Berger. [1817

**Moussakova E.**, *Изборното евангелие от Централната държавна библиотека в Букурещ и неговите части в сбирките на Рилския и на Зографския манастир* (The Gospel lectionary from the Central State Library in Bucharest and its parts in the collections of the Rile and Zograph monasteries). – **Bărlieva S./ Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 477–494. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1818

# C. SPRACHE, METRIK, MUSIK

**Ilieva T.**, *Антонимията в старобългарския език (Върху материали от старозаветните пророчески книги по ръкопис F.I.461от Руската национална библиотека, Санкт Петербург)* (Antonymy in Old Bulgarian. On the basis of material from the Old Testament books of the prophets in MS F.I.461 from the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg). Palaeobulgarica 33/4 (2009) 60–78. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1819

**Ilieva T.**, *Чуждата лексика в книгата на пророк Иезекиил по ръкопис F.I.461 от Руската национална библиотека в Санкт Петербург* (Foreign vocabulary in the Book of the prophet Ezekiel after Ms F.I.461 in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./ Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 116–135. With English summary. – The article investigates the foreign vocabulary in the earliest Slavic copy of the Book of the prophet Ezekiel with commentaries by Theodoret of Cyrrhus preserved in a manuscript from the 14th c. – Nikolov. [1820

**Kujumdžieva S.**, *Още веднъж за музиката през ранната старобългарска епоха (Преразглеждайки изворите от IX до XII в.)* (The music during the early Old-Bulgarian epoch once again. Reconsidering the sources from the 9th to the 12th c.). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 495–507. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1821

**Marcialis N.**, *Introduzione alla lingua paleoslava.* Biblioteca di Studi slavistici, 1. Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2005. vii, 287 p. ISBN 88-8453-333-3. – D'Aiuto. [1822

**Miltenov Y.**, *Песнивецът на цар Иван-Александър и глаголическата традиция* (The Pesnivec of Tsar Ivan Alexandăr [Psalterium Sofiensis] and Glagolitic tradition). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 399–405. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1823

**Mirčeva B.**, *За употребата на думата мьзда в славянския превод на Мъчението на св. Еразъм Охридски (Формийски) в Успенския сборник от XII в.* (On the use of the word мьзда in the Slavic translation of the Martyrdom of St Erasmus of Ohrid [of Formia] in the Uspenski Collection of the 12th c.). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 368–375. With English summary. – The correct use of the lexeme мьзда in the Slavic text and the μισθός in the Greek one corresponding to «merces» in the Latin version of the passage in supported with philological evidence of the use of these words with the same meaning in the Greek, Latin

and Slavic versions of the gospel text. The examples shows that in this case one cannot speak of a mistake made during a translations of the Vita of St Erasmus from Latin into Greek and not support the hypothesis that the Latin text was primary one. – Nikolov. [1824

**Moussakova E.**, *Изборното евангелие от Централната държавна библиотека в Букурещ и неговите части в сбирките на Рилския и на Зографския манастир* (Nr. 1818). – Nikolov.

**Popkonstantinov K./Miklas H.**, *Оловен амулет с глаголически текст* (A lead amulet with a Glagolitic text). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./ Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 385–398. With English summary. – It is written entirely in the Glagolitic script. – Nikolov. [1825

**Stefova L.**, *Един препис на разказа "Кръчмарката Теофано" сред други шест преписа (Морфология и лексика)* (Comparison of a copy of the story of Theophano the tavern-keeper with six other copies of the work. Morphology and vocabulary). Bălgarski ezik 57/2 (2010) 86–97. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1826

**Taseva L./Rabus A.**, *Преводачески и преписвачески грешки в славянската ръкописна традиция на книгата на пророк Иезекиил* (Übersetzungs- und Abschreibfehler in der kirchenslavischen handschriftlichen Tradition des Buches Ezechiel). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 136–151. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Die Typologie der geschilderten Fehler bestätigt und ergänzt die bekannten Mechanismen der Korrumpierung eines Textes bei der Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen oder bei der Verbreitung auf slavischem Gebiet. Die attestierten Übersetzungsfehler unterstützen die These vom Übersetzen nach Diktat nicht. Stattdessen kann für alle Ungenauigkeiten ein graphischer Grund in den Besonderheiten der griechischen Minuskel gefunden werden. Auch die Abschreibfehler zeugen von einer vor allem visuellen Genese der Fehler. – Nikolov. [1827

**Vitljanov S./Nikolov N.**, *Старобългарската терминология на занаятчийските постройки, съоръжения и инструменти* (Die altbulgarische Terminologie der Handwerkerbauten, Einrichtungen und Instrumente). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 691–709. – Nikolov. [1828

**Želyazkova V.**, *Описанието на скинията в старобългарския превод на Книга Изход* (Nr. 1878). – Nikolov.

## D. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

**Alekseev A.**, *О времении и цели составления византийского лекционария* (Nr. 544). – Nikolov.

**Anguševa A./Atanassova D./Bojadžiev A./Gagova N./Dimitrova M./Jovčeva M./Miltenova A./Slavova T./Stojkova A./Tasseva L.**, *История на българската средновековна литература* (Nr. 1810). – Nikolov.

**Bodin P.-A.**, *Language, canonization and holy foolishness: studies in postsoviet Russian culture and the Orthodox tradition.* Stockholm Slavic Studies 38. Stockholm, Stockholm University 2009. 326 p. ISBN 978-91-8607-130-1. – Nilsson. [1829

**Božilov I.**, *Нови данни за манастира Св. Богородица Спилеотиса в Мелник* (Neue Auskünfte über das Kloster der Hl. Gottesmutter Spileotissa in Melnik). Istoričesko bădeste XI/1–2 (2007) 138–147. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung (S. 299). – Kommentiert die Auskünfte über das Kloster aus Actes de Vatopédi. I, Nr 11, 13; Actes de Vatopédi. II, Nr 120. – Nikolov. [1830

**Bruni A. M.** (Hrsg.), *Византийская традиция и старославянский перевод Слов Григория Назианина* (Die byzantinische Tradition und die altslavische Übersetzung der Worte des Gregor von Nazianz). Rossija i Christianskij Vostok. Biblioteka, 9. Moskva, Rossijskaja Akademia nauk 2010. 287 S. ISBN 978-5-94067-273-9. – Byzantinische Überlieferung und altslavische Übersetzung der Predigten des Gregorios von Nazianzos. – Berger. [1831

**Češmedžiev D.**, *Българските светци в Псалтира на митрополит Киприан* (Die bulgarischen Heiligen im Psalmenbuch des Metropoliten Kiprian). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 305–318. – Eingegangen wird auf die Frage nach der Einführung der Jerusalemer Regelung innerhalb der bulgarischen Kirche. – Nikolov. [1832

**Christova-Šomova I.**, *Един старобългарски празничен миней (Кирилската палимпсестна част на апостол Nr. 880 от НБКМ)* (An Old Bulgarian Festal Menaion. The Cyrillic palimpsest part of the Apostol no 880 of NBKM). Palaeobulgarica 33/2 (2009) 16–38. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1833

**Christova-Šomova I.**, *Елинският прочит на книгата на Йов в Септуагинта* (Nr. 408). – Nikolov.

**Christova-Šomova I.**, *Службата за св. Теодор Тирон в старобългарския Драготин миней* (The Service of St. Theodore Tyron in the Old Bulgarian Dragota Menaion). Bălgarski ezik 57/2 (2010) 17–38. With English summary. – The Dragota Menaion is manuscript from the end of the 11th c. It is preserved in the palimpsest part of the Dragota Apostolos, Ms 880, National Library, Sofia. – Nikolov. [1834

**Čistiakova M.**, *Проложное житие святой Параскевы Эпиватской по списку НБКМ Nr. 167* (The Synaxarion Life of St Paraskeva of Epibates according Ms NBKM 167). Palaeobulgarica 33/2 (2009) 39–50. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1835

**Delikare A.**, *Ζητήματα ιστορικής γεωγραφίας των Βαλκανίων. I. Η Επισκοπή Αχρίδου και η μητρόπολη Μορ(ρ)αχριδών.* (Nr. 320). – Kotzabassi.

**Dogramadžieva E.**, *Месецословните четива в славянските ръкописни евангелия (X–XVII в.)* (The Menologion lections in Slavonic manuscript Gospels, 10th–17th cc.). Cyrillo-Methodian Studies 19 (2010) 3–552. With English summary (546–551). – Very useful study. – Nikolov. [1836

**Dogramadžieva E.**, *Местоположението на подвижните дни в неподвижния календар от славянските евангелски ръкописи* (The position of the movable days in the calendar of fixed feasts in the Slavonic Gospel Manuscripts). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 202–214. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1837

**Dončeva-Panajotova N.**, *Светителската дейност на митрополит Киприан в Русия в текстове и миниатюри* (Die Metropolitentätigkeit des Kiprian in Russland in Texten und Miniaturen). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 63–81. 19 Ill. – Systematisiert die Auskünfte über den hl. Kiprian. – Nikolov. [1838

**Džurova A./Velinova V.**, *Литургичната дейност на митрополит Киприан и извори за нея в италианските хранилища* (Die liturgische Tätigkeit des Metropoliten Kiprian und die Quellen zu ihr in den italienischen Archiven). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 119–133. 9 Ill. – Nikolov. [1839

**Ferro M. C.**, *Santità e agiografia al femminile. Forme letterarie, tipologie e modelli nel mondo slavo orientale (X–XVII sec.).* Biblioteca di Studi Slavistici, 11. Firenze, Firenze University Press 2010. 271 p. ISBN 978-88-8453-597-9. – D'Aiuto. [1840

**Gadalova G.**, *Тверские рукописи как источник сведений о митрополите Киприане* (Die Manuskripte aus Tver als Quelle der Auskünfte über den Metropoliten Kiprian). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 237–244. – Nikolov. [1841

**Getcha J.**, *Deux sources slaves pour l'histoire du Synaxaire constantinopolitain.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 177–197. – Velkovska. [1842

**Getcha J.**, *La réforme liturgique du métropolite Cyprien de Kiev.* Liminaire du Patriarche œcuménique Bartholomée. Préface de R. Taft, SJ. Patrimoines Orthodoxie. Paris, Cerf 2010. 587 p. ISBN 978-2-204-09129-9. – Velkovska. [1843

**Iliev I.**, *За краткото житие на св. Климент Охридски* (About the short life of St Kliment of Ohrid). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 81–91. With English summary. – The author of the Vita brevis of St Kliment is Demetrios Chomathenos, archbishop of Bulgarian Church in Ohrid in the second and third decade of the 13th c. – Nikolov. [1844

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Nr. 1887). – Nikolov.

**Ivanova K.**, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica.* Sofia, Akademično izdatelstvo «Prof. Marin Drinov» 2008. 720 S. ISBN 978-954-322-263-6. – Ein erster Systematisierungsversuch über Viten und Predigten aus dem Repertoire südslawischer (bulgarischer und serbischer) Manuskripte sowie über die in der Walachei und in der Moldau geschriebenen Codices. Der Titel (Kürzel BHBS) ist als Analogon zum grundlegenden Handbuch über byzantinische Hagiographie (BHG) von H. Delehaye und F. Halkin formuliert. Das BHBS erfasst 209 Manuskripte und Fragmente, chronologische Reichweite ist vom 11. bis zum 17. Jh. Das Material ist nach dem Kalender geordnet. Überaus wertvolles Nachschlagewerk im Bereich der slawischen Hagiographie. Die Arbeit ist auf hohem wissenschaftlichem Niveau mit der charakteristischen Präzision von K. Ivanova. Das Vorwort, das auf die Herangehensweise an das Buch verweist, ist ins Russische (S. 22–37) und Englische (S. 38–51) übersetzt. Im Anhang ist ein Katalog der verwendeten Manuskripte sowie Incipitarium und Register: der Heiligen und Festtage, der griechischen Namen der Heiligen und der Festtage, der Autoren, dazu ein chronologisches Register der verwendeten Manuskripte. Mit umfangreicher Bibliographie. – Nikolov. [1845

**Ivanova K.**, *Житие св. Григория Великого (BHG 721) в славянской кириллической традиции* (Nr. 501). – Nikolov.

**Ivanova K.**, *За два светогорски кодекса, съдържащи слова на Йоан Екзарх* (On two Athonite codices containing orations by John Exarch). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 228–247. With English summary. – The first codex is Bulgarian and belongs to the Zograph Monastery. It has call number II.в.3 (Zogr. 94). It dates from the third quarter of the 14th c. and is a reading menologion for November and December. The second codex is Serbian and is dated to the 60ies or 70ies of the 14th c. Its call number in the library of the Hilendar Monastery is 1457. Appendix: Zogr. 94. – Nikolov. [1846

**Ivanova M.**, *Пространното житие на св. Константин-Кирил във великите чети-минеи на митрополит Макарий* (The long life of St Constantine-Cyril in

the great reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./ Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 43–62. With English summary. – Russian metropolitan Makary (16th c.). – Nikolov. [1847

**Kenanov D.**, *Митрополит Киприан и новият Евтимиев превод на «Лествицата»* (Der Metropolit Kiprian und die neue Ewtimi'sche Übersetzung von «Lestviza»). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 165–190. – Im Anhang: ein altbulgarischer Text der Vita des hl. Johannes Klimakos. – Nikolov. [1848

**Konjavskaja E.**, *Штрихи к биографии митрополита Киприана по тверским летописным источникам* (Striche zur Biographie des Metropoliten Kiprian nach Quellen aus den Chroniken Tvers). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 145–156. – Nikolov. [1849

**Kriza Á.**, *Византийские источники богословия иконы в «Послании иконописцу»* (Byzantine sources of theology of icons in the "Letter to the Iconographer"). Studia Slavica Hungarica 54 (2009) 161–187, 407–427. – Juhász. [1850

**Kriza Á.**, *Византийские источники древнерусского богословия иконы – четьи тексты Торжества Православия* (Byzantine sources of Medieval Russian theology of icons – lections of the Feast of Orthodoxy). Studia Slavica Hungarica 51/3–4 (2006) 373–386. – Juhász. [1851

**Kriza Á.**, *Петр Гугнивый и Папесса. Антилатинская церковнославянская полемическая литература в Центральной Европе* (Peter the 'Stammerer', and the female Pope. Church Slavonic polemical literature against Latins in central Europe). Studia Slavica Hungarica 53/2 (2008) 397–405. – Juhász. [1852

**Krysko V.**, *Древнеславянский канон первоучителю Кириллу: источники и реконструкция (песнь шестая)* (The Old Church Slavonic canon to Cyril, the first teacher: its sources and reconstruction. Sixth ode). Palaeobulgarica 33/4 (2009) 3–59. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1853

**Larin V.**, *Peculiarity in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in Russia: commemoration of civil authorities.* Studia Liturgica 39 (2009) 15–22. – Velkovska. [1854

**Larin V.**, *The Byzantine hierarchical divine liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitarij. Text, translation, and analysis of the entrance rites.* OCA, 286. Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale 2010. 283 S. ISBN 978-88-7210-370-8. – Berger. [1855

**Larin V.**, *Toward the origins of singing "It is worthy" (Достойно есть) at the hierarch's entrance in the Russian pontifical rite.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle**

**G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 267–275. – Velkovska. [1856

**Miltenova A.**, *Неизвестно паренетично съчинение под формата на азбучен акростих (Предварително съобщение)* (Nr. 1812). – Nikolov.

**Minčeva A.**, *Лингвистични аргументи за времето на създаване на пространното Кирилово житие* (Linguistic arguments for dating the Long Life of St Cyril). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 31–42. With English summary. – The article examines the lexical and syntactical peculiarities of the text of the Vita in comparison with results of the studies made of the earlier Cyrillo-Methodian translations, the homilies from the Glagolita Clozianus and other texts from the beginning of Old Bulgarian literature. – Nikolov. [1857

**Mircea I. R.**, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves.* Sofia, Institut d'études balkaniques 2005. 260 p. ISBN 954-91085-4-6. – Repertorio utile, oltre che per gli autori slavi, anche per le numerose indicazioni relative alle versioni slave di autori bizantini, soprattutto ecclesiastici, con rinvio ai manoscritti slavi conservati in Romania. Corredato di incipitario, indice dei nomi, indici dei manoscritti. – D'Aiuto. [1858

**Mirčeva B.**, *Още един южнославянски препис на канона за Димитър Солунски* (One more south Slavonic copy of the canon dedicated to St Demetrios of Thessalonica). Palaeobulgarica 33/3 (2009) 27–33. With English summary. – First publication of the copy from the Russian State Library f. 310 (the collection of V. Undolski) 75. Dated to the beginning of the 14th c. – Nikolov. [1859

**Mirčeva E.**, *Старобългарските преводи на Златоустовото слово за Благовещение (Nr. 20 от Супрасълския сборник)* (The Old Bulgarian Translations of John Chrysostom's Sermon on the Annunciation. Item 20 in Codex Suprasliensis). Bălgarski ezik 57/2 (2010) 39–51. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1860

**Neševa V.**, *Мелнишкият манастир „Св. Богородица Спилеотиса" („Св. Зона") в нови документи* (Das Kloster der „Hl. Gottesmutter Spileotissa" [„Hl. Zona"] in Melnik in neuen Dokumenten). – **Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./ Nikolov V./Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1699) 519–531. – Vergleichende Untersuchung der Daten aus den schriftlichen Quellen (Actes de Vatopédi I–II) und den archäologischen Funden in Melnik im Zusammenhang mit diesem Kloster. Bereichert die Daten über den Kirchen- und Klosterbau in Melnik im 13.–14. Jh. Enthält Angaben über die mönchische Lebensweise und die Klosterwirtschaft im Mittelalter. – Nikolov. [1861

**Nikolova B.**, *Цар Петър и характерът на неговия култ* (Tsar Petăr and characteristic of his cult). Palaeobulgarica 33/2 (2009) 63–78. With English sum-

mary. – Bulgarian Tsar and Saint Petăr (927–969). Special attention is paid to liturgical texts. – Nikolov. [1862

**Nikolova G.**, *Псалтирните цитати в глаголическата бенедиктинска регула от остров Пашман* (Nr. 1813). – Nikolov.

**Parenti S.**, *Листы Крылова-Успенского: Вопросы методики изучения славянского текста византийских литургий* (The Krylov-Uspenskij folia: Questions in the study of Slavic texts of Byzantine liturgies). Palaeobulgarica 33/3 (2009) 3–26. With English summary. – Discusses the article by T. Afanasjeva (Palaeobulgarica 28/3 [2005] 17–35). – Nikolov. [1863

**Pavlov P.**, *Българи – духовни водачи в православна Европа по времето на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Bulgaren – geistige Führer im orthodoxen Europa zur Zeit des hl. Kiprian, Metropoliten von Moskau). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 325–341. – Nikolov. [1864

**Pavlova R.**, *Славянските светци в южнославянските преписи на Обикновения пролог* (The Slavic saints in the South Slavic copies of the ordinary prologue). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 215–227. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1865

**Pentkovskaja T.**, *Адаптация раннего болгарского перевода Иерусалимского Типикона в Древеней Руси (Рукопись РГДА, ф. 381, Nr. 45)* (Russian adaptation of the early Bulgarian translation of the Typikon of Jerusalem. Ms RGADA, F. 381, Nr. 45). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 323–340. With English summary. – Second half of the 14th c. – Nikolov. [1866

**Petkov G.**, *Проникването на стишния пролог в Русия и ролята на митрополит Киприан* (Das Eindringen des Versprologs in Russland und die Rolle des Metropoliten Kiprian). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 191–200. – Nikolov. [1867

**Podskalski G.**, *Средњовековна теолошка књижевност у Бугарској и Србији (865–1459).* Translated by Tropin T. and Aničić D, ed. Šijaković B. Beograd, [Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet] 2010. 686 p. ISBN 978-86-7405-068-2. – Translation of: Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien (865–1459), Munich 2000. Some mistakes of the German edition are corrected and some new references are added. For further corrections, the author refers to the review by F. Thomson in BZ 98 (2005) 503–549. – Dželebdžić. [1868

**Reinhart J.**, *Старобългарският превод на Житието на Симеон Юродиви: текстология и лексика* (Die Vita des Symeon Salos in altbulgarischer Übersetzung: Textologie und Lexikon). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./**

**Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 309–322. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Nikolov. [1869

**Romoli F.**, *Predicatori nelle terre slavo-orientali (XI–XIII sec.). Retorica e strategie comunicative.* Biblioteca di Studi Slavistici, 9. Firenze, Firenze University Press 2009. 385 p. ISBN 978-88-8453-949-6. – D'Aiuto. [1870

**Tachiaos A.-E. N.**, *Cirillo e Metodio di Tessalonica. Le radici cristiane della cultura slava.* (Nr. 326). – D'Aiuto.

**Thomson F. J.**, *The Symeonic Florilegium: An analysis of its relation to the Greek textological tradition and its association with Tsar Symeon, together with an appendix on the old believers and the Codex of 1073.* – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 248–308. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1871

**Tomova E.**, *Нова руска редакция на търновското проложно житие на св. Иван Рилски (РНБ, ф. 536, ОЛДП F. 493 от XVI в.)* (A new Russian redaction of the Tărnovo Prolog Vita of St John of Rile. Sankt Peterburg, Russian National Library, f. 536, OLDP F. 493, 16th c.). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 376–384. With Bulgarian summary. – Nikolov. [1872

**Tončeva H.**, *Глаголическо наследство в ръкописни требници от XVII век* (Glagolitic traditions in manuscript prayer-books of the 17th century). Palaeobulgarica 33/2 (2009) 51–62. With English summary. – Newly discovered copies of texts for the office of «The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of Epiphany», which are known only from the glagolitic Euchologium of Sinai (10th–11th c.). The copies were discovered in two manuscript prayer-books of the 17th c. («Saints Cyril and Methodius» National Library in Sofia, No 251 from 1641 and No 621). – Nikolov. [1873

**Tsibranska-Kostova M.**, *Богомилите в църковноюридическите текстове и паметници* (The Bogomils in canon-law texts and manuscripts). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 197–219. With English summary. – The article deals with the problem of how the Bogomils are presented in Slavic juridical manuscripts and what the place of the texts about them is among other textual components. These texts are gathered especially from manuscripts in depositories in Romania and Russia, where these texts were copied until the 17th c. Two very precious units from Bulgarian book holdings – MS slav. 1160 from the Library of the Church Historical and Archaeological Institute (14th c.) and MS slav. 1117 from the National Library (15th c.), both in Sofia, are among the most important sources on Bogomils in medieval Slavic studies. 4 fragments of old-bulgarian texts are added. – Nikolov. [1874

**Tsibranska-Kostova M.**, *Към историята на славянските юридически книги през Средновековието: Устюжката Кормчая от XIII–XIV в.* (Towards the history of the medieval Slavonic juridical books: The Ustjug Kormchja 13th–14th c.). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 341–351. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1875

**Turilov A. A.**, *Per la ricostruzione di una serie di menea slavi di Tarnovo del secondo quarto del XIV – metà del XIV secolo.* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 335–344. – Velkovska. [1876

**Uljanov O.**, *Литургическая реформа в Русской православной церкви на рубеже XIV-XV вв. в контексте русско-афонских связей* (Die liturgische Reform in der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche um die Jahrhundertwende vom 14 zum 15. Jh. im Kontext der Beziehungen zwischen Russland und Athos). – **Dončeva-Panajotova N.** (Hrsg.), *Киприянови четения 2. 600 години от Успението на св. Киприан, митрополит Московски* (Nr. 1724) 83–118. 12 Ill. – Behandelt die Tätigkeit des hl. Kiprian. – Nikolov. [1877

**Želyazkova V.**, *Описанието на скинията в старобългарския превод на Книга Изход* (The tabernacle accounts in the Old Bulgarian translation of Exodus). – **Bărlieva S./Graševa L./Dogramadžieva E./Slavova T./Filipova G.** (eds.), *Средновековието в огледалото на един филолог. Сборник в чест на Светлина Николова* (Nr. 1682) 152–165. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1878

**Zheltov M.**, *A Slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos from a lost manuscript (Athos Agiou Pavlou 149).* – **Galadza D./Glibetić N./Radle G.**, *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti.* (Nr. 1683) 345–359. – Velkovska. [1879

## E. GESCHICHTE

### a. Politische Geschichte

**Bibikov M. V.** (ed.), *Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников. Хрестоматия. Т. 2. Византийские источники* (Old Rus' as reflected in foreign sources. A reader. Vol. 2 Byzantine sources). Moscow, Russkij Fond Sodejstvija Obrazovaniju i Nauke 2010. 384 p. ISBN 978-5-91244-008-3. – Ivanov. [1880

**Dapergolas N.**, *Σλαβικές εγκαταστάσεις στη Μακεδονία από τον 7ο έως και τον 9ο αιώνα.* (Nr. 628). – Kotzabassi.

**Kardaras G.**, *The Bulgarians and the Avar Chaganate, 6th–9th c. A.D.* (Nr. 876). – Nikolov.

**Kardaras G.**, *Όψεις συμβίωσης, συνεργασίας και επιδράσεων μεταξύ Αράβων και Σλάβων, 6ος-9ος αι.* (Nr. 634). – Kotzabassi.

**Markov N.**, *Завоюването на Константинопол от латините през 1204 година и войните им с българите (според анонимна френска хроника от края на XIII век)* (Nr. 593). – Nikolov.

**Pavlov P.**, *Ивайло и Ногай (За българо-татарските отношения през 1277–1280 г.)* (Ivailo and Nogay. On the Bulgarian-Tatar relations, 1277–1280). – **Dimitrov D./Lečev V./Mutafova K./Dermendžieva S./Todorov I.** (eds.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Vol.III. В памет на д-р Иван Велков и проф. Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1698) 159–169. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1881

**Raev M.**, *The Russian-Byzantine treaty of 971. Theophilos and Sveneld.* REB 64–65 (2006–2007) 329–340. – Dans le cadre d'une enquête concernant le traité russo-byzantin de 971 (témoigné par la chronique Pověst' Vremennykh lět), deux aspects principaux sont traités: l'identité du synkellos envoyé par Jean Tzymiskès (dont le véritable nom ne serait pas Théophile, comme dans la chronique, mais Philothée, à identifier avec le métropolite d'Euchaïte) et la présence incongrue du nom de Sveneld dans le texte. Les deux erreurs, présentes aussi dans quelques textes byzantins, permettent de formuler des hypothèses au sujet des sources employées par Léon le Diacre et Jean Skylitzès. – Ronconi. [1882

**Révész É.**, *Ein bulgarisch-ungarischer Dux, Petăr Deljan.* – **Farkas Baráthi M./ Majoros H.** (eds.), *Българският език и литература на кръстопътя на културите. Международна конференция. Сегед, Унгария, 21–22 май 2007. г. том.* (Nr. 1728) 82–90. – Juhász. [1883

**Todorov T.**, *Вътрешнодинастичният проблем в България от края на 20-те – началото на 30-те години на X век* (The internal dynastic problem in Bulgaria in the late 920 s and the early 930 s). – **Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./ Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Nr. 1700) 263–279. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1884

**Živković T.**, *Sources de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète concernant le passé le plus ancien des Serbes et des Croates.* (Nr. 601). – Leontsini.

## b. Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte

**Dimitrov D.**, *Търговията с вино на западночерноморския пазар през XIV в.* (Der Weinhandel am Markt der westlichen Schwarzmeerküste im 14. Jh.). – **Štereva D./Dimitrov D./Borisov D.** (Hrsg.), *Историк със съдбата на творец и преподавател. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д.и.н. Людмил Спасов Т. 1.* (Nr. 1689) 82–91. – Der Artikel stützt sich auf italienische Dokumente (notarielle Urkunden des Genuesen Antonio di Ponzò, das Buch-

haltungsheft des Antonio Barberi). Behandelt wird der Import und der Export des Weins in Kilija, Vičina, Nikopol, Anchialo, Sozopol, Mesembria u.a. Schlussfolgerungen: Hohe Produktion, niedrige Ausfuhr, Wein von schlechter Qualität. – Nikolov. [1885

**Gagova N.**, *Владетели и книги. Участието на южнославянския владетел в производството и употребата на книги през Средновековието (IX–XV в.): рецепцията на византийския модел* (Herrscher und Bücher. Die Beteiligung des südslawischen Herrschers an der Produktion und Verwendung der Bücher im Mittelalter [9.–15. Jh.]: die Rezeption des byzantinischen Modells). Sofia, Izdatelstvo «PAM Publishing Company» 2010. 337 S. ISBN 978-954-92526-3-7. Bulgarisch, mit Zusammenfassungen in Englisch (S. 311–323) und Polnisch (S. 324–337). – Erster Versuch der Systematisierung von Auskünften über die Beteiligung der südslawischen Herrscher an der Produktion und Verwendung von Büchern im orthodoxen Mittelalter. Der Herrscher wird als ein Aufsichthabender über die Bibliotheken, als Vorsitzender der religiösen Konzile, als Ktitor, als Beschützer der Hofkultur dargestellt. Kommentiert werden die Unterschiede zwischen dem bulgarischen Zarenreich und dem serbischen Königreich hinsichtlich der Rezeption der byzantinischen Praktiken. Die Untersuchung stützt sich auf mehr als 300 bibliographische Einheiten und mehr als 180 Manuskripte und lässt deutlich werden, dass die institutionelle und persönliche Aktivität des Herrschers das Volumen und die Inhalte des Buchrepertoires, die Entwicklung der Buchproduktion in quantitativer und qualitativer Hinsicht sowie die Karriere der Schreibenden, literarische Kreise und Skriptorien wesentlich beeinflusst hat. Eine wertvolle Untersuchung. In kleiner Schrift gedruckt, die das Lesen erschwert. – Nikolov. [1886

**Iliev I.**, *Охридският архиепископ Димитър Хоматиан и българите* (Der Erzbischof von Ochrid Demetrios Chomatianos und die Bulgaren). Sofia, Izdatelska kăsta «Anubis» 2010, 335 S. ISBN 978-954-426-876-3. – Eine großangelegte Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Erzbistums von Ochrid. Der Autor unterscheidet drei Perioden in dessen Geschichte: 1. Ende des 10. – Ende des 12. Jh.s. 2. Anfang des 12. – Anfang des 15. Jh.s. 3. 15. Jh. – 1870–1874. Behandelt wird die literarische Tätigkeit des Theophylaktos von Ochrid und des Bischofs Michael von Devol. Enthält eine detaillierte Biographie des Demetrios Chomatianos (der Autor bevorzugt die Form Chomatianos, und nicht Chomatenos). Der zentrale Teil der Arbeit ist mit dessen literarischer Tätigkeit verknüpft: Ponemata diaphora und die kurze Vita des Kliment von Ochrid. Eine Sonderposition wird hier der bulgarischen Onomastik im schriftlichen Erbe des Demetrios Chomatianos eingeräumt, sowie seinen Beziehungen zu den bulgarischen Gemeindemitgliedern und den Auskünften über das Alltagsleben im Gebiet des Erzbistums von Ochrid. Veröffentlicht sind im Anhang 48 Dokumente (vollständig bzw. gekürzt) in bulgarischer Übersetzung aus Ponemata diaphora nach der Ausgabe von G. Prinzing (Nr 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, 23, 32, 34, 40, 48, 51, 52, 58, 59, 65, 66, 72, 73, 74, 76, 81, 82, 89, 91, 94, 102, 103, 107, 114, 116, 120, 123, 124, 126, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 150). Der größte Teil wird zum ersten Mal übersetzt, bei manchen ist

eine frühere Übersetzung korrigiert worden. In bulgarischer Übersetzung steht hier ebenso die kurze Vita des St. Kliment Ochridski. – Nikolov. [1887

**Kažarov A. Ch.**, *Византия и Русь. Роль социально-политических учений Византии в развитии государственных концепций Московской Руси* (Byzantium and Rus'. The role of Byzantine socio-political theories in the development of the concept of statehood in Muscovite Rus'). Moscow, Vorobiev 2009. 136 p. ISBN 978-5-93883-093-6. – Ivanov. [1888

**Kyučukova I./Jordanov I.**, *Византийските тъкани и българският владетелски двор (X в.) (Печат на епарха, химатин и екзопрат Филотей, намерен в Преслав)* (Nr. 1347). – Nikolov.

**Marín Riveros J.**, *Bizancio, los eslavos y Europa Oriental.* Byzantion Nea Hellas 28 (2009) 53–67. – Signes. [1889

**Rašev R.** (†), *Цар Симеон историкът* (Zar Simeon der Historiker). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 76–83. – Kommentiert Auskünfte über die Geschichtskenntnisse des bulgarischen Zaren Simeon (893–927). Verwendet vorwiegend Briefe des Konstantinopeler Patriarchen Nikolaos I. Mystikos. In einem kurzen Anhang wird auf historische Personifikationen von Herrschern des frühmittelalterlichen Bulgarien in den byzantinischen Quellen verwiesen: Khan Krum (796–814) wird mit dem assyrischen Herrscher Senaherim (705–680) und Khan Boris I./Michael (852–889) mit dem Kaiser Konstantin dem Großen verglichen (306–337). – Nikolov. [1890

**Slavova T.**, *Владетел и администрация в ранносредновековна България. Филологически аспекти* (Der Herrscher und die Amtsträger im frühmittelalterlichen Bulgarien. Philologische Aspekte). Sofia, Izdatelstvo «PAM Publishing Company» 2010. 342 S. ISBN 978-954-92526-5-1. Bulgarisch, mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung in englischer Sprache (S. 340–342). – Eine originelle Untersuchung, gewidmet den Titeln und den Ämtern im bulgarischen Khanat/Zarenreich bis 1018. Der Hauptteil der Arbeit gilt den protobulgarischen Titeln und Ämtern. Behandelt werden die Titel des bulgarischen Herrschers in den byzantinischen Quellen sowie der Prozess der Slawisierung bulgarischer Titel und Ämter. Das Buch ist aufschlussreich sowohl für die Byzantinistik und Bulgaristik als auch für die Turkologie. Mit reichhaltiger Bibliographie. In einer kleiner Schrift gedruckt, die das Lesen erschwert. – Nikolov. [1891

**Slavova T.**, *Титулът таркан – почетно звание и/или длъжност* (Tarkan – an honorific title and/or an administrative function)? Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 30–44. With English summary. – Comments on the usage of the title and its double function in epigraphic and literary monuments from the 9th/10th c. (i.e. Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions, Greek sources, Slavic original and translated works). – Nikolov. [1892

## F. GEOGRAPHIE, TOPOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE

**Bonev Č.**, *Праславянските племена. Част IV (Л–Я)* (The Proto-Slavic tribes. Part III. [L–J]). Sofia, 2010. 203 p. ISBN 978-954-8697-09-5. Bulgarian with English summary (p. 173). – Nikolov. [1893

**Dapergolas N.**, *Τοπωνυμικά και ανθρωπωνυμικά τεκμήρια σλαβικών εγκαταστάσεων στην περιοχή του Παγγαίου κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο.* (Nr. 815). – Kotzabassi.

**Stančeva M.**, *София от древността до нови времена* (Nr. 726). – Nikolov.

**Žekova Ž.**, *Походът на Исак II Ангел в България от 1190 година. Опит за нумизматична реконструкция според данните от колективните монетни находки* (The military campaign of Isaac II Angelos in Bulgaria from 1190. An attempt for numismatic reconstruction according to hoards). – **Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Nr. 1700) 117–123. With English summary. – A number of hoards found in Bulgaria traces the route once from Constantinople to Tărnovo and back. Interesting. – Nikolov. [1894

## G. ARCHÄOLOGE UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE

### a. Ostslavischer Bereich

**Dmitrieva S.**, *The depiction of warrior saints in the frescoes of 1380 at the Holy Saviour in Kovaliovo. Whether Balkan masters painted the Novgorod church?* Zograf 33 (2009) 121–135. 15 photos, 2 drawings. With Serbian summary. – The analysis of the selection, iconography and style of the warrior saints in the Kovaliovo church confirms that its master-painters originated from a Balkan center closely linked to Thessaloniki. At the same time, it seems that the best pieces of the Kovaliovo fresco paintings bear the legacy of Theophanes the Greek. Thus, the theory that the Kovaliovo frescoes resemble the art of the Morava school in Serbia, established by V. N. Lazarev, should be rejected. – Krsmanović. [1895

**Starodubcev T.**, *Култ Богородице Ζωοδόχος Πηγή и његов одјек у сликарству у доба Палеолога* (Nr. 1134). – Dželebdžić.

### b. Südslavischer Bereich

**Aleksiev J.**, *За средновековните църкви-гробници от столичния Търнов* (About the cemeterial churches in capital Tărnovo). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In*

*memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 271–283. num. ills. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1896

**Aleksiev J.**, *Църква Nr. 10 на Царевец* (Church Nr 10 from Tsarevets). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 255–259. num. ill. – Church in the medieval Bulgarian capital Tărnovo, with a monastery from the early 14th c. – Nikolov. [1897

**Angelova S.** (†), *Отново за т. нар. пастирска керамика* (Erneut über die sog. Hirtenkeramik). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 13–17. – Ein polemischer Artikel. In den Ländern südlich der Donau wird diese Keramik massenweise vom Ende des 7. bis Ende des 9. Jh.s hergestellt. – Nikolov. [1898

**Apostolov K.**, *Накити със зооморфни и антропоморфни изображения от некропола край град Омуртаг* (Jewelry with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images from necropolis near Omurtag town). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 272–277. num. ills. With English summary. – Northeastern Bulgaria, dated to the 9th–13th. – Nikolov. [1899

**Balabanov T.**, *Костена апликация с изображение на слон от Велики Преслав* (A bone application with an image of elephant from Veliki Preslav). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 155–164. 5 ills. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1900

**Barakov V.**, *Крепостното строителство по горното течение на реките Росица и Янтра през късната античност и средновековието* (Fortress-building along the upper courses of the rivers Rositsa and Yantra in Late Antiquity and the Mediaeval period). Arheologia 51/1–2 (2010) 47–60. num. ills. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1901

**Bonev S.**, *Амулет „печенежки“ тип – за първи път в Преслав* («Pecheneg» type of amulet – found for the first time in Veliki Preslav). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 178–182. With English summary. – Dated to the 11th c. – Nikolov. [1902

**Bonev S.**, *Преславската резба върху кост (стари творби нови находки)* (Preslav bone-cutting. Old works and new finds). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 143–153. 6 photos. With English summary. – Bone pieces from the 10th c. of Veliki Preslav's bone-cutting workshops. – Nikolov. [1903

**Christova M.**, *Керамични съдове от биритуалния некропол в Балчик* (Clay vessels from the biritual necropolis in Balchik). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 72–84.

With English summary. – Northeastern Bulgaria, dated to the late 7th–8th c. – Nikolov. [1904

**Čokoev I.**, *За предназначението на одеждата с монограми на цар Иван Александър (1331–1371) от разкопките на храма "Св. Никола" до с. Станичене, Пиротско* (Nr. 1346). – Nikolov.

**Cvetković B.**, *Two medieval swords from the Regional Museum in Jagodina.* Starinar 59 (2009) 237–246. 4 fig. With Serbian summary. – One of these swords was found near the Kalinić monastery and the second one near the town of Ćuprija. The author rejects the typological classification of the first sword existing in scholarly literature, and suggests that both specimens probably originated from the same workshop. – Dželebdžić. [1905

**Dermendžiev E.**, *Северната кула на средновековната крепост на хълма Трапезица във Велико Търново* (The north tower of the mediaeval fortress on the Trapezitsa Hill in Veliko Tărnovo). Arheologia 50/3–4 (2009) 48–67. num. ills. With English summary. – Present the building periods (13th–14th c.). – Nikolov. [1906

**Dimitrova D.**, *Боянската черква (археологическо проучване 1985–1991 г.)* (Die Kirche von Bojana. Eine archäologische Untersuchung 1985–1991). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 710–726. – Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. – Nikolov. [1907

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна бронзова икона с изображения на Христос Пантократор и Богородица Кириотиса от района на Преслав* (Two-sided bronze icon with Christ Pantocrator and the Virgin Kiriotisa [Nikopeya] from the Veliki Preslav region). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 170–177. num. ills. With English summary. – Dated to the 11th–12th c. – Nikolov. [1908

**Dončeva S.**, *Двустранна оловна икона (евлогия) от Преслав* (A bilateral lead icon [Evlogia] from Veliki Preslav). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 219–228. num. ills. With English summary. – With relief images of Christ Pantocrator and Mother of God, made in Constantinople or a provincial Byzantine atelier, dated to the 11th c. – Nikolov. [1909

**Dončeva-Petkova L./Tihov T.**, *За един тип кръстове-енколпиони и производството им в средновековна България* (About a type of enkolpia and their production in medieval Bulgaria). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./ Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 223–230. 12 photos. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1910

**Filipović A.**, *Хипотеза о пројектовању унутрашњег простора цркве Ђурђеви ступови* (L'ipotesi sulla progettazione dello spazio della chiesa Djurdjevi stu-

povi). Starinar 59 (2009) 221–236. 5 drawings, 8 photos. With Italian summary. – Krsmanović. [1911

**Georgieva R.**, *Гроб на знатна преславска дама от XIII в.* (A grave of a Veliki Preslav noble lady from the 13th c.). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./ Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 259–264. num. ills. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1912

**Gizdova N.**, *Некрополът на крепостта Цепина при с. Дорково, Пазрджишко* (The necropolis of the Tsepina fortress, Pazardzhik district). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 258–289. With English summary. – Dated to the 11th–12th c. The necropolis ceased to function in the late 12th or early 13th c. when the fortress was constructed. – Nikolov. [1913

**Iacubovschi O.**, *Der Akathistos Hymnos im 16. Jahrhundert. Narthexprogramm der Klosterkirchen in der Wallachei.* Revue des études sud-est européennes 48 (2010) 77–90. – Berger. [1914

**Ivanov I.**, *Върху датирането и стилистичните особености на старинна българска икона на св. Йоан Богослов, намерена в гр. Демир Капия, Република Македония* (Über die Datierung und stilistischen Besonderheiten einer alten bulgarischen Ikone Johannes' des Theologen, gefunden in Demir Kapija, Republik Makedonien). – **Charitonov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *От регионалното към националното. Юбилеен сборник в чест на чл. кор. проф. дмн Йордан Йорданов* (Nr. 1668) 168–179. – Eine kleine steinerne Ikone mit dem Bildnis Johannes' des Theologen (10.–12. Jh.). Gefunden bei archäologischen Ausgrabungen in Prosek 1950–1952, gegenwärtig aufbewahrt in Skopie. Der Autor präzisiert die griechische Inschrift und macht auf die Ikonographie (Haartracht des Heiligen) aufmerksam. Die Ikone steht in enger Beziehung zu mehreren Werken der bulgarischen Reliefplastik aus der Zeit vor und unmittelbar nach der Christianisierung der Bulgaren. – Nikolov. [1915

**Karailiev P.**, *Военна сграда до Северната порта на крепостта Трапезица във Велико Търново* (The military building by the North Gate of the Trapezitsa Castle in Veliko Tărnovo). Arheologia 50/3–4 (2009) 68–76. num. ills. With English summary. – Dated to the 13th–14th c. – Nikolov. [1916

**Komitova T.**, *Сграфито керамика от Никополис ад Нестум* (Sgraffito pottery from Nicopolis ad Nestum). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 279–298. Num. ills. With English summary. – Mostly polychrome pottery. Colored glaze, underglaze spots and stripes in deep brown, yellow-brown and green emphasize separate ornaments and give a rich color of the decoration, as the preference for green is noticeable. With parallels from Melnik, Seres, Thessalonica. – Nikolov. [1917

**Manolova-Vojkova M.**, *За характера на керамиката във Велики Преслав през XIII в.* (About the nature of pottery in Veliki Preslav in to the 13th c.). –

**Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 207–218. With English summary. – The presence of imports from Tărnovo, Mesembria and Byzantine centers can be regarded as a reliable indicator of trade contacts, which the settlement supports during this period with the adjacent world. – Nikolov. [1918

**Milanova A.**, *Амвон от Созопол от края на XI-началото на XII в. Към проблема за средновизантийските амвони* (Nr. 921). – Nikolov.

**Moreva-Arabova R.**, *За диадемата от Велинградското съкровище* (About the diadem from the Velingrad treasure). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./ Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 265–268. 3 photos. With English summary. – The diadem belongs to a treasure discovered in Velingrad (in the West Rhodopi mountains), which in 1926 was bought by the Archaeological museum in Plovdiv. It consists of 12 knuckle-joint rectangular copper plates. The lamellae are gilded, silvered and additionally decorated with filigrees, granules and inlaying of enamels. Dated to the second half of the 14th c. – Nikolov. [1919

**Neševa V.**, *Бронзов катинар със зооморфно изображение от църквата "Св. Никола" в Мелник* (A bronze padlock with a zoomorphic figure from the church «St. Nicolas» in Melnik). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./ Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 231–237. ill. With English summary. – The padlock in the form of a goat found in the old Metropolitan's church in Melnik. Dated to the 10th–14th/ 15th c. – Nikolov. [1920

**Neševa V.**, *Мелнишкият манастир „Св. Богородица Спилеотиса" („Св. Зона") в нови документи* (Nr. 1861). – Nikolov.

**Pavlović D.**, *Богородичин циклус у Благовештенској цркви манастира Градца* (Nr. 1132). – Krsmanović.

**Penkova B.**, *Образът на св. Йоан Рилски в Боянската църква* (The image of St John of Rile in the Boyana church). Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 163–183. 8 b/w ills. With English summary. – The oldest preserved image of St John of Rila, dating from 1259. The formation of his iconography is a part of the development of the saint's cult in the capital of Tărnovo after 1195 when his relics were translated there from Sredec. The article raises the question if some depictions of St John of Rile were created in Sredec (where his relics were kept for more than a century and where a local cult was formed). According to the author the few images of St. John of Rile dating before the 15th c. could be divided in two groups, defined as «Sredec type» and «Tărnovo type». The painting in the Boyana church belongs to the former. – Nikolov. [1921

**Rabovyanov D.**, *За употребата на прашката като оръжие в средновековна България* (The using of sling for war in Mediaeval Bulgaria). – **Petrunova B./ Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 261–269. 2 ills. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1922

**Radeva M.**, *Оловна ампула от Сливен* (Nr. 1251). – Nikolov.

**Rašev R.** (†), *Още за елена като символ в Първото българско царство* (More about deer as a symbol in the first Bulgarian Tsardom). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 121–127. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1923

**Rašev R.** (†), *Още за християнския смисъл на някои "прабългарски" знаци* (Something else on the Christian meaning of some «Protobulgarian» signs). – **Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Nr. 1700) 25–31. ill. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1924

**Rašev R.** (†), *Попина – Градището (Калето): антична крепост и ранносредновековно землено укрепление* (Popina – Gradishteto [Kaleto]: A antic fortress and early mediaeval earthen fortification). – **Dončeva-Petkova L./Neševa V./Aladžov A.** (Hrsg.), *Приноси към българската археология* (Nr. 1793) 85–93. num. ills. With English summary. – The fortress is one of the three Roman castles on the Limes that were used by the Bulgarian Khanat after 681. – Nikolov. [1925

**Starodubcev T.**, *Култ Богородице Ζωοδόχος Πηγή и његов одјек у сликарству у доба Палеолога* (Nr. 1134). – Dželebdžić.

**Štereva I.**, *Новооткрита поклонническа ампула от Велики Преслав* (A newly discovered pilgrim's ampulla from Veliki Preslav). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 243–249. ill. With English summary. – On one side is depicted the Virgin Orans with the Child in front of her chest. On the other side is St. Demetrios as a warrior. Dated to the 12th c. – Nikolov. [1926

**Totev K.**, *За изображенията върху оловна ампула – кутрувия от музея в Шумен* (The images on a lead ampulla-kutruvia from Shumen museum). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 251–257. ill. With English summary. – With images of St. Demetrios and St. Nestor. Dated to the 13th c. – Nikolov. [1927

**Totev K.**, *Нагръдна икона с изображения на св. Георги-войн и Христос Пантократор* (A pectoral icon with images of St George-Warrior and Christ Pantocrator). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 305–309. 4 ills. With English summary. – Stone icon with silver facing. Dated to the second half of 13th-the beginning of the 14th c. – Nikolov. [1928

**Totev K.**, *Новооткрита църква (Nr. 19) в средновековния град Трапезица* (A newly discovered church [Nr. 19] in the mediaeval town of Trapezitsa).

Arheologia 50/3–4 (2009) 77–91. num. ills. With English summary. – Veliko Tărnovo, Bulgaria. – Nikolov. [1929

**Totev T.**, *Д-р Иванка Акрабова-Жандова и преславсаката рисувана керамика* (Ph.D. Ivanka Akrabova-Jandova and the painted pottery from Preslav). – **Vaklinova M./Štereva I./Neševa V./Dimitrov P./Manolova-Vojkova M.** (eds.), *Иванка Акрабова Жандова. In memoriam* (Nr. 1652) 1–5. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1930

**Totev T.**, *За една колекция средновековни керамични икони от Търновград и Червен* (Über eine Sammlung mittelalterlicher keramischer Ikonen aus Tărnovo und Červen). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 680–690. – 15 winzige Reliefikonen aus dem 13.–14. Jh. – Nikolov. [1931

**Totev T.**, *Още за един кръст-енколпион от Велики Преслав* (On a rare Enkolpion cross from Veliki Preslav). – **Karajotov I./Jordanov I./Rašev R./Nedelčev N.** (eds.), *Юбилеен сборник в чест на доц. д-р Стоян Витлянов по случай неговата 60-годишнина* (Nr. 1700) 32–38. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1932

## H. NUMISMATIK, SIGILLOGRAPHIE, EPIGRAPHIK

**Atanasov G.**, *Монети, монетарници и монетно обращение в Добруджанското деспотство през втората половина на XIV век. Част II. Местни, чужди и български монети* (Nr. 1359). – Nikolov.

**Atanasov G./Russev N.**, *Средневековые болгарские и ордынские монеты XIII–XIV вв. из укрепления близ с. Пожарево на Нижнем Дунае* (Mediaeval Bulgarian and Golden Horde coins of 13th–14th centuries from a fort near Pozharevo village on the Lower Danube). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 389–402. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1933

**Avdev S.**, *Венецианските и генуезките perperi comunali и perperi latini* (The Venetian and Genoese perperi comunali and perperi latini). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 153–170. Pl. XVI–XVII. With English summary. – Presents the gold perperi from the mid–13th c. with name of Emperor John. The view has been advanced that all of them imitate the type imobilise, and that the municipalities of the Venetian and Genoese merchants of the Balkans minted them to serve their trade in South-eastern Europe and some regions in the Northern Black Sea coast and Asia Minor. The pieces among them minted in the largest quantities are known from the written sources as perperi comunali and perperi latini. – Nikolov. [1934

**Čadžiev K.**, *Надписът на Мария от средновековния град Червен* (Die Inschrift der Maria aus der mittelalterlichen Stadt Červen). – **Aladžova D./Božkova A./Delev P./Nikolov V./Prešlenov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *Сборник в памет на професор*

*Велизар Велков* (Nr. 1699) 508–518. – Eine altbulgarische Gedenkinschrift aus Červen (heutiges Nordbulgarien). Dem Autor zufolge ist die darin erwähnte „Maria, Gemahlin des Zaren Assen“ die bulgarische Zarin, Tochter des ungarischen Königs Andreas II. (1205–1235) und Gemahlin des bulgarischen Zaren Ivan Assen II. (1218–1241). Nach Auskunft des Georgios Akropolites stirbt sie 1237, als Ivan Assen II. die Festung Tzurulon in Thrakien belagert. – Nikolov. [1935

**Dočev K.**, *Монетни находки и парично обращение (XII–XIV в.) в средновековния "Перперикон" (Кърджалийска област)* (Coin finds [12th–14th c.] from the medieval town of Perperikon, Kărdzhali region). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 171–190. Pl. XVIII. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1936

**Dočev K.**, *Нов вариант медна монета на цар Иван Александър (1331–1371) с царица Теодора II* (A new version of a copper coin of Tsar Ivan Alexandăr (1331–1371) with Tsaritsa Theodora II). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 359–363. With English summary. – The published coin belongs to the early emissions of copper used to propagate and popularize the second marriage of Tsar Ivan Alexandăr with the newly baptised Jew Theodora II (1347). – Nikolov. [1937

**Dočev K.**, *Паричните кризи в България през XIII–XIV в.* (Die Geldkrisen in Bulgarien im 13.–14. Jh.). – Lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Verwendung der byzantinischen Münzen in Bulgarien. – Nikolov. [1938

**Dolmova-Lukanovska M.**, *Нумизматични и сфрагистични данни за владетелските инсигнии на търновските царе* (Daten aus Numismatik und Sphragistik über die Herrrscherinsignien der Zaren in Tarnovo). – **Charitonov Ch.** (Hrsg.), *От регионалното към националното. Юбилеен сборник в чест на чл. кор. проф. дмн Йордан Йорданов* (Nr. 1668) 180–189. – Präsentiert die Zeichen der Macht auf Grund von Münzen und Siegeln (sowie Siegelringen) vom Ende des 12. bis zum 14. Jh. Die Autorin meint, dass die Insignien nach byzantinischem Muster ausgearbeitet wurden. – Nikolov. [1939

**Džanev G./Nikolov N.**, *Две колективни находки от средновековни български и ранноосмански монети* (Two hoards of mediaeval Bulgarian and early Ottoman coins). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 373–388. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1940

**Gerasimova V.**, *Драгашите. Пръстенът на Константин Драгаш* (The Dragash family. The ring of Constantine Dragash). – *Studia in honorem professoris Ivan Jordanov.* (Nr. 1667) 343–362. Pl. XXXVI–XXXIX. With English summary. – The silver ring of extraordinary workmanship containing monograms of the name of its owner Constantine Dragash († 1395), the last sovereign of Velbazhd. Now in the Museum of History, Kyustendil. – Nikolov. [1941

**Grigorov V.**, *Новооткрит печат на цар Петър и царица Мария* (Nr. 1439). – Nikolov.

**Guruleva V.**, *Болгарские монеты XIV века, найденные в восточном Крыму (из частной коллекции)* (14th century Bulgarian coins found in Eastern Crimea. From a private collection). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 370–372. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1942

**Hristov N.**, *Бронзови теглилки от късноантичната и средновековната крепост Проват-Овеч* (Nr. 1370). – Nikolov.

**Jordanov I.**, *Неизвестен печат на цар Петър I (927–969 г.)* (Ein unbekanntes Siegel des Zaren Peter I. 927–969). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./ Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 727–730. Abb. – Ein seltenes Siegel mit Inschrift in kyrillischer Schrift aus der Sammlung von Dumbarton Oaks. Die Zweifel an seiner Authentizität werden durch die Entdeckung zweier weiterer Exemplare vom selben Typ in Bulgarien beseitigt. – Nikolov. [1943

**Jordanov I.**, *Новооткрит печат на Стефан, митрополит на Йоанопол (70-те години на X в.)* (Nr. 1440). – Nikolov.

**Konakliev A./Dončeva S.**, *Колективна находка от сребърни грошове (XIV в.) в Преслав* (A collective find of silver grossos [14th c.] from Veliki Preslav). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (éds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Bd. II.* (Nr. 1695) 247–254. With English summary. – Among the original and imitative Serbian and Venetian coins found, one proved to be a silver grosso of the type «MIhOHl ASENV» with diameter of 19 mm and weight of 1.00 gram. – Nikolov. [1944

**Kuzmanov K.**, *Неописан тип медна монета на цар Иван Срацимир (1355–1396)* (Unidentified coin type of Tsar Ivan Sratsimir, 1355–1396)? Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (2008) 364–369. With English summary. – Nikolov. [1945

**Minkova M.**, *За прекъсването на монетното обращение в Берое в началото на VII в.* (Nr. 1394). – Nikolov.

**Popkonstantinov K.**, *За два оловни амулета от X век от Варненския музей* (About two 10th century lead amulets in the Museum of Varna). Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/2 (2008) 301–313. With English summary. – One of them with Cyrillic text on the both sides. The second amulet is distinctive by the fact that it is inscribed in Glagolitic. – Nikolov. [1946

**Popkonstantinov K./Miklas H.**, *Оловен амулет с глаголически текст* (Nr. 1825). – Nikolov.

**Slavova T.**, *Титулът таркан – почетно звание и/или длъжност* (Nr. 1892). – Nikolov.

**Todorov T.**, *Един аспект от политическото наследство на цар Симеон (893–927): Престолонаследието* (Ein Aspekt vom politischen Erbe des Zaren Simeon [893–927]: Die Thronfolge). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./**

**Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 84–101. – Kommentiert bleierne Siegel der Söhne des Zaren Simeon. – Nikolov. [1947

**Vladimirova-Aladžova D./Aladžov Ž.**, *Новооткрити средновековни тежести еталони* (Nr. 1391). – Nikolov.

**Žekova Ž.**, *Непубликувани печати на цар Петър I (927–969) от колекцията на регионален исторически музей – Шумен* (Unveröffentlichte Siegel des Zaren Petăr I. [927–969] aus der Sammlung eines regionalen historischen Museums – Šumen). – **Pavlovska Z./Boneva V./Radojnova D./Vitljanov S./Nedelčev N./ Paraskevov V.** (Hrsg.), *Историкии 2. Научни изследвания в чест на доцент д-р Стоян Танев по случай неговата 70-годишнина* (Nr. 1692) 731–734. – Zwei Gruppen von Siegeln des Zaren Petăr und Maria. Mit Fotos. – Nikolov. [1948

**Žekova Ž.**, *Оловни монети на император Алексий I Комнин (1081–1118) от България* (Nr. 1410). – Nikolov.

## 15. REZENSIONEN (IN AUSWAHL)

*Byzantine coins in central Europe between the 5th and 10th century. Proceedings from the conference organised by Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Institute of Archaeology University of Rzeszow under the patronage of Union Academique Internationale (Programme No. 57 Moravia Magna) Kraków, 23–26 IV 2007* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 3695) – Revue numismatique 166 (2010) 587–594 (Morrisson C.). [1949

**Abramowski L./Mühlenberg E./Conte P./Thümmel H. G./Nedungatt G./ Agrestini S./Lamberz E./Uphus J. B./Alberigo G./Ritter A.-M.**, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta. Editio critica I. The Oecumenical Councils. From Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325–787)* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2813) – OrChrist 92 (2008) 245–246 (Kaufhold H.). [1950

**Allen P.** (transl.), *Sophronius of Jerusalem and seven-century heresy. The synodical letter and other documents. Introduction, texts, translations and commentary* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2723) – Journal of Theological Studies 61 (2010) 386–389 (Wickham L. R.). [1951

**Amerise M.**, *Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande. Storia di una scomoda eredità* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2593) – Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 5 (2008) 266–271 (Zamagni C.). [1952

**Asolati M.** (ed.), *I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflativi nel mondo antico e medieval. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria, Padova, 12–13 ottobre 2007* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1358) – Revue numismatique 166 (2010) 596 (Bompaire M.). [1953

**Aulisa I./Schiano C.** (eds.), *Dialogo di Papisco e Filone giudei con un monaco* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 678) – Litterae Caelestes n.s. 3 (2008–2009 [2010]) 278–281 (Magnani A.); Maia 60 (2008) 114–117 (Viggiani M.C.). [1954

**Bagnall R. S.** (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2900) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 193–196 (Sarris P.). [1955

**Bagnall S.**, *Early Christian books in Egypt* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 192) – Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 191–93 (Rousseau P.). [1956

**Banchich Th. M./Lane E. N.** (transl.), *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 100) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 101–103 (Whitby M.). [1957

**Baun J.**, *Tales from another Byzantium. Celestial journey and local community in the medieval Greek apocrypha* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 594) – Journal of Ecclesiastical History 61 (2010) 370 (Magdalino P.). [1958

**Beeley Ch. A.**, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the knowledge of God. In your light we shall see light* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2650) – JECS 18 (2010) 147 f. (Turcescu L.); Journal of Theological Studies 61 (2010) 352–355 (Widdicombe P.). [1959

**Beihammer A.**, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 367* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 156) – HZ 289 (2009) 745–746 (Pratsch Th.). [1960

**Belke K./Kislinger E./Külzer A./Stassinopoulou M. A.** (Hrsg.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3704) – Südost-Forschungen 67 (2008) 375–378 (Tinnefeld F.). [1961

**Berger A.** (ed.), *Life and works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. Introduction, critical edition and translation* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 738) – OrChrist 92 (2008) 250–254 (Müller W. W.). [1962

**Bevegni C.** (transl.), *Eudocia Augusta, Storia di San Cipriano* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2040) – Maia 59 (2007) 418–423 (Viggiani M.C.). [1963

**Blanchet M.-H.**, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 457) – AHC 40 (2008) 229–232 (Stefec R.). [1964

**Blum W./Seitter W.** (Hrsg.), *Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355–1452). Reformpolitiker, Philosoph, Verehrer der alten Götter* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 2051) – BZ 104 (2011) 193–198 (Backes Th.). [1965

**Bonamente G./Cracco G./Rosen K.** (a cura di), *Costantino il Grande tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del Convegno (Trento 22–24 aprile 2004)* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1711) – Archivio Storico Italiano 168/1 (2010) 175–178 (Terenzi P.). [1966

**Bowersock G. W.** (transl.), *Lorenzo Valla. On the Donation of Constantine* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 343) – Roma nel Rinascimento s.n. (2009) 241–243 (Bianca C.). [1967

**Bowes K.**, *Private worship, public values, and religious change in late antiquity* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 608) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 253–255 (Baker-Brian N.). [1968

**Brodersen K./Elsner J.**, *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus". Working Papers on P. Artemid (St. John's College Oxford 2008)* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2509) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.20 (Burstein S. M.). [1969

**Brownsworth L.**, *Lost to the West: The forgotten Byzantine empire that rescued Western civilization* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2944) – The International History Review 32/2 (2010) 331–333 (Greenfield R. P. H.). [1970

**Brüx R.**, *Faltkapitelle. Untersuchungen zur Bauskulptur Konstantinopels. Mit einem Anhang zur Polyeuktoskirche in Istanbul* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3263) – Gnomon 82 (2010) 455–460 (Krumeich K.). [1971

**Börm H.**, *Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 108) – HZ 289 (2009) 431–432 (Kettenhofen E.); Gnomon 82 (2010) 374–375 (Treadgold W.). [1972

**Cappozzo M.**, *Il cristianesimo nel Medio Egitto* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 318) – Rudiae 20–21 (2008–2009) 474–482 (Rotondo A.). [1973

**Caragounis Ch. C.** (ed.), *Greek. A language in evolution. Essays in honour of Antonios N. Jannaris* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 246) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2011.01.10 (Karvounis Ch.). [1974

**Casiday A. M.**, *Evagrius Ponticus* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2825) – Journal of Theological Studies 61 (2010) 358 f. (Plested M.). [1975

**Cheynet J. C.**, *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 1609) – JÖB 59 (2009) 254–259 (Seibt W.). [1976

**Coakley S./Stang C. M.** (eds.), *Re-thinking Dionysius the Areopagite* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 4044) – Church History 79 (2010) 687–690 (Wear S. K.). [1977

**Congourdeau M.-H.**, *L'embryon et son âme dans les sources grecques (VIe siècle av. J.-C. – Ve siècle apr. J.-C.)* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 1641) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2011.01.16 (Lepicar E.). [1978

**Cooper K./Hillner J.** (eds.), *Religion, dynasty, and patronage in early Christian Rome, 300–900* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 752) – Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 195–197 (Straw C.); The Classical Review 60 (2010) 251–253 (Denzey Lewis N.). [1979

**Cormack R./Haldon J./Jeffreys E.** (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 3970) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 191–193 (Woods D.). [1980

**Cortesi M./Fiaschi S.** (ed.), *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa: secoli XV–XVI* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 201) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.02 (Deligiannis I.). [1981

**Cox Miller P.**, *The corporeal imagination: signifying the Holy in late ancient Christianity* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2497) – Journal of Religion 90 (2010) 568–569 (Miles M.); JECS 18 (2010) 336–339 (Frank G.). [1982

**Cribiore R.**, *The school of Libanius in late antique Antioch* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2350) – Gymnasium 115 (2008) 296–297 (Horster M.). [1983

**Crogiez-Pétrequin S./Jaillette P./Poinsotte J.-M.** (ed.), *Codex Theodosianus–Le Code Théodosien, V. (Texte latin d'après l'édition de Mommsen. Traduction, introduction e notes)* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1480) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.54 (Sivan H.). [1984

**Cunningham M. B./Theokritoff E.** (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 3971) – Church History 79 (2010) 442–444 (Cameron A.); OCP 75 (2009) 483–490 (Farrugia E. G.). [1985

**Debié M.** (ed.), *L'historiographie syriaque* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 590) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.10 (King D.). [1986

**Dennis G.** (ed. and transl.), *The Taktika of Leo VI* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2388) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2011.03.09 (Bartusis M.). [1987

**Dräger P.** (ed.), *Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Großen und seine Mutter Helena. Von einem unbekannten Verfasser* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 440) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.47 (Drijvers J. W.). [1988

**D'Antiga R.**, *Venezia, il porto dei santi* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 496) – Studia Patavina 56 (2009) 202–203 (Fedalto G.). [1989

**Eastmond A.**, *Art and identity in thirteenth-century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 3418) – VV 68 (93) (2009) 263–265 (Men'šikova M. S.). [1990

**Ekonomou A. J.**, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek popes. Eastern influences on Rome and the papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590–752* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2674) – Journal of Religion 90 (2010) 573–575 (Noble T.). [1991

**Feissel D./Gascou J.** (éds.), *La pétition à Byzance* (BZ 99, 2006, Nr. 1799) – VV 68 (93) (2009) 290–251 (Vojtenko A. A.). [1992

**Finn R. D.**, *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman world* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 412) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.50 (Goodrich R.). [1993

**Fyrigos A.**, *Dalla controversia palamitica alla polemica esicastica (con un'edizione critica delle Epistole greche di Barlaam)* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2433) – Studia Patavina 54 (2007) 467–470 (Fedalto G.). [1994

**Füeg F.**, *Corpus of the Nomismata from Anastasius II to John I in Constantinople 713–716. Structure of the issues, corpus of coin finds, contribution to the iconographic and monetary history* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 1500) – Numismatic Circular (2009) 118–119 (Bendall S.). [1995

**Gabelić S.**, *Manastir Konče* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 923) – Zograf 33 (2009) 169–170 (Todić B.). [1996

**Garofalo I./Lami A./Roselli A.** (a cura di), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19–20 settembre 2008* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1568) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.73 (Toscano A.). [1997

**Getov D.**, *A catalogue of Greek liturgical manuscripts in the «Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies»* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2755) – Starobălgarska literatura 39–40 (2008) 238–243 (Jovčeva M.). [1998

**Gkratziu O.**, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 990) – BZ 104 (2011) 199–208 (Tsamakda V.). [1999

**Guinot J.-N./Richard F.** (eds.), *Empire chrétien et église aux IVe et Ve siècles intégration ou «concordat»?; le témoignage du Code Théodosien; actes du colloque international (Lyon, 6, 7 et 8 octobre 2005)* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2580) – JbAC 51 (2008) 203–205 (Klingenberg G.). [2000

**Gwynn D. M.** (ed.), *A.H.M. Jones and the later Roman Empire* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1637) – Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 197–200 (Ando C.). [2001

**Haelewyck J.-C.** (ed.), *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio syriaca IV. Orationes XXVIII, XXIX, XXX et XXXI* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2482) – OCP 75 (2009) 495–500 (Brock S.). [2002

**Harmless W.**, *Desert Christians. An introduction to the literature of early monasticism* (BZ 98, 2005, Nr. 451) – Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 4 (2007) 265–269 (Vecoli F.). [2003

**Hatlie P.**, *The monks and monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 392) – The Journal of Hellenic Studies 129 (2009) 251–252 (Hillner J.). [2004

**Hennessy C.**, *Images of children in Byzantium* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 870) – JbAC 51 (2008) 220–223 (Amedick R.). [2005

**Horrocks G.**, *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2520) – BZ 104 (2011) 208–213 (Karla G.). [2006

**Humfress C.**, *Orthodoxy and the courts in late antiquity* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3557) – The Classical Review 59 (2009) 570–572 (Arjava A.); Gnomon 82 (2010) 470–471 (Brandt H.). [2007

**Hübner A.** (Übers.), *Evagrius Scholasticus. Historia ecclesiastica. Kirchengeschichte* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2827) – JbAC 51 (2008) 215–218 (Hainthaler Th.). [2008

**Kahlos M.**, *Debate and dialogue. Christian and pagan cultures c. 360–430* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2461) – Gnomon 82 (2010) 281–283 (Leppin H.). [2009

**Kaldellis A.**, *Prokopios: the Secret History with related texts* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2424) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.11.48 (Whately C.). [2010

**Kaldellis A.**, *The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 345) – Church History 79 (2010) 699–699 (Jenson R.). [2011

**Kotzabassi S.** (Hrsg.), *Das hagiographische Dossier der heiligen Theodosia von Konstantinopel* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 747) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.35 (Constantinou S.). [2012

**Kotzabassi S./Mavromatis G.** (Hrsg.), *Realia Byzantina* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 1969) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.06.07 (Kaltsogianni E.). [2013

**Leone L. P. M.**, *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 110) – Quaderni di storia 34 [68] (2008) 327–329 (Bianchi N.). [2014

**Lilie R.-J.**, *Einführung in die byzantinische Geschichte* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 614) – DA 66 (2010) 420–421 (Pokorny R.). [2015

**Magdalino P./Nelson R.**, *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1749) – BZ 104 (2011) 213–216 (Martens P.). [2016

**Mariev S.** (Hrsg.), *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 112) – Speculum 85/3 (2010) 689–691 (Treadgold W.); Historische Literatur. Rezensionszeitschrift von H-Soz-u-Kult 7 (2009) 83–85 (Brodka D.). [2017

**Martinelli Tempesta S.**, *Studi sulla tradizione testuale del «De tranquillitate animi» di Plutarco* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 62) – Litterae Caelestes n.s. 3 (2008–2009 [2010]) 276–278 (Magnani A.). [2018

**McGill S./Sogno C./Watts E.** (ed.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284–450 CE* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1679) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.68 (Flower R.). [2019

**McLeod F. G.**, *Theodore of Mopsuestia* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2813) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.21 (DelCogliano M.). [2020

**Meier M.**, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 839) – BZ 104 (2011) 216–222 (Haarer F.). [2021

**Menze V. L.**, *Justinian and the making of the Syrian orthodox church* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2351) – JbAC 51 (2008) 214–215 (Allen P.). [2022

**Morlet S.**, *La 'Démonstration évangélique' d'Eusèbe de Césarée: Étude sur l'apologétique chrétienne à l'époque de Constantin* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 444) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.11.47 (Johnson A. P.). [2023

**Muradyan G.**, *Physiologus. The Greek and Armenian versions with a study of translation technique* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2182) – Oriens Christianus 92 (2008) 280–281 (Kaufhold H.). [2024

**Noble Th. F. X.**, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2447) – Speculum 85/3 (2010) 717–718 (Verkerk D.). [2025

**Noga-Banai G.**, *The trophies of the martyrs. An art historical study of early Christian silver reliquiaries* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3327) – JbAC 51 (2008) 223–226 (Dresken-Weiland J.). [2026

**Oberhelman S. M.** (transl.), *Dreambooks in Byzantium. Six Oneirocritica in translation, with commentary and introduction* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 4) – BMGS 34 (2010) 237–239 (Angelidi C.). [2027

**Ohme H.** (Übers.), *Concilium Quinisextum. Das Konzil Quinisextum* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 2647) – JbAC 51 (2008) 218–220 (Weckwerth A.). [2028

**Page G.**, *Being Byzantine. Greek identity before the Ottomans* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 804) – Canadian Journal of History 45/1 (2010) 111–113 (Russell E.). [2029

**Pagliara A.**, *Contributo alla storia di Sicilia nel V sec. d. C. SEIA n. s. XIV* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 645) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.15 (Salvo D.). [2030

**Pagoulatos G. P.**, *Tracing the bridegroom in Dura. The bridal initiation service of the Dura-Europos Christian baptistery as early evidence of the use of images in christian and Byzantine worship* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 3449) – Speculum 85/3 (2010) 718–720 (Hilsdale C. J.). [2031

**Palmieri A.**, *Il rito per le seconde nozze nella Chiesa greco-ortodossa* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 572) – Studia Patavina 54 (2007) 719–721 (Tura E. R.). [2032

**Papathomopulos M.** (Hrsg.), *Κάτωνος γνῶμαι παραινετικαὶ δίστιχοι ἃς μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον Μάξιμος Μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανούδης* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 67) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.44 (Deligiannis I.). [2033

**Pasquato O.**, *I laici in Giovanni Crisostomo. Tra Chiesa, famiglia e città* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 458) – Studia Patavina 54 (2007) 702–703 (Corsato C.). [2034

**Pejić S.**, *Manastir Sveti Nikola Dabarski* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 926) – Zograf 33 (2009) 171–172 (Todić B.). [2035

**Pitarakis B.**, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 3797) – Speculum 85/3 (2010) 724–726 (Brooks S. T.). [2036

**Placida F.**, *Le Omelie battesimali e mistagogiche di Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 491) – Studia Patavina 55 (2008) 944–946 (Corsato C.). [2037

**Popović D.**, *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 928) – Zograf 33 (2009) 167–168 (Todić B.). [2038

**Price R./Whitby M.** (eds.), *Chalcedon in Context. Church councils 400–700* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2638) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.46 (Sivan H.). [2039

**Rebillard E.**, *Religion et sépulture. L'église, les vivants et les morts dans l'antiquite tardive* (BZ 97, 2004, Nr. 2851) – Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo 4 (2007) 562–568 (Ghilardi M.). [2040

**Rigo A.** (a cura di), *Mistici bizantini* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 424) – Quaderni di storia 35 [70] (2009) 257–260 (Losacco M.). [2041

**Romanchuk R.**, *Byzantine hermeneutics and pedagogy in the Russian North: monks and masters at the Kirillo-Belozerski Monastery, 1397–1501* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 2418) – Canadian Journal of History 45/1 (2010) 115 (Woodworth C.). [2042

**Rousseau A.**, *Athanase d'Alexandrie, Les Trois Discours contre les ariens. Traduction et notes* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 511) – OCP 75 (2009) 189–192 (Cattaneo E.). [2043

**Rydell Johnsén H.**, *Reading John Climacus. Rhetorical argumentation, literary convention and the tradition of monastic formation* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 474) – JECS 18 (2010) 145–146 (Duffy J. M.). [2044

**Ryder J. R.**, *The career and writings of Demetrius Kydones. A study of fourteenth-century Byzantine politics, religion and society* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 90) – BZ 104 (2011) 222–230 (Tinnefeld F.). [2045

**Sandwell I.**, *Religious identity in late antiquity: Greeks, Jews, and Christians in Antioch* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2465) – The Journal of Hellenic Studies 129 (2009) 252–253 (Maxwell J.). [2046

**Schnabel N. C.**, *Die liturgischen Gewänder und Insignien des Diakons, Presbyters und Bischofs in den Kirchen des byzantinischen Ritus* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2868) – OrChrist 93 (2009) 295 (Kaufhold H.). [2047

**Schreiner P.**, *Konstantinopel. Geschichte und Archäologie* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 3434) – OCP 75 (2009) 534–535 (Ruggieri V.). [2048

**Schwab A.** (Hrsg. und Übers.), *Gregor von Nazianz, Über Vorsehung. Περὶ Προνοίας* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2757) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.50 (Gibbons K.). [2049

**Shahîd I.**, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 619) – BZ 104 (2011) 231–235 (Mavroudi M.). [2050

**Shahîd I.**, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2955) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.09.18 (Holum K. G.). [2051

**Sharples R. W./Van der Eijk P. J.** (trans.), *Nemesius, On the nature of man* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2709) – Journal of Theological Studies 61 (2010) 355–357 (Zachhuber J.). [2052

**Shawcross T.**, *The Chronicle of Morea. Historiography in Crusader Greece* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 174) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2011.03.10 (Gay D. E.). [2053

**Shepard J.** (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3785) – Slavonic and East European Review 88 (2010) 546 (Rady M.). [2054

**Shepardson C.**, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy. Ephrem's hymns in fourth-century Syria* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2635) – Journal of Theological Studies 61 (2010) 342–344 (Morrison C. E.). [2055

**Siniossoglou N.**, *Plato and Theodoret: the Christian appropriation of Platonic philosophy and the Hellenic intellectual resistance* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2466) – JHS 129 (2009) 245–246 (Louth A.). [2056

**Sivan H.**, *Palestine in late antiquity* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 3190) – Journal of Ecclesiastical History 61 (2010) 163–164 (Stern S.); HZ 289 (2009) 432–434 (Stemberger G.). [2057

**Sizgorich T.**, *Violence and belief in late antiquity: militant devotion in Christianity and Islam* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2467) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.36 (King D.); Church History 79 (2010) 690–692 (Walker J.); JECS 18 (2010) 148–150 (Frankfurter D.). [2058

**Somers V./Kindt B.** (ed.), *Thesaurus Iosephi Genesii. Aliarumque chronographiarum anonymarum* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 25) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.05 (Afentoulidou E.). [2059

**Spring J.**, *Ancient coin auction catalogues 1880–1980* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 1395) – Revue numismatique 166 (2010) 571–584 (Brousseau L.). [2060

**Stevović I.**, *Kalenić: Bogorodičina crkva u arhitekturi poznovizantijskog sveta* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 929) – Zograf 33 (2009) 173–174 (Šuput M.). [2061

**Strässle P. M.**, *Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzanz. Die Kriege Kaiser Basileios II. gegen die Bulgaren (976–1019)* (BZ 100, 2007, Nr. 1962) – Südost-Forschungen 67 (2008) 424–427 (Nikolov G. N.). [2062

**Tanaseanu-Döbler I.**, *Konversion zur Philosophie in der Spätantike. Kaiser Julian und Synesios von Kyrene* (BZ 102, 2009, Nr. 2062) – JECS 18 (2010) 152–153 (Guiu A.); Journal of Late Antiquity 3/1 (2010) 193–95 (Gertz S.). [2063

**Tougher S.**, *The eunuch in Byzantine history and society* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 742) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 196–198 (Ringrose K. M.). [2064

**Touliatos-Miles D. H.**, *A descriptive catalogue of the musical manuscript collection of the National Library of Greece. Byzantine chant and other music repertory recovered* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 298) – BZ 104 (2011) 236–241 (Bucca D.). [2065

**Traina G.**, *428 AD. An ordinary year at the end of the Roman Empire* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 846) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 255–257 (Whitby M.). [2066

**Tsigaridas E. N.**, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του παρεκκλησίου του Αγίου Ευθυμίου (1302/3) στον ναό του Αγίου Δημητρίου. Έργο του Μανουήλ Πανσελήνου στην Θεσσαλονίκη* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 971) – Zograf 33 (2009) 175–178 (Marković M.). [2067

**Van Opstall M.** (éd.), *Jean Géomètre, Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 93) – The Classical Review 60 (2010) 103–104 (Faulkner A.). [2068

**Wallraff M./Adler W.** (eds.), *Iulius Africanus, Chronographiae. The extant fragments* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 34) – JbaC 51 (2008) 200–202 (Winkelmann F.). [2069

**Watts E.**, *Riot in Alexandria: tradition and group dynamics in late antique pagan and Christian communities* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 744) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.10.13 (Van Nuffelen P.). [2070

**Zahariade M./Lungu V./Covaceff Z.**, *Scythia Minor. A history of a later Roman province (284–681)* (BZ 104, 2011, Nr. 811) – Gnomon 82 (2010) 243–252 (Turlej S.). [2071

**Ziemann D.**, *Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.–9. Jahrhundert)* (BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 712) – HZ 289 (2009) 741–743 (Schreiner P.). [2072

**Zipser B.**, *John the physician's therapeutics: a medical handbook in vernacular greek* (BZ 103, 2010, Nr. 2446) – Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2010.08.52 (Charlier P.). [2073

# TOTENTAFEL

| | |
|---|---|
| Marilena Amerise | 20. 2. 2009 |
| Charles Astruc | 8. 5. 2011 |
| Hans-Veit Beyer | 16. 4. 2011 |
| Ambrosius Esser, o.p. | 12. 4. 2010 |
| Georgios Gounaris | 25. 5. 2011 |
| Oleg Grabar | 8. 1. 2011 |
| Vojislav Korać | 29. 10. 2010 |
| Ken-Ichi Watanabe | 5. 2. 2011 |

# AUTOREN VON ABTEILUNG I UND II DES HEFTES 104/1 (2011) DER *BYZANTINISCHEN ZEITSCHRIFT*

Dr. Theodoros Alexopoulos, Kerkyras 72, 11362 Athena, Griechenland
alexopoulos@hotmail.de

Benjamin Anderson, 915 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20004, USA
banderso@brynmawr.edu

Thomas Backes, Therese-Giese-Weg 7, 53229 Bonn, Deutschland
ThomasMM.Backes@t-online.de

Dr. Marina Bazzani, Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies, 66 St. Giles', OX1 3LU, Oxford, England
marina.bazzani@classics.ox.ac.uk

Dr. Donatella Bucca, via Nazionale S. Biagio 182, 98050 Terme Vigliatore (ME), Italia
donatella_bucca@virgilio.it

Dr. William J. Cherf, 16378 East Berry Avenue, Centennial, CO 80015, USA
billcherf@earthlink.net

Katarzyna Gibel-Buszewa MA, University of Łódź, Kamińskiego 27 a, 90–219 Łódź, Poland
meluzyna7@wp.pl

Dr. Fiona K. Haarer, Department of Classics, King's College, Strand, London WC2R 2LS, England
fiona.haarer@kcl.ac.uk

Dr. Grammatiki Karla, Department of Philology, The National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Panepistimioupoli Zografou, 15784 Athens, Greece
gkarla@phil.uoa.gr

Prof. Dr. Maciej Kokoszko, University of Łódź, Kamińskiego 27 a, 90–219 Łódź, Poland
mkokoszko@komandor.pl

Dr. Peter Martens, Saint Louis University, Department of Theological Studies, 3800 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108, USA
pmarten1@slu.edu

Prof. Dr. Maria Mavroudi, Departments of History and Classics, 3229 Dwinelle Hall, Berkeley CA 94720–2550, USA
mavroudi@berkeley.edu

Dr. Denis Searby, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, 75126 Uppsala, Sweden
denis.searby@klassiska.uu.se

Ambjörn Sjörs, Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, 75126 Uppsala, Sweden
ambjorn.sjors@lingfil.uu.se

Dr. Dimitri Theodoridis, Holzstr. 12, 80469 München, Deutschland

Prof. Dr. Franz Tinnefeld, Stolzingstr. 41, 81927 München, Deutschland
franztinnefeld@hotmail.com

Prof. Dr. Vasiliki Tsamakda, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Arbeitsbereich Christliche Archäologie und byzantinische Kunstgeschichte, Binger Straße 26, 55122 Mainz, Deutschland
tsamakda@uni-mainz.de